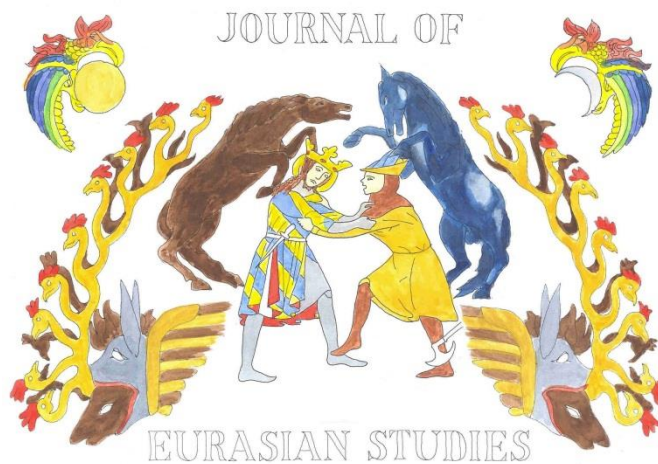


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2. The author(s) must elaborate the theme of the article logically,
3. References must be uniform and clear (the author(s) should follow consistently a particular pattern, like Chicago style, or Harvard style),
4. Author(s) must take all care to develop their ideas on their own; there should be no cases of plagiarism,
5. Wikipedia is not a scientifically authoritative source; referencing it must be avoided, unless Wikipedia or its usage/influence is the topic of the paper,
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DEAR READER,

OF REMAKES AND ADAPTATIONS

Remakes and adaptations rarely surpass the artistic quality of an original and valuable artwork. In order to achieve that an exceptional talent with a broad vision is required.

Reginald Rose's drama entitled *Twelve Angry Men* was originally broadcast as a television play in 1954. It is basically a chamber play and it tells the story of a jury consisting of 12 people who deliberate in order to arrive to a unanimous verdict in a murder trial based on the concept of reasonable doubt. Soon it was adapted for the stage and in 1957 the highly successful drama film *12 Angry Men* was produced, directed by Sidney Lumet and which starred Henry Fonda. This film made a lasting impact on many generations, due to the psychological process it depicts in social interactions despite its certain unrealistic legal features. It achieved a cult status and in 2007 it was selected for preservation in the United States National Film Registry by the Library of Congress.

Since then it was adapted many times for the stage and several new film remakes and adaptations were produced. Of these I would like to draw the attention to the two most significant film remakes and one adaptation. These three movies exemplify the rule at the beginning of my editorial.

The first of these remakes is the Hindi film *Ek Ruka Hua Faisla* produced in 1986 and directed by Basu Chatterjee; the other the American television film *12 Angry Men* produced in 1997 and directed by William Friedkin. Both films follow the original plot very closely and in them we see a complete remake of the 1957 film, in the first case in an Indian setting, in the latter in an American. Both films add some additional 20 minutes to the Lumet version, which in my view dilutes the high-level tension of the chamber play. Personally I prefer the B&W tone of the Lumet version because that helps concentrating on the core message. Nevertheless, both films are solid productions, well performed, well directed. Artistically tough, they do not overpass the original 1957 film.

In 2007 a new film was produced, based on Reginald Rose's play; this time a Russian one, directed by Nikita Mikhalkov and entitled *12*. In contrast to the previous two remakes this is an adaptation or better said a masterpiece inspired by the original work. It is almost 160 minutes long and significantly expands the dimensions of the original chamber play in every aspect; chiefly physical, cultural, psychological, and ethical. In the first instance we repeatedly see flashbacks from the accused boy's wartime childhood in Chechnya (the boy being an orphaned Chechen and the victim, his stepfather, being a Russian military officer who served in Chechnya). Next to that the jurors as personalities are made much more significant. Their life, their background which emerges during their deliberation would be enough material for another twelve movies! And the real turn is achieved by the director some ten minutes before the end of the film, when the unanimous verdict ('not guilty') is imminent: at that point Nikita Mikhalkov turns the table and practically a new film is started, or the real film is about to commence when the lead juror draws the attention to the fact that by arriving to an unanimous acquittal is not the real solution, though every one of them is at that point in time assured by the boy's innocence. This is not

just a 'clinical' legal process; it is about taking responsibility for a human being beyond the jurors' room. During the last ten minutes the movie turns into a turbo-charged drama, exploring issues that go far beyond the original play's scope.

Nikita Mikhalkov proves again that he is a truly genius director. He takes inspiration from others' works, remolds their ideas and expands them. He shows us the real face of art and artistic process.

Flórián Farkas

Editor-in-Chief

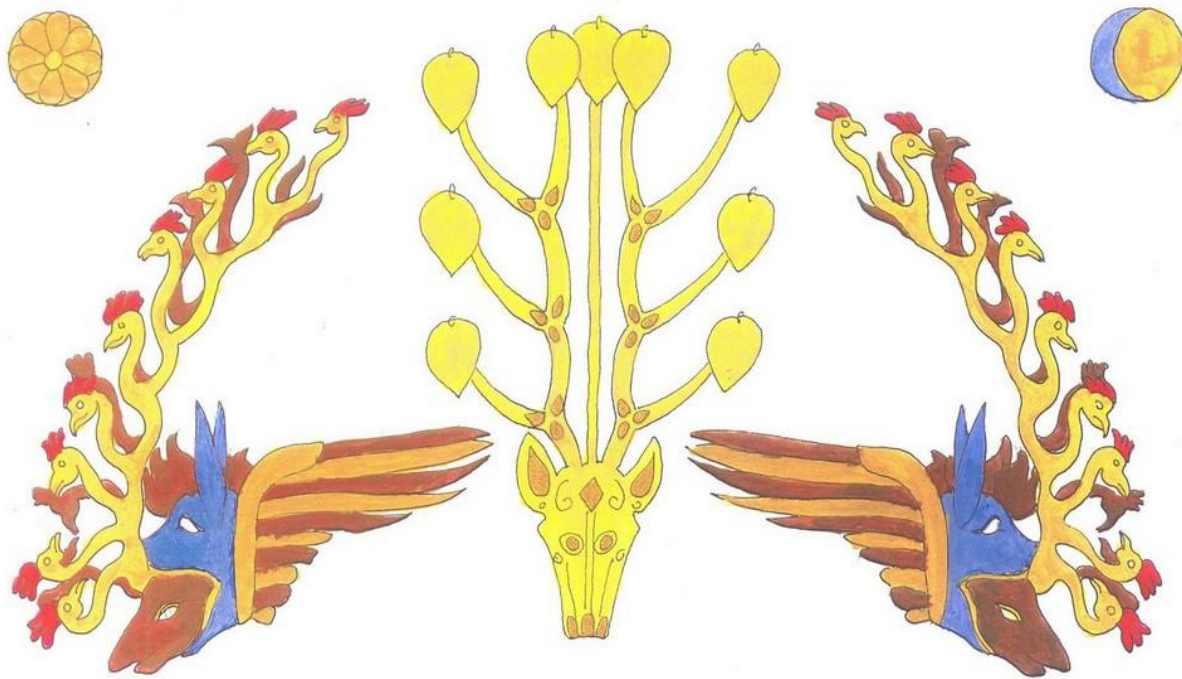
The Hague, September 30, 2013

HISTORY

BÉRCZI, Szaniszló

Hun (Xiongnu) Scythian Art¹

The Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythian art has once expanded over the steppe belt of Eurasia. As the amount of unearthed archaeological art-treasures becomes richer and richer so unfolds the recognition about the common roots and strong relations between the two great equestrian peoples. Their common heritage is well-known in traditions surviving in China, Mongolia, Hungary, and in the Countries of the Eastern and Western Turkestan Countries, likewise in Japan and Korea. It is easy to make a selection from this heritage, especially for those who are inhabitants of these countries.



HUN - SZKÍTA MŰVÉSZET

Bérczi Szaniszló, Budapest, 2008

Fig. 1. The front cover of the booklet exhibits symbols of old traditions of this old culture: sun and moon, eternal symbols of life and oath (agreement), horses redressed to deers, and the birds in the antlers – a rich heritage from the Scythian and Hun(Xiongnu) royal tombs especially from Pazyryk, Egiin Gol, Noin Ula and Aluchaideng.

¹ Example issue from the Coloring Booklet Series of Eurasian Arts No. 22. (with the drawings of the author). It can be downloaded from the following address: <http://www.federatio.org/tkte.html>

The artistic decorations on archaeological finds of the Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythian art can be found on cliff-drawings, bronze, ceramic, wood, textile artifacts and on the murals and wall covering carpets of the royal tombs. But common parts of the folk music, folk tales and dances, clothes and cooking all preserve the cultural heritage of the peoples living together on the Eurasian steppe. The Hungarian word "kocsi" preserves till today that common primary knowledge about the car and the role it played in developing the lifestyle between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. At that time the car driven by horse was a high-tech item.



Fig. 2. The backside cover of the booklet exhibits the Chinese character Meng meaning oath, or in today's usage any kind of agreement. And this character can be found on over 100 coats of arms in Hungary. The stratification of the stag and horse, one changing the other in the everyday life is also a characteristic feature of the steppe Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythian peoples.

One of our deep-rooting cultural threads is our language. The words of this ancient language are scattered over and loaned by the languages of peoples all over Eurasia. The loan words are prints from one language in the other, in any time. The words of the Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythian language are also preserved in such prints. The most beautiful example is the case of the stag and horse. They were the primary adoration animals. After the ice age our ancestors followed the moving stags toward north, because it was their universal (factotum) animal. As the Lapponian people today, they used all parts of the stag in making tools, cloths and meals. The cult of the stag is alive even today and in earliest times the Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythian peoples were the peoples of the stag.



Fig. 3. Representation of the changing of the cloth of the horses into a stag is a custom in the Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythian art. The left side figure exhibits the re clothed horse from the Pazyryk rpyal tomb, Altai-mountains, Russia; the right hand side figure is a gold stag-dressed horse with beak-head ornament from Nalingaotu, Ordos-region, China.

The miracle stag myth of the Hungarians preserved this early period. Later the horse took the role of the stag when domestication of the horse transformed this animal into a true fellow of the steppe peoples. This stratification has been preserved by the changing of the cloth of the horses into a stag is a custom in the Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythian art, as shown by the finds in the Pazyryk and Berel royal tombs.

The bronze mirrors are also beautiful objects of the Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythian art. Some of them are decorated by horse and stag at the same time. Rudenko (1953) exhibits several examples in his famous book on Pazyryk excavations and Érdy (2001) also showed examples of the beak-head decorated horses.

Later periods are preserved on swords. Their characteristic shape can be found with animal decoration along the steppe belt from China to Hungary. Our booklet on Mesopotamian Art (Bérczi, 2005) has shown several examples of it.

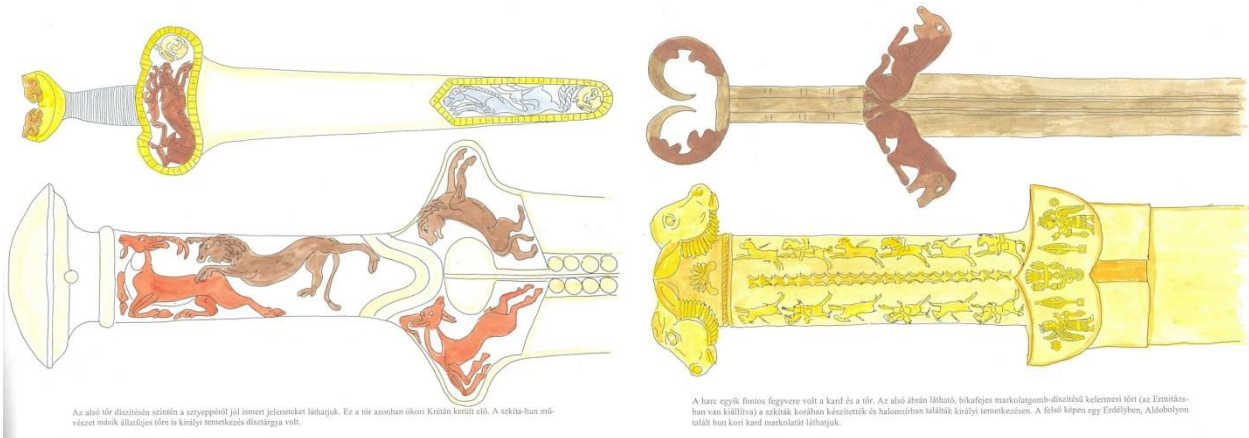


Fig. 4. The most valuable everyday life tool representations of the Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythian art are found on arms, knives, belt-mounts, bells, cups. Rich animal ornamentation is decorating them.

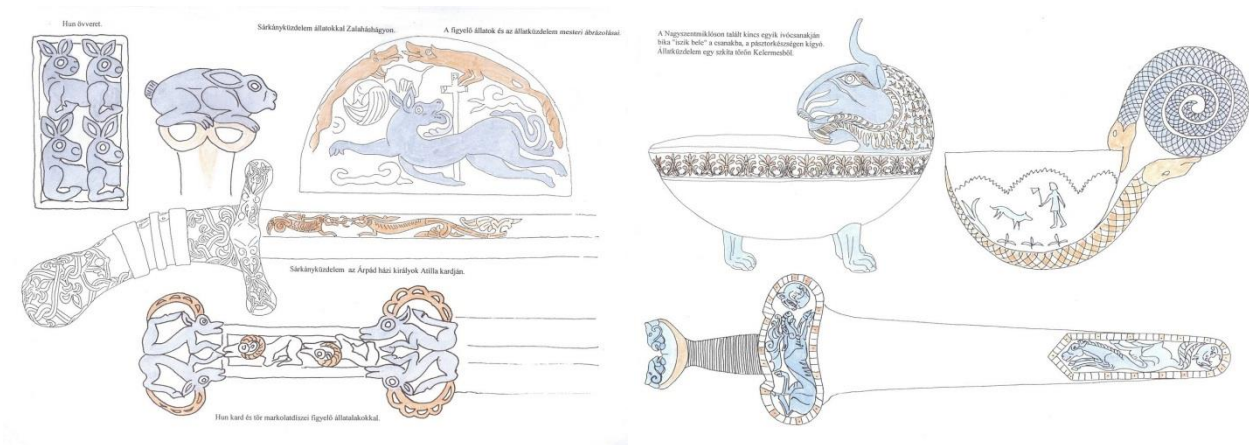


Fig. 5. The Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythian animal art can also be found on bronze and stone tools and carvings with animal fight scenes, listening small animals, dragon fight, bull, bird, snake, rabbit and donkey.



Fig. 6. There is a characteristic pair of animals on the Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythian art objects: this is the fish-bird pair. The upper one is from Pazyryk, Russia, the lower one is from Wettersfelde, Poland (5th century B.C.).

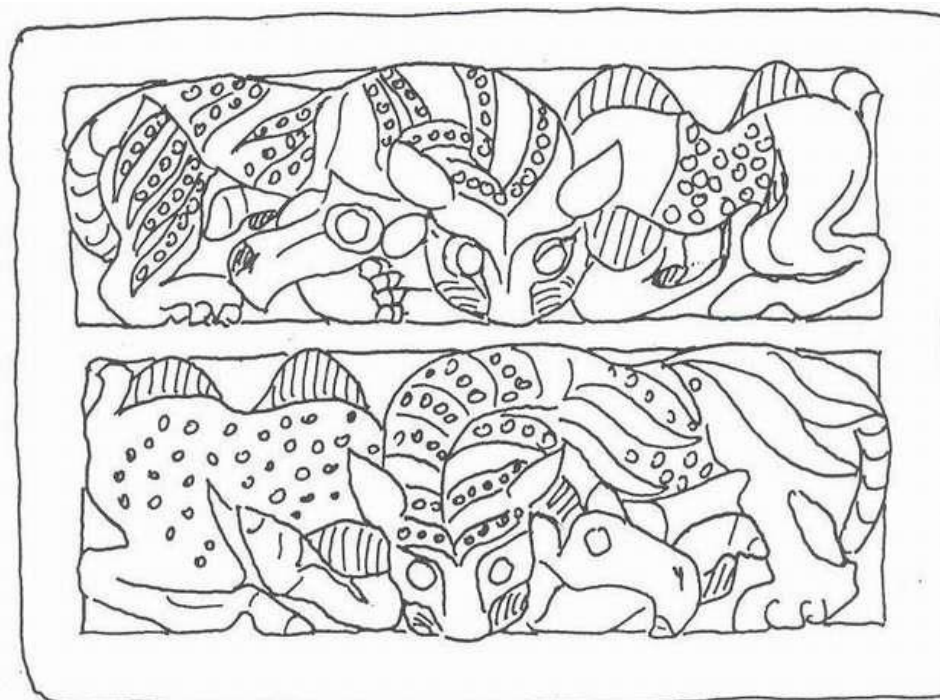


Fig. 7. Animal fight scene on a belt buckle from Xigoupan, China.



Falfestmények Dunhuangból.

Vadászjelenetek ábrázolása. A jelenetet a kínáivá váló hunok és utódaik is tovább vitték, fejlesztették, gazdagították.

Fig. 8. Mural with the Parthian shoot hunter scene from the late Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythian age, in Dunhuang, China.

The most characteristic tool and sacred object of the Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythian life is the great caldron. Miklós Érdy has collected the data of more than 200 Xiongnu-Hun caldrons from China to the Carpathian Basin, along the way of the Huns (Érdy, 2001). The latest archaeological find was that of the caldron from Rádpusztá, Somogy County, Hungary.

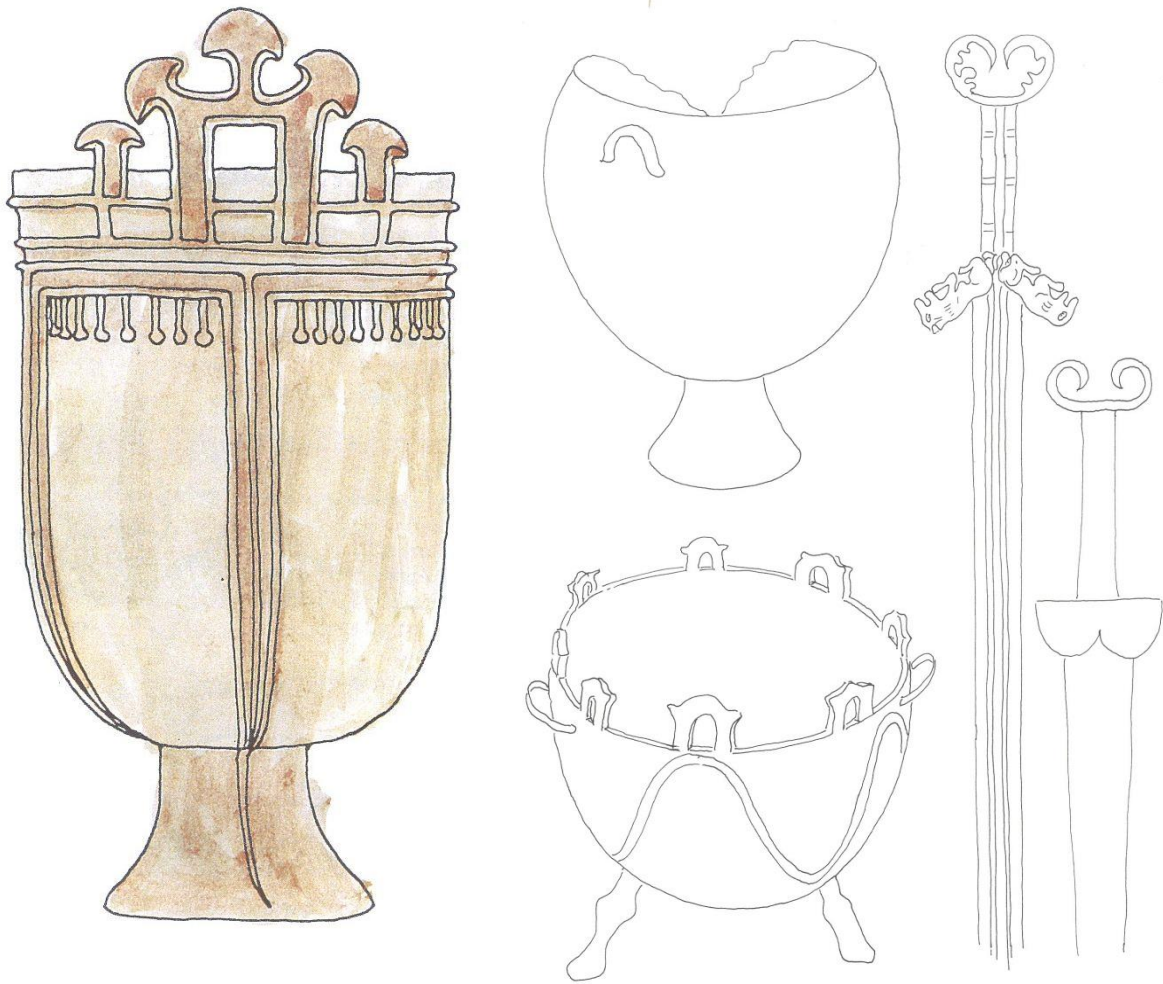


Fig. 9. Bronze caldrons from the Carpathian Basin: Uljap, (Russia) and Scortaru, (Romania). (The swords are from the Carpathian Basin, drawings from the Budapest Scythian Gold Treasury Exhibition in the National Museum.)

Probably one of the best known archaeological finds of Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythian art is the belt decorating bronze mount set. One example from the Siberian Gold Treasury of Peter the Great of Russia is in the Ermitage, Saint Petersburg. This is a B-type double-buckle with a mirror-symmetric arrangement of the resting hunter. He sets his head in the lap of a lady. This belt buckle has two identifications. Historically it was called Scythian, however, the great majority of these style buckles can be found in Ordos, China from the Xiongnu age. (This scene is painted on murals in Hungary in the medieval Churches as Legend of Sanctus Ladislaus. Bérczi, 2000, 2004, 2007, 2009).



Fig. 10. Bronze belt buckles: one of the most beautiful small-plastics art of the Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythians. As the Xiongnu art objects were later carved from jade, so did the Hungarian art preserved the scenes as Christian motifs in the Medieval ages. The resting scene in the mural series of the Sanctus Ladislaus Legend is almost a copy of the Xiongnu-Hun-Scythian bronze (or gold) scene in Eurasia.

One new discovery in the Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythians art is the ethnomathematics in the ornamental decorations. (Bérczi, 2000). Wide range of ornamental decorations describe what kind of plane symmetry patterns were known in the ages of the Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythians masters. In order to show some of them we exhibit two composite patterns from the scientific journals published by the author (Bérczi, 2011, 2012).

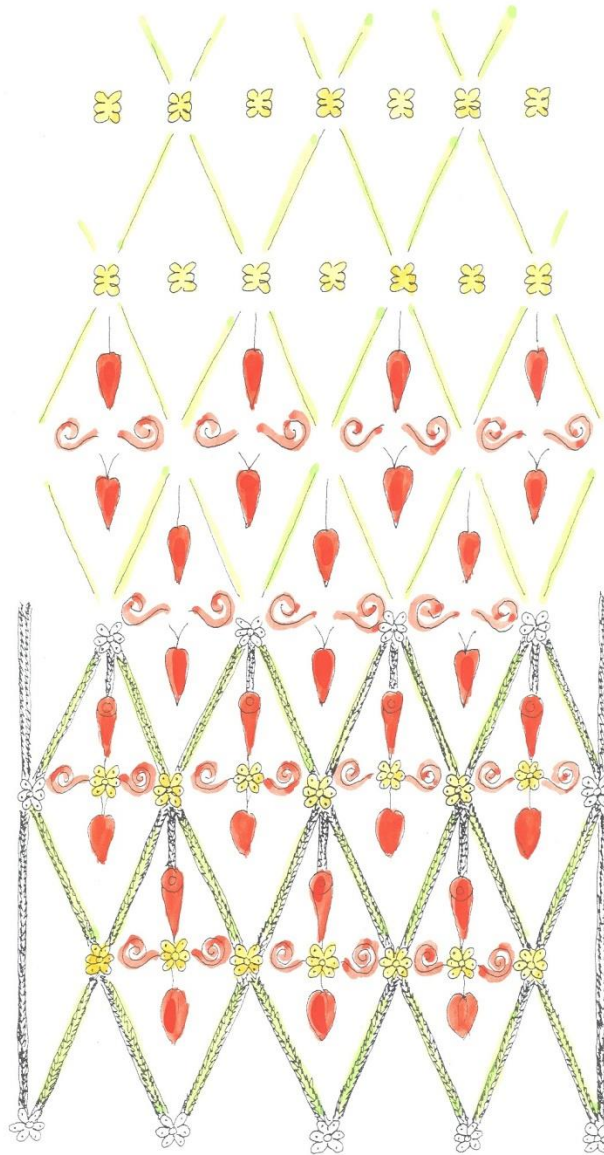


Fig. 11. Head dress from Kul Oba, Ukraine. There are 3 different ornamental plane symmetry types in it: the cm type is represented by the hanging ornaments in the rhombic shaped wholes. The pm type is the yellow flowers in the pattern, and the cmm pattern is formed by the grid system. This object belongs to the Scythian branch of the Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythian art (Bérczi, 2011).

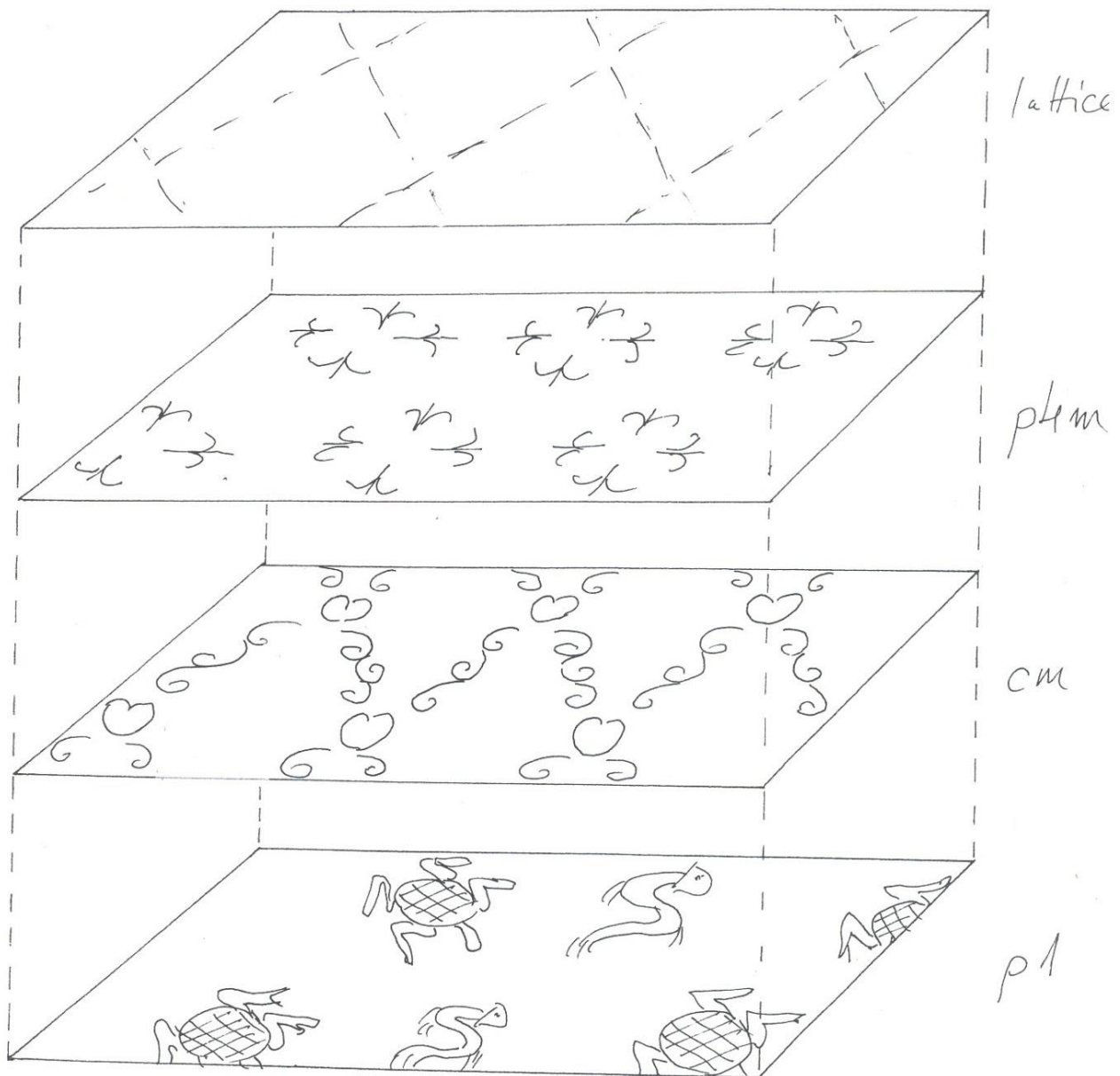


Fig. 12. Another interesting composite plane symmetry pattern can be found on a carpet from Noin Uul, Mongolia. We may call it a multi-layered structure in ethnomathematics, because 3 different layers of simple plane patterns are superimposed on each other. The $p1$ type is formed by animals, the cm type is formed by apple or heart-like motifs at the crosspoints of the grid, and the $p4m$ type is formed by thendril-like edges of the rhombic grid system. This object belongs to the Xiongnu(Hun) branch of the Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythian art (Bérczi, 2012).

In our new booklet we selected treasures from the common Eurasian heritage of the Hun(Xiongnu)-Scythian peoples. Eurasia is the artistic and cultural horizon of the preserved artefacts. We may discover a more ancient common heritage behind it: the so called Andronovo Culture, which extended on the Eurasian steppe belt in the 2nd millennium before Christ. Several elements survived until today from this ancient culture. One of the best known parts is the drinking cup and arms decorated by animals. On drinking cups the herdsmen carved animal scenes even in the 19th century A.D. Earlier Rudenko, today Miniaev emphasized that Mesopotamian elements can be found in this art.

Miklós Érdy worked on the comparative archaeological topics and found that common heritage can be found on the archaeological finds of the Árpád People Hungarians and the Xiongnu(Huns)-Scythians. We already mentioned the caldrons, and another preserved heritage is the form of the burial of the death. Various forms of the man-and-horse burials were found from the 8th century B.C. till the Árpád Peoples burials in the 9th century A.D. This form is characteristic to the Huns and the Hungarians. Symbolic horse burials placed the skin and the head and leg bones of the horse into the tomb.

Another collection in our new booklet is the crowns and swords collection displayed along the Eurasian steppe. But the booklet exhibits mostly the virtuose drawings of animals. Our kind heritage of Sanctus Ladislaus Legend is also shown. The booklet brings the heritage of the last 4,000 years into one organic unit. I wish an exciting time to the readers during their adventures in this ancient world of Eurasian Xiongnu(Hun)-Scythian arts.

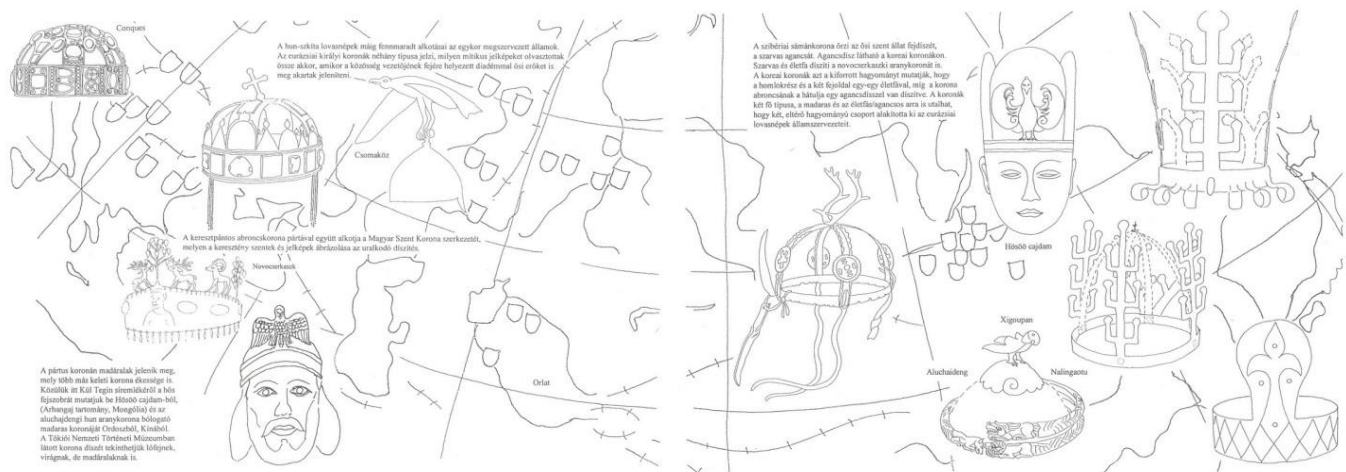


Fig. 13. In the art of Eurasian peoples the crowns have a specific role. Projecting them to the Eurasian horizon we can see how great distances covers the common heritage preserved till today in this object. Cross-banded crowns can be found in Korea, in Siberia (shaman crown, V. Diószegi) and in Hungary. Another decoration of the crown is the bird. Both types of crowns were appreciated and used among the Xiongnu(Huns)-Scythian peoples. This object proves how many things should be discovered and compared in the Eurasian archaeology, on a system level. This may help the investigations on the cultural stratifications.

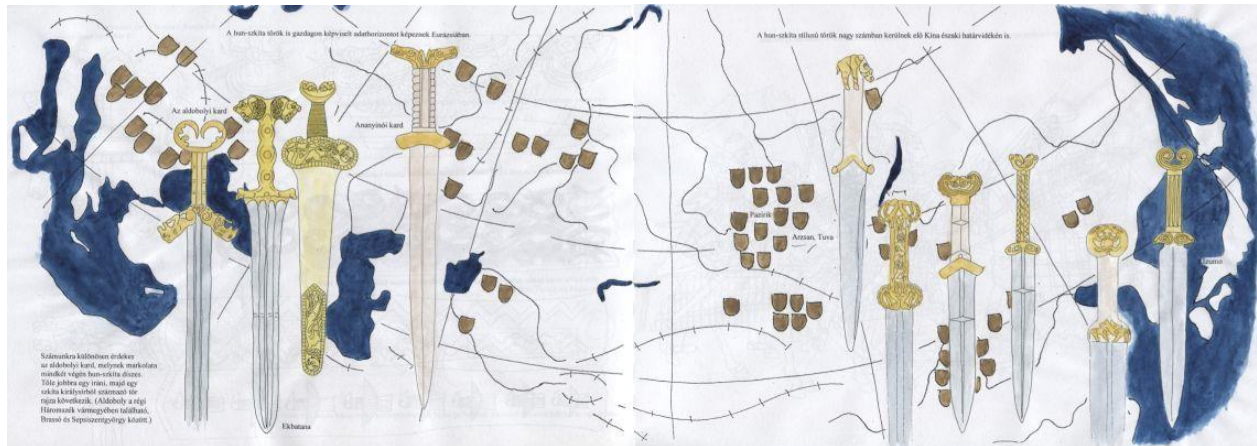


Fig. 14. Swords and sabres were also decorated with animal figures in the art of Eurasian peoples. Such swords are present in Eurasia from China to the Carpathian Basin, Hungary, scattered by the equestrian peoples during their migration.



Fig. 15. Pots, cups, air-vessels decorated with animal figures. When you drink your eyes are level with an animal. Such drinking cup were carved by herdsmen in Hungary even in the 19th century A.D.

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OBRUSÁNSZKY, Borbála**Tongwan City and the Motif of Building Sacrifice**

Those Chinese scholars, who research the history of the Southern Huns, know the special construction method of Tongwancheng from the 130th coil of Jin shu. The Huns applied the so-called building sacrifice in order to strengthen its walls. It is not an independent, isolated story in the steppe world; rather it has some parallels in Southern and Eastern Europe — the former territory of the Hungarian Kingdom — and the Caucasus as well. Because of the shortness of time, I only summarise some research point of views about their origin and present several ancient Hungarian examples of it.

Researching directions and some conclusions

Many European religious historians, ethnographers and cultural anthropologists usually mention building sacrifice practices among the human sacrifices and they keep it as a very ancient ritual, and according to them, human communities sacrificed young boys and girls for the God or spirits in order to put end to natural disasters or prevent their land from diseases and epidemics. Almost in the whole world's folklore tradition can be found such stories, e.g. during the floods or droughts human communities tried to win the heaven's favour and that's why young people — boys and girls — are recommended for rivers or even monsters.¹

Similar stories are often included in the folklore of the steppe peoples, in their neighbouring peoples' folklore too, although for European scholars the most accessible source of information are the ancient European ones, even though China has ancient samples from the very early period.

But generally the above mentioned human sacrifice is not equal with the building sacrifice, despite some common motifs. It is a special one and it doesn't appear everywhere in the world; it is focused on some determined territories; according to collected materials it is to be found in the traditions of the horsemen of the Eurasian steppe belt.

Although many ethnographers believe that human sacrifices, including the building sacrifices, gradually disappeared in the 1st millennium B.C., after which no longer played an important role in the lives of the communities of the Eurasian steppe belt, and simultaneously the old rites were replaced by symbolic sacrifices, the steppe folklore preserved the memory of these bloody rituals. In some places

¹ Look at some Turkic, Turkish, Mongolian and Hungarian folk tales, where young girls used to be given to a monster, which lives in a deep lake. We have such stories in Northern China, around the Yellow River; moreover there is such a story from the Hunnish period. L. Batsaikhan, 2002.

they were practiced even until modern times, but they didn't sacrifice humans, but animals. In order to find out what kind of peoples practised this kind of sacrifice in ancient times, we must investigate the areas where it appeared, and determine its origin and cultural heritage.

The ethnographers in the international literature characterised the humans sacrificed as the victims of a new construction in ancient times when the constructors wanted to strengthen the new building by mixing human ashes or bones into the construction materials. The ancient custom was based on the belief that parts of the human body is the best long-lasting "material" for strengthening for example walls. We can find other kind of ancient belief in the local customs of Eastern Hungary, where people often put animal bones under the threshold in order to keep evil spirit away; also a number of cases of building sacrifice methods when people lay small pets into the walls.²

The motif of the building sacrifice drew the attention of European ethnographers in the second half of the 19th century, when Romanian and Hungarian experts began to argue whose heritage is that ancient custom. Later, some Croatian, Serbian, Greek and German researchers became involved in the dispute, many of whom believed the story had originated from Southern Europe and gradually spread northward and reached the Carpathian Basin and the Danube-Sava area.³

The European researchers generated sharp debates about the origins of the building rituals, but instead of a deep and comprehensive investigation, they either focused only on one theory, or stated that it could be only of Southern European origin. Regarding the history of building sacrifice we have no comprehensive, analytical study, which relates to the whole Eurasian region. Although the ethnographers collected lots of folklore texts, their overall analysis was carried out only by Louis Vargyas, who listed the whole reachable European examples and showed their presence on a detailed map. Louis Vargyas put an end to the long lasting debate, when he published his study in 1959; he summarised the researchers' points of view and results and the correct chronology. He gathered Eastern European, Southern European and Caucasian examples of building sacrifices and concluded that the motif of the building sacrifice was widespread from the vast steppe region toward the settled civilizations.

He tried to determine their origin and the way of their spreading according to folklore variants. His research contained not only Southern European and Carpathian Basin ones, but he also mentioned several Caucasian ballads and one archaeological finding from Buryatia, near the Lake Baikal.⁴

He found that the real way of spreading of this motif was from north to south, or the ancient elements of the story appeared first inside the Carpathian Basin and from there reached the Balkans or Southern Europe. He realised that the Hungarian examples were very close to the Caucasian ones, and thought that the first versions came from the east, from the steppe region and the Hungarians brought this story into the Carpathian Basin. This theory was supported and proved by the huge appearance of the

² Erneyi, 1927.

³ Vargyas, 1959. 5.

⁴ Vargyas, 1959.47.

Hungarian variants throughout the whole Carpathian Basin; only from Seklerland ethnographers collected 91 stories.⁵

Let us take a look at the Hungarian examples, which are the richest in Europe. The most popular ballad is the Wife of Kelemen Manson, which is known almost by every Hungarian.

Twelve Masons discuss,
How to build the Castle of Deva
They build for half bushel of silver,
Half bushel of silver, half a bushel of gold.
They began to construct the Deva Castle
What they built until noon, fell at night,
What they built at night, came down in the morning.
Twelve Masons discuss again
How to stop the falling wall
They agreed on the following deal
Whose wife would come here sooner,
They would gently catch her, would throw her into the fire,
Her mild ashes would be mixed with the lime.
In order to stop falling the wall of the Deva Castle.

(Details of the Ballad of Wife of Kelemen Manson)

Although it is the most popular one, there are many kinds of appearances among Hungarians. The eastern part of the former Hungarian Kingdom, in present-day Ukraine, namely, Karpatalya there are numerous fortresses, which had their own legends; inside them we can observe variants of building sacrifices. One of the legends is regarding the Castles of Denikó and Ungvár, where we can also get a glimpse of the memory of real and symbolic human sacrifices: the constructors wished to strengthen walls with human bones or ashes, or any organic material (horsehair, eggs, etc.).⁶ We know the same examples from Western Hungary, Fort Szigetvár, at the time of late Middle Ages, which faced a strong a

⁵ Albert, 2004.

⁶ Regarding constructing Denikó fort, the mansonries built mother milk into the wall in order to strengthen it. Building fort Ungvar, ilona drugeth one noble girl was walled.

siege in 1566. According to an ancient legend, Hungarians strengthened the wall by mixing golden hen's eggs into the constructing materials. In addition to that, in former Northern-Hungarian Kingdom, which is Slovakia today, near the city of Nyitra, in the territory of Zser and Alsobodok similar stories can be found; the far western examples can be found in the Lower Austrian castle, Gobelsburg, where a child was built into the wall.⁷ The later occurrence is probably a variant of an ancient story, and it is possible that the territory, namely Gobelsburg had steppe population during the ancient and medieval times.

Some researchers have found variants of building sacrifices in the Danube and Sava regions, where large numbers of Serbs and Croats live now, but during the Middle Ages, before the Ottoman conquest, the area was mostly inhabited by Hungarians. The second rank after the Carpathian Basin is the territory of Bulgaria, where scholars collected 85 occurrences, but in addition to that, there are ballads or stories from Albania and Macedonia, which were part of the former Bulgarian Empire, but some ethnographers kept them as the heritage of the smaller Southern European nations.

As already mentioned above, the comparative study was written by Vargyas, who was able to define the spreading of the story and determined the exact date of its late occurrence in Eastern Europe; he realised that it spread out as late as the 14th century or before the Ottoman rule. As he drew the occurrences of these ballads and stories on historical maps it became clear that the mostly eastern and southern parts of Europe were divided by two great powers: the Kingdom of Hungary and the Bulgarian Empire, whose ruling dynasties were successors of Attila. Both the Bulgarian Dulo clan and Hungarian Árpád are said to be descendants of Attila's youngest son, Irnek or Chaba. Not only the leaders were firmly bound to Hunnish civilization, but also those ordinary people, who have been living there. The ancient steppe heritage can be observed by archaeological findings as well. According to ancient Greek and Latin historical sources in the 7th century B.C. nomadic tribes, namely Scythians settled down there and during the ancient time to Middle Ages related peoples arrived from the east and the allied tribes and states inhabited the Eastern and Central European territory.

Returning back to the building sacrifice motif, we can state that according to the historical and archaeological evidences the similarities originated from an ancient Eurasian steppe heritage, which two allied powers, Scythians and Huns brought it to Europe. They were able to unite vast territories from the Ordos to Eastern Europe, up to present-day Eastern Austria, until the River Enns. These people preserved the common intellectual treasures of the steppe.

Early examples of building sacrifice

I mostly accept Vargyas' point of view relating to the Eastern origin of the building sacrifice, but I have found several early stories, which drew my attention, and which show, that not only the Huns, but the earliest European steppe dwellers, the Sarmatians also knew it. If this is true, we are able to date the time of the appearance of this motif in Europe, not in the 9th century, but at least the 3rd century A.D,

⁷ Lukacs, 2005. http://www.niton.sk/documents/2-129-2442-acta_2005_lukacs_miklos.pdf

when nomadic horsemen brought their special story westward, when - as Littleton and Malcor presume it - Romans settled down 5,000 Sarmatian horsemen as border guards in Britain and they have brought their own intellectual heritage from the Caucasus or Hungarian Plain and preserved it in the King Arthur stories.⁸

The story is about how to construct a castle and the masons wish to perform the building sacrifice, and want to place human bones into the wall. According to the legend, only that person's bones can be built in, who had no earthly origin, that's why they chose Merlin, a special boy, who was born with outstanding signs. It shows some similarities with the Hungarian and Caucasian examples.

Vargyas mentioned some Caucasian, namely Georgian examples, but other local examples are also available, which drew these researchers' attention, but these examples have no roots in Western European folklore.⁹

One example is the story of construction of Fort Surami in Georgia, which was built in a similar way, as Deva Castle. In the neighbouring Abhazia, the established ancient Kingdom of Kolchis, where Scythian tribes lived in the ancient period, we can find another such a sacrifice; according to that in Fort Kelasuri, a woman and a cow were built together into the fort, to strengthen the wall.¹⁰

In addition to that, on the territory of Azerbaijan a similar story is known, which I have heard during my study trip in the summer of 2010. Near Ganja city in Western Azerbaijan we can find the Juma or Holy Friday mosque, where constructors performed a symbolic building sacrifice; they did not build human bones inside the wall, but they mixed eggs and horsehair with lime and strengthened the walls in such a way.¹¹ The method is similar to one Hungarian fort, namely Szigetvár, which had a related construction, they did not use humans anyway; they resorted to a symbolic one. Not far from the Caucasus, in Asia Minor, in one Cappadocian village stood a bridge between Akdag and Atana; it was built according to the above mentioned method. The examples of the Caucasus and Turkey deny that early theory that the building sacrifice originated from Europe, because we do not know of any migration from Europe eastward, but we have archaeological and philological evidences of the appearance of steppe horsemen in Southern Europe in ancient times and Early Middle Ages as well.¹²

Moreover the appearance of this motif can be dated from the ancient time in spite of Middle Ages and it is obvious that we must find its origins and additional examples in the steppe regions.

⁸ Littleton-Malcor, 2005.

⁹ Vargyas, 1959. 59.

¹⁰ Vargyas, 1959. 59.

¹¹ Obrusanszky, 2011.

¹² Vargyas, 1959. 57.

Eastern examples

The former Hungarian researchers thought that the similar building sacrifice examples among the Eastern steppe horsemen can be found beyond the Caucasus, where mostly Turkic and Mongol peoples live. Vargyas was encouraged by the news, which Vilmos Diószegi shared with him, who was a great Shamanist researcher. He went to the region of Lake Baikal and after returning home, he informed his colleague that next to village Balagansk, along the shores of Lake Baikal archaeologists excavated an earth fort, Kurikan and dated it to the 6-7th centuries A.D. Inside the wall, they found a woman skeleton, which was buried next to the fortress. Because of her unnatural posture the ethnographers assumed that she was probably sacrificed there, in the process of a building sacrifice. In addition, some Central Asian and Chinese stories are also available on how to sacrifice people for the construction; that is why we need to proceed with the study of these stories in order to discover Far Eastern parallels, too.

Surprising numbers of data are available from ancient special Chinese sacrifices how to strengthen the walls and gates by human sacrifices; they usually used to use men, mostly prisoners of war for this purpose. The sources recorded that once Crown Prince Cai was sacrificed for this purpose. Getting confirmed that, archaeologists have found hundreds of human skeletons in ancient palaces and surrounding walls, which indicate the existence of building sacrifice.

Ildikó Ecsedy, a Hungarian sinologist, indicated that from the Shang-dynasty (18-11. Centuries B.C.) there are written evidences that local communities in a variety of cases performed human sacrifice rituals when building walls. Jacques Gernet also said that in the former Shang civilization, one of the most characteristic features of human sacrifice was concluded with the dedication of different buildings. It stopped at the Zhou era, although some elements have survived in small communities. Unfortunately, for European scholars we have not enough data available in order to determine exactly which areas are affected by this custom, and exactly which kind of civilisations –horsemen or settled Chinese or both - used this method.

We have one exact time and place, where we can read about such a sacrifice: we can find one example in the 29th chapter of Shi Ji, relating to the construction of the Great Wall in Manchuria. The story had played during the reign of Qin Shi Huangdi, the first emperor of China, who began the construction of defence wall against the northern neighbours or Huns. They strengthened the wall with human bones, where we can recognise the ancient rite of the building sacrifice. According to the Shi Ji, those workers, who died there, their bodies were incorporated in the wall, as the historical source explains their souls wanted to tighten it. One wife, Meng Jiang Nu waited for her husband, who was carried away to build the wall, and he did not return home. In the autumn she decided to find him in order to give him warm clothes. She climbed the mountains along the wall sections, and everywhere he asked about him, but nobody had heard of him. Finally, she reached the present-day Manchuria where she had learned that her husband had died and his bones were buried into the wall. The place name is well-known now; it is Shanhaiguan, where locals dedicated a statue to the brave woman.

After that story there is another ancient record on building sacrifice in the beautiful Hunnish city, Tongwancheng, or White City. We can read it in Jin Shu 130th coil, where we can find Helian Bobo, the Hunnish King constructing his capital. After he established a new Da Xia (407-431) Hunnish dynasty in

Gaoping, he lived there only a short time; he wanted to choose a steppe territory for his residence. So he sought a pleasant place for that purpose. As the Jin Shu recorded: "The hills are beautiful, in front of it we can discover a wide plain, surroundings there is a lake and fresh rivers. I have seen lots of places, but I haven't found such a territory, which would be so beautiful."¹³ So, Helian Bobo chose the place of His capital as Attila the Hun in Europe, in the heart of Hungary.¹⁴

The construction of Tongwancheng began in 413 A.D and the method was similar to the building of the Great Wall or Déva Castle: they used building sacrifice! The 130th coil of the Jin-shu reports that:

"When Helian Bobo planned to construct Tongwan city, Chi-Ali was appointed as the boss of the construction. Ali was a master architect, but nature was so cruel. The palace was built with great force. If he was able to drill a hole in the wall, then he (Ali Chi-gan) immediately killed the builder of the wall section and his body was incorporated into the wall."¹⁵

Not only the historical texts preserved this special construction method, but it is a living tradition among those workers, who reconstruct Tongwan or White City nowadays. They know the ancient story as well.¹⁶

This source suggests that the Huns knew and practiced this ancient form of human sacrifice.

I wondered, whether only Southern Huns or any other steppe people knew this tradition, whether the Mongolians, a real steppe dwellers had the same tradition. The international literatures often says that "nomads" had no fixed house or settlements.

We can find the memory of ancient building sacrifice in the Mongolian steppe. The earliest examples of special sacrifice were found by archaeologist in the northern part of Mongolia, Khovsgol province, where a joint Mongolian-Japanese expedition excavated an ancient ritual site. It is a major centre of sacrifice, which is classified with the culture of deer stones and they dated it to the second millennium B.C. Those tribes, who lived there during the Bronze Age created a big sacrificial centre, and under the stone statues they placed animal bones. It is possible that it is one of the early examples of building sacrifice because similar custom can be observed on the Hungarian countryside, too. The Hun-related Hungarians placed animal bones under the most sacred place in houses or under the threshold in order to protect the inhabitants of the house from the evil spirits. It is possible that the Eastern horsemen emphasized this cult of threshold. I found other version of the ancient building sacrifice in China, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, where those people, who were killed by thunderbolt, were not buried, but their bodies were placed under the sacred mound, or obo.

Most Hungarian and European researchers do not know exactly, whether the southern and central parts of China preserved such legends and stories, or we can find this tradition only in those parts, which were inhabited by the ancient horsemen. It would be a great scientific achievement, if we could clear this question according to the historical sources of that time, and map the occurrence of this motif.

¹³ Jin shu, 130.

¹⁴ Rather the same story can be read in Tarihi Üngürüs, History of Hungary.

¹⁵ Jin shu, 130.

¹⁶ According to the brand-new field research in Tongwancheng, 2013. 06.12.

Summary

The existence of the common folk treasures in the vast Eurasian steppe zone necessitates the deeper examination of the various folk motifs. We need to check exactly, according to the ancient sources, where a motif can be found and from where it originated. We should not miss the two border regions or the easternmost edge of the Chinese civilisation, where steppe territory and Chinese folklore met, and influenced each other for centuries. The westernmost part is the Carpathian Basin, where the steppe horsemen settled down and created a special cultural.

The above study clearly demonstrates that the building sacrifice was a common cultural heritage of the Eurasian steppe belt, from the Chinese civilisation via steppe land to the Carpathian Basin or the former Hungarian Kingdom.

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PHILOSOPHY

SENGUPTA, Rakesh

Excommunication to Cogito: Exploration of Hegelian Dialectic

1. Introduction

Hegel began with a doctrine of Being in his *Science of Logic* [1], because he needed to start from the concept that is immediately given, yet in its determination would provide the necessary conditions for his *aufhebung* (overcoming negation/sublation). However as even Leibniz pointed out, Being is not unique in that regard¹. We will perhaps visit a separate set akin to Hegel's fourteen stations, if we choose to begin with a different starting point and apply the Hegelian method. In the present work I have tried to begin with another immediately given concept - subjectivation². We experience subjectivation in its immediate in the narrativized world³. We become subjects. However the real that resists the symbolic⁴. The real appears in the gaps over which the ideological narrative tries to gloss over - akin to Freudian slips and dreams. The idea of subjectivation in itself has the schizophrenic core, the becoming-split.

However the subjectivation is determined at the level of our commons and communication. To determine subjectivation is to see the gap in commons/ communication - excommunication. In the next two sections I will try to show how power and hegemony are tied to the determination of excommunication. To determine excommunication is to see what lies outside of the phenomenon - thus the noumenon is determined in section four. The separation of phenomenon and noumenon is already at work in the method (section five). If method is the way to the episteme that gives us the archive, the negation should let us see its determination in the unwritten archive (section six). It is through the unwritten of the archive we reach the becoming-split of knowledge (section seven). The acquisition of

¹ See *The critique of thought: a re-examination of Hegel's Science of logic* [2] by Paul Owen Johnson.

² See *Subjectivation: the two-headed symptom* [3] by author.

³ See *Situated Learning: Legitimate peripheral participation* [4] by Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger for a detailed discussion on how narratives structure our learning. It is similar to what Zizek calls the Symbolic order that we grow in to.

⁴ In the introduction to his book *The sublime object of ideology* [5] Zizek points out the difference between Althusserian subject as an ideological mis-recognition and the subject of Lacanian psychoanalysis -

In contrast to this Althusserian ethics of alienation in the symbolic 'process without subject', we may denote the ethics implied by Lacanian psychoanalysis as that of separation. The famous Lacanian motto not to give way on one's desire (*ne pas céder sur son désir*) is aimed at the fact that we must not obliterate the distance separating the Real from its symbolization: it is this surplus of the Real over every symbolization that functions as the object-cause of desire. To come to terms with this surplus (or, more, precisely, leftover) means to acknowledge a fundamental deadlock ('antagonism'), a kernel resisting symbolic integration-dissolution.

Here he precisely posits the subject as the site of antagonisms. However, he also points to a fundamental antagonism that determines (in the precise Hegelian sense) all the other antagonisms. The role of the symbolic is a magician's card trick - mediating the fundamental antagonism in the middle of others. For more see author's *Subaltern's image and the real: an inquiry* [6].

knowledge is through the Kantian transcendental subject - that gives us our cogito, the possibility of our revolutionary moment through our sublime (section eight and nine).

2. Excommunication and power

My thesis concerns excommunication⁵; or rather, I should say, excommunication is the beginning of my thesis. Excommunication's idea is manifested in the following subcategories –communication, communion and commons⁶. In his famous seminars recounted in *Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* [8], Lacan also begins with this idea of excommunication - excommunication which brings with it a break from the communion and communication (two necessities of knowledge and epistemology). In his *History of Madness* [9], Foucault also begins with an excommunication –that of the lepers from the church, who are excommunicated as blessed individuals who are being punished for their sins in their own lives. And it is of little wonder that the leper colonies serve as a blueprint for disciplinary confinement whose history is recounted in Foucault's other books. But it was Lacan who first noted, skillfully, the connection between discipline and the commons (or lack thereof/excommunication).

If one is to understand excommunication as a gap in communication, then perhaps we will make a mistake. What if the kernel of excommunication lies in an excess, a surplus of communication, the excess of commons (the exterior of commons)? Then, one can understand the uniqueness of the discipline itself. The excesses of commons are the ones that are to be left out of the commons. They are the part-of-no-part. And it is for them that discipline is not only necessary but constitutive of the excess of communication. As a whole constitution has to form the backbone of an immigrant Bangladeshi's fake ration card, the discipline of the nation is also exercised through this excess of communication. And like these immigrants coming into the country, after this excess of communication, excommunication takes

⁵ The formula for excommunication as recorded in Willis' *Benedict de Spinoza* [7]

With the judgment of the angels and the sentence of the saints, we anathematize, execrate, curse and cast out Baruch de Espinoza, the whole of the sacred community assenting, in presence of the sacred books with the six-hundred-and-thirteen precepts written therein, pronouncing against him the malediction wherewith Elisha cursed the children, and all the maledictions written in the Book of the Law. Let him be accursed by day, and accursed by night; let him be accursed in his lying down, and accursed in his rising up; accursed in going out and accursed in coming in. May the Lord never more pardon or acknowledge him; may the wrath and displeasure of the Lord burn henceforth against this man, load him with all the curses written in the Book of the Law, and blot out his name from under the sky; may the Lord sever him from evil from all the tribes of Israel, weight him with all the maledictions of the firmament contained in the Book of Law; and may all ye who are obedient to the Lord your God be saved this day.

Hereby then are all admonished that none hold converse with him by word of mouth, none hold communication with him by writing; that no one do him any service, no one abide under the same roof with him, no one approach within four cubits length of him, and no one read any document dictated by him, or written by his hand.

This is the fullest sense of excommunication.

⁶ Etymologically: excommunication - mid-15c., from L.L. *excommunicationem* (nom. *excommunicatio*), from pp. stem of *excommunicare* "put out of the community," in Church L. "to expel from communion," from *ex-* "out" (see *ex-*) + *communicare*, from *communis* "common".

place that makes them invisible to the discipline and the order.

In his discussion of the unconscious, Freud said, 'Reason is not a given; it has to be struggled for.' And if one substitutes power for reason, one can precisely notice that power cannot create. Power is not an *a priori*, power is not a given. Power is not even a Kantian transcendental category. Rather, we should understand power within the constitutive matrix of discipline and excommunication. The relations of power, as it will, appear to mitigate this excess/surplus in the episteme. In William E. Connolly's book *Terms of Political Discourse* [10], he describes persuasion, manipulation, coercion, and anticipatory submission in the context of power, but only locates power in the last three. In all of these three cases, power manifests itself again in the precise idea of communication and commons. One manipulates by distorting the commons of knowledge and violating terms of communication, one coerces by putting in danger the commons of our lived environment, we submit to someone even before power strikes as the excess of communication has fully been communicated earlier and so on.

If we agree with the above formulation of power, then our lines of inquiry must not disengage from the objects of inquiry. The epistemic excess of our inquiry is what obfuscates the two-headed symptom of excommunication - at once an excess and a lack. The substitute inquiry is to locate the excommunication where the formal and the real confront each other. In Marx's piece entitled *Results of the immediate process of production* in the Appendix to his *Capital* [11], Marx elaborates on how the formal conditions of subsumption of labour under capital, creates the real condition for the same. And it is in the excess of communication in the form of the foreman's book that the labour's material life is created - the same material life that it confronts, life that it abstracts from, and the life that it denies/excommunicates. Thus, within the abstract labour, the universal of the Enlightenment Man, that our subalterns' formal and real find their commons.

3. The squared circle

The rat-man was obsessive⁷. The rat-man was compulsive. His rituals were bizarre. His complicated routine had even Freud making elaborate time-charts. But with his talking cure and free association techniques Freud managed to find the slips and the symptoms of the rat-man's neurosis. Within the rat-man, the impossible fear had taken hold. The fear concerned his dead father punishing him for his desires. To believe in the fear, or rather to express his desire, he renounced his atheism. So, should we look at the ideologies operative at the level of super-ego to be indispensable for expression of our desire? Is it that the God and religion and the invisible hand of the market are indispensable for our own neurotic expression of normalcy? However, in his *Civilization and its discontents* [13], Freud, through his reformulation of the utilitarian maxim, reached a very Marxist answer to this very same problem. For reduction of our suffering, it is we who maintain the division of class. Is it not the precursor of what Gramsci would call Hegemony?

However, let us understand it from the parable given in Amartya Sen's *An Idea of Justice* [14]. Here we are supposed to pass judgment of regarding allocation of a flute to one of the three children- one who has no other toys, one who knows how to play the flute, and the one who made it. Passing judgment in

⁷ See Freud's *Notes Upon A Case Of Obsessional Neurosis* [12]

favour of any of the children forces us to articulate an ideology, or rather the ideology is constitutive of the reason. Thus, if ideology is constitutive of reason irrespective of our class position, then hegemony has no role. However, if we understand the three judgments as necessarily entailing a position- a predicate- only then can we start making sense of hegemony.

Now, if hegemony itself stand for a relation between predicates (class for instance), then, how does it stand in relation to the subject? This is where we must remember the Hegelian idea of the predicate determining the predicated. Where does the relation between the predicate stand vis-a-vis the predicated? The only way to understand the above relation is through the symptomatic of the predicated itself. Remember the symptomatic of commodity-relation that shows up in the predicated labour power that produces the commodities. Because the labour power acts the unique impossible commodity whose increased use increases its use value and the other exchange values that result from it⁸.

Thus, even hegemony like power, is to be understood within the impossibility of the symptomatic excommunication whose use can even build a community. Like Philip Gourevitch has said "Genocide, after all, is an exercise in community building." [16].

4. Noumenon

In an ethnographic conference held in the social science departments of the University of Hyderabad in 2008, my friend, Sasi Kumar V. K., stood up to give his seminar on sustainable livelihood. He was preceded by two members of the ICRISAT organization talking about their efforts to bring sustainability to the villages of Andhra Pradesh and Vietnam. However, my friend began the talk with a sentence I will remember forever: 'Sustainable livelihood is a myth.'

He had worked on the same districts, Adilabad and Mehboobnagar, as the ICRISAT representatives had done. However, he found the myth in the sustainability that the others had boasted of. His idea of livelihood was a complex one. It included food habits, health, and culture in general. His challenge with the paradigm of sustainability depended on non quantifiable, yet observable indices; and it concerned totality. He was an idealist (in a positive sense that is still not obsolete) trying to speak of material life and culture. His lifelong struggle had, somehow, yet to ask him to choose between materialism and idealism, as was true for Sartre's students (see *The Revolutionary Myth* from Sartre's *The Aftermath of War* [17]). What surprised me about his mode of inquiry was this insistence on totality -the totality that makes one sensitive to the idea of excess, hidden kernel, or rather, the myth of it that comes with the standard inquiries of the ICRISAT representatives. -Sustainability is spoken of as something that has already been achieved (like a static category of being) while neglecting the dimensions of its antagonisms (inherent in the category of becoming sustainable).

Isn't it the same idea informing one's choice between a reform and a revolution, this ritualized excess in the presupposition of a materialist epistemic inquiry (the farmers cannot produce enough for their livelihood because they cannot get loans from the bank to buy seeds from the corporations and so on)? It is where we posit an exterior of the phenomenon and pass it off as noumenon that denies the antagonisms of the real.

⁸ See Rosdolski's *Making of Marx's Capital* [15]

In his book, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* [5], Zizek writes,

...in the structure of the commodity-form it is possible to find the transcendental subject: the commodity-form articulates in advance the anatomy, the skeleton of the Kantian transcendental subject—that is, the network of transcendental categories which constitute the a priori frame of ‘objective’ scientific knowledge. Herein lies the paradox of the commodity form: it-this inner-wordly, ‘pathological’, (in the Kantian meaning of the word) phenomenon- offers us a key to solving the fundamental question of the theory of knowledge: objective knowledge with universal validity- how is it possible?

It is here that we encounter the fundamental problem of episteme. The precise possibility of the fundamental a priori categories that are relegated to the domain of Kantian noumenon. It is the noumenon that is forever beyond the horizon of the phenomenon⁹. But isn’t it the fact that the categories are at work even before the senses can take hold of the object in reality? If this is the case then probably Kant was right in saying that we only see the world as represented and not as it is. However we should probably understand the above from a realist position.

In his *Memoirs of Istanbul* [18] other Orhan and the mirrors in the windows of the dark houses at night and the image of a child adorning his grandmother’s house. If the other Orhan is the ideal ego of the phenomenon- one that can be known through an epistemic inquiry (How does the Orhan look like? Does the other Orhan miss this Orhan?), then the Orhan writing the memoir plays the role of the noumenon- one who leaves a residue forming the outer of what he communicates of the phenomenon, in this case little Orhan.

It is here that we finally arrive at the site of a fundamental antagonism, one that forever eludes the commons of the formal and the real, It is our inquiry in the epistemic that constitutes the gap of phenomenon and noumenon, the gap in turn obfuscates the commons of our formal and our real.

When we were waking up from the fall of the Berlin Wall we also lost the legacy of a revolutionary moment. The noumenon or outer of the revolutionary moment are always the unmitigated, unchallenged categories that form the residue of the revolution’s phenomenon- in this case the antagonisms of capital. There are always categories that are unmitigated by a revolutionary moment, the unmitigated categories of the French Revolution lied in the qualifiers of the Enlightenment Man (All men are created equal except for Asia and Africa and so on.) The outer of the revolution, the part of no part have to be now the new transcendental category of the subject, otherwise we will be lost forever in substitute antagonisms (environmental antagonisms, sexual antagonisms, caste antagonisms and so on) and like Freud used transference antagonisms (the rat-man yelling at him for behaving like his father) for the sake of therapy to get to the symptom so can we use the substitute symptoms/substitute antagonisms to get to the real of the symptom.

⁹ But as Zizek already notes in Sohn-rethel’s work[5],

Before thought could arrive at pure abstraction, the abstraction was already at work in the social effectivity of the market.

5. Method and cogito

For logical positivists in the Vienna Circle, the meaning of a sentence was the method of demonstrating the truth value of it. For them, there was no truth in parts (of a sentence); thus, no error as well. In everyday life, however, we deal with the parts. We assume the truth or falsity of a sentence even if a part of it is articulated. It is as if we deal with a very post-Kantian division –the one between truth and the empirical fact. It is as if the truth stands independent of our empirical endeavour, and the empirical in our content stands independent of truth. You may ask, 'Am I not confusing the fact/opinion distinction and super-imposing it onto truth/empirical fact false distinctions?' We are all post-Kantian in the sense that the division of phenomenon (known from senses, the empirical) and noumenon (the residue of in-itself, the region of totality of truth) is presupposed but treated as if it does not matter, as if it is inconsequential. Perhaps the problematic symptom of the meaning (of parts) can also be found in the method. But isn't it a fact that logical positivists' proclamation makes their own definition of meaning meaningless, as there is no method to verify the definition itself? However, their fault probably lied in misunderstanding the idea of method itself. If our inquiry cannot disengage from the object of inquiry, only then can truth arrive with the method in stages of dialectical derivation yielding meaning in its wake.

The acquiring or the acquisition of meaning is also the acquisition of substance for cogito. The cogito arrives at substance only after crossing the fourteen stations of the cross in Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit* [19]. However, when we deal with cogito's extension (res extensa), it arrives as the Enlightenment man of Marx's *Capital* [11]. However, the arrival of both the cogito and its extension, can only happen through alienation preserving the dialectic of their development. We championed Norman Borlaug as the rescuer of the Third World, the father of the Green Revolution. We denied the substantive death of the farmers in the supposed success of Green Revolution. We also denied their substance as we forget to mention their contribution to world hunger. Did the produce not always feed the hungry? Did we not see unprecedented hunger and famine following the adaptation of Green Revolution? Thus, our highest econometric methods are always at odds to figure out the truth value to Green Revolution's success; as the farmer will forever be proletarianized irrespective of Green Revolution's success or failure.

However, isn't the condition of the farmers the direct opposite of the acquisition of substance, doesn't proletarianization reduce subjects to substanceless subjectivity? Then how can we find the substance of cogito in the proletarianization process- the key to dialectical process in understanding the precise identity of non-identity? In Marx's *Capital*, the movement from quantity to quality is exemplified in the movement from many capitals to capital in general. However the capital in general is also a quantity, the sum of all the surplus values from many capitals appears as capital in general. Thus the proletarianization's stripped substance also undergoes the movement, the same dialectical movement in the creation of the subject. This is why subjectivation must have two faces. This is why our enquiry into the subaltern might produce the conditions for subalternation –the subalternation that supposes generality of particulars without the negativity of dialectic. Thus our enquiries into the Green Revolution have necessitated Indian government's second Green Revolution programme without dealing with the negative of the first Green Revolution (The ignorance of the effects of the GM seeds for the local food and culture not resolving the cash crop versus food problem which is already couple of centuries old and so on). It is precisely subalternation that makes alienation appear as if it is an inalienable human condition, while forever our

beings suffer the two headed symptom of subjectivation.

6. The unwritten archive

In a book that was not written, Raja Ram Mohun Roy wanted to write regarding 'the intelligence, riches and power, manners, customs, and especially the female virtue and excellence existing in' Britain. He would have done so if it was not for his untimely death. His entry into Britain in 1831 was as an envoy, as a delegation from the Mughal Emperor Mohammad Akbar II. Ram Mohun's idea of representation was broader than the Mughal Emperor's obsolete diplomacy would allow¹⁰. He was well versed and much more efficient in dealing with the Britain culture than his contemporary Indians. He had not only covered his ground for his own diplomatic credential, but also acquainted himself with British laws, its constitutional practices, and the relation of the British Parliament with the Company. He had studied quite well how the earlier envoys fared. Even while Ram Mohun Roy was deftly negotiating through British administration and its people (Bentham had proposed nominating Roy for the Parliament), Khwajasara ('unach') Mehboob Ali's envoy from the widow royalties of Bundelcund received very little exposure to Britain's public sphere, and very little hearing of their cause. Mehboob Ali came to Britain after making a long and arduous journey with little or no knowledge of British custom and culture. However, at the end of his one year stay, he failed in his mission and was also discredited by one of the widows he was supposed to be representing. The right to represent was something both of these parties had to prove. Ram Mohun Roy claimed to be representing a greater India than the Mughal Emperor who gave him the title of Raja and 'Ilchi'. However, Mehboob Ali was also carrying letters from local landowners and businessmen. He was also carrying the hopes and aspirations of many Indians for justice. In a strange hand of irony, both of their efforts to represent would largely be forgotten. -Ram Mohun Roy would be remembered as the reformer, as the Indian savant sympathetic to the cause of Western modernity; Mehboob Ali would also suffer the oblivion from which he came.

However, it is within them as representatives, where the Indian condition is finally revealed. Irrespective of Ram Mohun's fame and the relative obscurity of Mehboob Ali, both of their diplomatic credentials are rejected. As Indians, they lost their right to represent Indians. Even when they speak for the multitudes, their voice is forever discredited. In the heart of the idea of modern citizen-subjects, we carry this same burden of a discredited representation. The voices of the villagers and tribals in Central and Eastern India are forever discredited by the same representative they have supposedly elected. Within the category of representation, we finally see one of the universals of modernity. We are forever waiting at different doors of the law where our representations are discredited. The unwritten archive of Ram Mohun Roy in itself appears as the symbolic void of his lived experience, of his representation.

What is this symbolic void, if not our hopes and aspirations? Our induction to cogito is complete when all our hopes and aspirations need to be represented. Thus, representative will always remain one of our universals of proleterisation, the sum of our substance of cogito. Even to hope we need the representative. To escape our subjectivation we need to give our proleterisation a point of symbolic reflection. Thus, if

¹⁰ See *Counterflows to Colonialism: Indian Travellers and Settlers in Britain [20], 1600–1857* by Michael Fisher.

representation also appears an unmitigated category of the failure of commons, we might not be surprised as the reflection appears as the bloody sublime spectacle that accompanied the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution, and the Nakshalwari[6].

7. Knowledge and Cogito

Raymond Roussel [21] still remains outside the canon for the scholars of Foucault. It is one work that plays with his fidelity to the margins. Roussel's madness was exemplified when he tried to begin and end his novels with two sentences that contain the same words, but generated completely different meanings. What attracted Foucault was this double play of structure –the duplicity of meaning that can take or transform one into formless marginality. Thus, for Foucault, the resistance was always to be found at the margins, in the obscure; and somehow, inconsequential. This attitude informs his work on prison reform, on sexuality, and so on. What was important to him was to ask, like Nietzsche, the fundamental question concerning a text/discourse. It is important to ask, 'Who speaks in the text?'

The author was dead for Foucault because Mallarme answered Nietzsche by announcing 'The word alone' speaks through the text. It is as if in his imagination, the death of the author would force those on the margins speaking through 'the word itself' to be heard.

In the structuralist card-trick, one can replace the author with any other subject; say, the king or Mr. X or God even. But if meaning is to be held in this syntagm, then perhaps we will make a mistake because even the author is a Hegelian reflex category –one that cannot escape its own predicate. No herald goes down the street to announce the death of the author, no matter how much similarity there is between being-a-king and being-an-author.

However, death of the king does not mean the end of monarchy. Death of the author does not transport the voice from the margins. One cannot bring the margin to the universality. It can just cause us to dwell in the false universalities. However, if a death is also a predicate determining the subject (in the Hegelian sense), then perhaps we should not clamour for the death of the author. Rather, we should look for where the word in itself is symptomatic, where the word hiding behind its metaphors, its metonymies, its grammar and its context, creates the historical necessity of the death. Remember as Nietzsche recounted Silenus' answer to King Midas (a person being-a-king): 'The best thing possible in the world is not to be. To be nothing. The second best thing is to die young.'

Isn't death of the author already achieved in our archives? Isn't death of the author the demand of our episteme? 'Knowledge is power' as long as the author remains unknown in our policies, our referendums, our reports, and research on those who are at the margins. It is the authorless archive that reduces us to substance-less subjectivity; the subject of death – the Cartesian cogito.

8. Sublime and Cogito

I believe Kant is the key to our theoretical and practical predicament. In his essay entitled *What is Enlightenment?* [22] he for the first time expressed the key cleft in reason. He talked of public and private uses of reason. Isn't it the expression of the fundamental cleft that Kant's epistemic paradigm espouses -

separation of faith and reason, separation of church and state, the separation of subject and object, the separation of finite and infinite? When you are a clergyman you should abide by the laws of the clergy. However outside the domain of your work you should question the presuppositions. This is what separates the private and public use of reason. In the public use of reason, one is precisely supposed to work through the transcendental logic to question the *a priori*. All the enlightenment philosophers following Kant (in the tradition of German Ideology) like Fichte and Schelling tried to heal this cleft - the epistemic separation.

However, in his maxim, 'argue, but obey' do we not find the healing of the cleft. One must argue using the public reason. One must obey following the private use of reason. However, one must remember, that neither 'argue', nor 'obey', feature in Kantian categorical imperatives. Then 'argue, but obey' is not a healing, but a propagation of the same division of the Kantian realms.

If even at the presence of *a priori* transcendental categories necessary for arguing, one must negate those same categories for obeying - if our finest transcendental judgement depends on it's negation for practical use of reason - then we are at the dawn of the sublime - the sublime that inspires awe because of the negation of the transcendental.

It is this sublime of the unmitigated categories of revolution, that stops its eventual progression - as history bears witness to French revolution, Russian revolution and so on. It is this what Hegel calls the crisis of the Spirit. The sublime of the revolution of the spirit denies its transcendental. We as Kantian transcendental subjects - formed in the middle of proleterization process - like predicated labour power of commodity-relations - forever deny the due of our substanceless subjects - the cogito.

9. Archive and Tragedy

What is tragedy? What is the form of art that makes us look for our sincerest laughter in our suffering? Where does tragedy get its aesthetics? Aren't we all beings trying to reduce our misery? What ethics binds our reading relation to a text in its tragic performance as its aesthetics - rather, the question should be - how does our reading of aesthetics in a tragic performance appears as its ethics. The substance of tragedy is the desire, and the desire forms the kernel of our tragic. It is not the loss of an object that gives texture to tragedy, but tragedy is subjectivation in its immediate, not deferred by its narrative.

Sophocles' *Antigone* had made her choice to die even before Creon had passed his law. As Lacan notes in his *Ethics of Psychoanalysis* [23], it is a choice unmitigated by categorical imperatives¹¹. She - the desire-incarnate is the 'sublime object' in her negation of the transcendentals. How can this desire-incarnate then require the foil of Niobe - the princess turned to stone? How is it then the sublime object - able to negate the transcendentals - require a subject, a point of identification? Why does one need a point of identification, if it is not the case that libido, the drive, the desire transcends even death? However, it is our sublime object that is forever denied by our transcendental, or rather the transcendental categories themselves are manifestations that give the sublime its phantasmic character. This is the relation between

¹¹ See *Lacan's Antigone: The Sublime Object and the Ethics of Interpretation* [24] by Paul Allen Miller in *Phoenix* Vol. 61, No. 1/2 (Spring - Summer, 2007), pp. 1-14

ethics and aesthetics that is our inheritance of Enlightenment. In the phantasmic spectacle of the French revolution, Edmund Burke discovered the sublime. The sublime object of our tragedy is also the other of ideology in our subjectivation.

If *Holinshed's Chronicles* was the archive, *Hamlet* is its tragedy. The archive of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* reveals its tragedy in Marx's *Capital* where the abstract labor appears as the sublime object beyond life and death of Capital¹². Proleterization receives its highest formulation in the dialectical tension between the cogito and the sublime object. In cogito lies the failure of the sublime object and also its becoming-split, its point of departure. The ethics that is the object-cause of cogito, is also the aesthetics of the sublime object - of its proleterization process. For each cogito of Niobe, there is the sublime of Antigone. The archive of cogito is the tragedy of sublime.

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¹² The archive of Enron's bankruptcy revealed its tragedy in the theatrical bailouts following 2008 financial meltdown.

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САРБАСОВА, Гүлдана Актаевна**Уақыт, кеңістік және сан өлшемдерін философиялық
түрғыдан түсіндіру**

Әлемнің тілдік бейнесін танудағы негізгі ұғым мен түсініктің бірі – уақыт пен кеңістік категориясы. Уақыт пен кеңістіктің болмыспен және бір-бірімен байланысы жөніндегі қағидаға ғалымдар ерте кезден бастап-ақ ерекше назар аударып, ежелгі грек оқымыстыларының философия, физика, математика, логика, астрономия және тіл білімі саласындағы көзқарастарынан бастап, қазіргі ғылымдағы жетекші идеялардың біріне айналып отыр.

Уақыт пен кеңістік категориясына қатысты Энгельс: «В многообразных формах греческой философии, уже имеются в зародыше, в процессе возникновения. Почти все позднейшие типы мировоззрения» – деп көрсетеді (Розенталь 1972: 369).

Платон, Аристотель, Демокрит сияқты ежелгі грек оқымыстылары кеңістік пен уақыт категориясының ішкі мәніне қатысты жан-жақты зерттеулер жасап, бұл ұғымдар туралы қарама-қайшылығы мол пікірлер қалыптастырғаны белгілі.

Осман Империясының жайнап, дүрілдеп тұрған дәуірінде өмір сүрген Ибн Кемал ресми қызметтерімен қоса, өзін философия мен дінге берген және Газалидің пікіріне қарсы болып, философия саласында атақты болған. *Техафуль әл Феласифе* атты уақыт жөнінде жазған маңызды, қайран қалдырарлық ой-пікірлерімен көзге түскен. Тамаша ойын дұрыс қолданған Ибн Кемал уақыт және кеңістік жайында өзінің философиялық ой-пікірлерін былай білдірген дейді Асалыоглу (18.04.2008):

«Уақыт жөнінде философтардың айтқан пікірлері дұрыс емес. Уақыт керісінше өз-өзінен пайда болмаған. Уақыттың бір бастауышы бар, егер де бастауышы болмаған жағдайда, уақыт болмысы болмыстардың бірі ретінде қабылданып, Ибн Синадағы ең алғаш себепші элемент болмысы болмас еді. Олай болса, біз уақытты жоқтан бар болған деп қабылдауымыз керек. ...Кейбір философтар кеңістікті өздігінен пайда болған деп қабылдайды. Әлемде ешбір нәрсе өз-өзінен пайда бола алмағанда, кеңістік өздігінен қалай пайда болсын? Әр нәрсенің бір хадисінің (бастауышы) болуына қарағанда, кеңістіктің де бір хадисі (бастауышы) бар».

Өмірін халық жолында өткізген үлкен ойшыл-ақын Жүніс Эмре, философиялық ой-пікірлерін елең жолдары арқылы жеткізген. Уақыт және кеңістікті адамдарға өткінші деп түсіндірген Жүніс Эмре, бір елең жолында бұл жөнінде былай деген:

Yunus sen bu dünyaya niye geldin	Жүніс, сен бұл дүниеге неге келдің?
Gece gündüz hakkı zikretsin dilin	Күндіз-түні әділдікті уағыздадың.
Enbiyaya uğramaz ise yolun	Пайғамбарлар жолына түспесең де,
Göçtü kervan kaldık dağlar başında.	Көшті керуен, қалдық таулар басында.

Алланың адамдарға бергендерінің ең маңыздысы – уақыт пен кеңістік екенін жазған Жүніс Эмре, кеңістік болмысының болуының себебі, болмыстың бар болуы себебінен дейді. Алла тағаланы еске түсіру керектігін айтады (Habiboğlu 1993: 85).

Атомдық көзқарастағы ежелгі грек философтары Демокрит пен Эпикурдан бастау алатын метафизикалық материализм кеңістік пен уақыттың объективті шындық екенін мойындай отырып, бірақ оларды өз алдына мәні бар материалдық денелер мен процестерді сыйыстыратын, материяға тәуелсіз бос қуыс деп санап, *абсолюттік кеңістік* және *абсолюттік уақыт* деген түсініктері ғылымда ХХ ғасырдың басына дейін сақталып келді.

Идеалист философтар (Беркш, Юм, Кант және Гегель) кеңістік пен уақыт объективтік шындық екенін теріске шығарады. Олар уақыт пен кеңістікті адам санасындағы өмір сүретін немесе сана арқылы өмір сүретін, рух жаратқан бірдеңе деп санайды.

ХХ ғасырдың басынан бастап физикада болған күрт өзгерістер кеңістік, уақыт, қозғалыс және болмыстың біртума, бірлікте екенін көрсетеді. Өйткені кеңістік, уақыт және қозғалыс болмыстың өзіндік айқындықтары.

Қазақ халқы табиғатпен етене өмір сүріп келгендіктен, оның дүниетанымдық бағдарлары да осы табиғатпен ілесіп дамыды. Ежелгі қазақтың болмыс шындығына жақын болуы және болмыспен тамырластығы олардың уақыт, кеңістік тәрізді ұғымдарды адамның ішкі жан дүниесін, болмыстың мәнін түсінуімен тығыз байланысып жатты.

Адамның және оның тәжірибелік іс-әрекетінің күрделі тарихы болғандықтан, болмыстың жалпы заңдары бейнеленетін категориялардың да өзіндік даму кезеңдері болады. Тарихи және логикалық тұрғыдан алғанда адамның ойлау қабілеті, оның әлемді категориялық игеруі тікелей сфера категорияларынан (сапа, сан, мөлшер, кеңістік пен уақыт) бастау алады. Бұл категориялар адамзат тарихының бастапқы адамның ойлау қабілеті, парасаты, рухани мәдениетінің биік деңгейін қалыптастырды.

Кеңістік пен уақыт көшпелі санасының негізгі құрылымдық өлшемі болып табылады. Кеңістік пен уақыт ұғымдары қоршаған ортаны қабылдауды ұйымдастыруға себепші ретінде көрінеді. Көшпенділер санасындағы әлемді уақыт ағымын анықтауы бойынша түсініктері және кеңістіктегі мағыналық бағдарлары ата-бабаларымыздың құнды этникалық мұралары болып саналады.

Ежелгі қазақтың болмыс шындығымен тікелей байланысы, бақыланатын және қабылданатын әлемге сезімдік жақындығы, олардың уақыт, кеңістік адамның ішкі әлемін, сондай-ақ өзге де тіршілік мәнін түсінуіне әсерін тигізді. Осының бәрі шынайы болмыста орын алғандықтан, басқаларын салыстыруға болмайтын дүниетаным, әлемді танудың ұлттық түсінігі қалыптасты. Бір

сөзбен айтқанда, өзін қоршаған заттар мен құбылыстарды алғашқы қауымдық адам өзінің тікелей қандас туысы ретінде қабылдайды. Бұл дүниені мифологияландыруға алып келеді: мифологияландыру – айнала қоршаған дүниені жандандыру, оған жан бітіру, содан соң оны түсіндіру – танымдық қажеттіліктерден келіп туындайтын процесс. Таратып айтқанда, бұл процесс дүниені адами-өлшемдік деңгейде тұңғыш концептуализациялау идеясына, дүниенің мифологиялық моделін адамзаттың өлшем тұрғысынан жасап шығаруға алғышарт болып табылады. Сонымен, архаикалық мәдениетте мифологиялық дүниетаным негізінде өзіне ғана тән шындық дүние, таным және ақыл-ой концепцияларының бірлігінен тұратын мазмұндық біртұтастық қалыптасады.

Адамның саналы ғұмырының мазмұндық-мағыналық жағынан толықтырып тұрған діни-мифологиялық наным-сенім, әдет-ғұрып, ырым-жоралғы, салт-дәстүрлердің рухани тамырлары да сананың осы кезеңімен астасып жатыр. Қазақтың дүниені түсінуінде ғаламның әртүрлі деңгейлік түр-сипаты мойындалған және ондағы сан алуан бағыттағы қатынастардың орын алып отыратындығының тұжырымдалғандығы белгілі.

Түркі халықтарының байырғы өте ерте кездегі дүние жаратылысы жөніндегі мифологиялық түсінігі бойынша, жеті ғалам негізінде жатқан құндылықтардың қандай кеңістік қатынастарды туғызғанын көруге болады. Олардың таным-түсінігі бойынша, дүниенің көлденең өлшемі әлемнің төрт бұрышы – күн көзінің күндізгі жайына қарай *күншығыс*, *күнбатыс*, *оңтүстік*, *солтүстік* деп аталған (Уәлиұлы 1998: 13).

Қазақтардағы осы классификациялар туралы тілші-ғалым «Р.Б. Иманалиева (2005: 23-27) былай дейді, кеңістіктегі бағыттарды айқындаудың ең көне түрлерінің бірі – күннің көкжиектегі орнына (шығуы, батуы, түс мезгілі, түн) байланысты болған. Ол қазақ тіліндегі *күншығыс*, *күнбатыс*, *түстік*, *теріскей* т.б. сөздерде сақталған. Сондай-ақ, *түстік оңтүстік*, *теріс түстік солтүстік*, *күн түстік оңтүстік*; *түн жақ*, *түндік жақ батыс*, яғни *күн жақ – оңтүстікті*, *түн жақ – солтүстікті* білдірген. Мысалы: *күнгеі*, *теріскей*».

Ғаламдық бейненің кеңістік құрылымы мен кеңістіктің моделі арасындағы басты сәйкестік – ғалам бейнесі міндетті түрде кеңістіктің белгілерінен түзіледі. Осындай ізденіс іздерін түркі халықтарының ежелгі мәдениетінен хабар беретін жазба ескерткіштерден табуға болады. Мысалы, көне ұйғыр тілінде жазылған ескерткіштерде: *шығыс* – көк, жасыл (символы – айдаһар), *батыс* – ақ (символы – жолбарыс), *оңтүстік* – қызыл (символы – сауысқан), *солтүстік*, *терістік* – қара (символы – жылан) арқылы белгіленген. Ал көшпенділерде түр-түстерді дүниенің бөліктеріне қарай жіктеу басым болған: *қызыл* – оңтүстік, *қара* – солтүстік, *көк* – шығыс, *ақ* – батыс, *сары* – зенит (аспан нүктесі).

Бұл ретте академик «А.Н. Кононов (1975: 160) былай деп жазған, цветовая геосимволика у тюрков, по-видимому, давно вышла из активного употребления и

была заменена линейно-пространственной ориентацией. Как часто бывает в таких случаях, старое, давно забытое прочно сохраняется в отдельных практической деятельности человека».

М.И. Искаковтың еңбегінде түріктерде алты жылдық және төрт жылдық цикл қолданылғаны айтылады, сонымен бірге жануарлар аты тек қана жылды ғана емес, сонымен бірге жыл мезгілдерін және дүниенің төрт бұрышын да білдірген. Төрт жылдық цикл бойынша ұлу – көктем мен күншығысты, *бөдене* – жаз бен оңтүстікті, *барыс* – күз бен күнбатысты, *тасбақа* – қыс пен солтүстікті білдірген (Иманалиева 2005: 23).

Жаратылыстанудың мифологиялық моделінің тігінен алынған үлгісін түркі халықтары *бәйтерек* деп таныған. *Бәйтеректе* символикалық мән бар, таным бойынша әлемнің тік өлшемі үш бөліктен тұрады:

Аспан – тәңірлер әлемі (жоғарғы ғалам);

Жер – адамзат әлемі (орта ғалам);

Жер асты – аруақтар әлемі (төменгі ғалам).

Олардың бұл нанымдары *Тәңірі* – *Ұмай* жүйесінде, сонымен бірге, Күлтегін ескерткіштерінде (VIII ғ.) кездеседі. Биікте көк тәңірі, төменде қара жер жаралғанда, екеуінің арасында адам баласы жаратылған т.б. Дүниежүзілік ағаш таңбасы өрлемелік қозғалысты, жер мен аспанның тығыз байланысын білдіреді. Осы биік бәйтерекпен эпос батырлары аспан денелеріне өрмелеп жете алатын болған. Әлемдік ағаштың тағы бір атқаратын қызметі оның жоғарғы және орта дүниені үшінші әлем – төменгі дүниемен байланыстыруында. Тірілер әлемі өткен кезбен аруақтар аймағынан қатынасын үзбейді. Ертедегі түріктерде алдыңғы, артқы, оң, сол жақ олардың шығысқа қатынасына байланысты. Алдыңғы жақ барлық уақытта – шығыс жақ. Сонымен, адамдар үшін ең әуелі *аспан* мен *жерді*, *оңы* мен *солын*, *алды* мен *артын*, яки дүниенің тараптарын тану өмірлік қажеттілік еді. Осының бәрі сана арқылы сараланып, тілде көрініс табады. Көшпенділерде уақыт ұғымы тек өздеріне ғана тән түсінікте қалыптасты.

Философ-ғалым М.Орынбековтың (1998: 101) пікірінше, ежелгі қазақтардағы уақыт ұғымы алғашында күн мен түн ауысуын сезіну, аңшылық мерзімін түсінумен байланысты болды. Сонымен қатар, олар үшін жыл, кезең, уақыт ұғымдарының мәні болмады деп түсініктеме берген.

Тунджер Байкараның (2007: 7) *Түріктерде календарь – уақыт өлшемі* атты мақаласында ежелгі түріктердің қолданған календары туралы Осман Тұран және Луих Базиннің еңбектерінен мағлұматтар келтірген. Онда шөптердің немесе ағаштардың екі рет көгеруі арасындағы мерзімді *жыл* деп, ал адам өмірімен байланысты *жас* деп, екеуін бір негізден шығарады. Жыл мерзімінің 2, 4, 8 және 12-ге бөлінуі туралы мол мағлұмат берілген.

Жалпы уақыт пен кеңістіктегі кездескен нысандардың сипатын алғаш ата-бабаларымыз табиғи күйінде ұғынып түсінген, қоршаған орта мен табиғат құбылыстарындағы түрлі факторларды күнделікті өмір сүру жағдайымен етене байланыста қараған. Таңның атуы мен күннің батуы, судың сууы мен мұздың қатуы, көктің шығуы мен қурауы, заттың ұзындығы мен қысқалығы, жолдың, жайылымның, мекеннің алыстығы мен жақындығы, бір нәрсенің екіншісінен биіктігі немесе аласалығы, судың тереңдігі мен таяздығын, ауырлығы немесе жеңілдігін өзінің күнделікті шаруашылығында атқарған нысандарымен анықтап, өлшеп, межелеп, сырын ұғып, тани білген. Бұл құбылыстар дами келе уақыт және кеңістік өлшемдеріне айналған.

Шексіз кең далада мал бағу, үдере көшу, жолға жүру, түнқату, жоқ қарау және аң аулау төрт жағын анық айырудан, табиғат құбылыстарын бақылаудан туған халықтың көпжылдық тәжірибелерін қорытып, жұлдызды аспанға қарап бағыт-бағдарды белгілеп, жұлдызды аспан туралы астрономиялық түсініктерді үйретті. Сонымен, қазақ және түркі халықтары табиғи құбылыстардың – күн мен түннің, жыл мен мезгілдердің, ай жаңалануының айналып келіп отыруын мұқият бақылап, күннің ұзару, қысқару құбылыстарын да зерттеп, күн *тоқсанда торғай адым, қаңтарда қарға адым, ақпанда ат адым ұзаратынын, шілдеде шіл адым қысқаратынын* білген.

Ертедегі халықтардың ішінде тек ежелгі вавилондықтарда ғана біраз жүйеге келген өлшемдер болған. Тәулікті күн мен түнге бөлу, ал олардың әрқайсысын тең 12 мерзімді бөлікке бөлу де солардан шыққан. Ыдыстағы судың толық ағып бітетін уақытын *сағат* деп атауы да алғаш осы вавилондықтардан бастау алған. Салмақ, ұзындық, көлем тәрізді шамалардың да өлшемдері солардан тараған. Мұны төмендегі мәлімет анықтай түседі: «В результате постоянно развивающейся связей, прежде всего торговых контактов различных стран и народов, отдельные меры и их системы распространились очень широко. Например, многие системы измерений стран Средиземноморья сложились под влиянием вавилонской системы» - деп жазған (Кобрин 1984: 52).

Жер бетін мекен еткен басқа этностар сияқты қазақ және түрік халықтарының танымында да сан – мөлшер мен өлшем – межені анықтап белгілеуде ешкімге ұқсамайтын өзіндік этнотанымдық ментальдық мәдени символикаға негізделген әдіс-тәсілдерді көп қолданғаны белгілі. Мәселен, егер адамның жасын, санын, төрт түлік малдың аз-көптігін білгісі келсе, ағаш бұтағын кертіп, белгі соғатын болған, осы кертілген белгі арқылы өздеріне қажетті өлшем-мөлшерді, малының санын, өзінің жасын есіне сақтап анықтап отырған. Бұл туралы халықтық өлшемдер мен этюдтарға көңіл аударып, төмендегі мысалдар арқылы көз жеткізуге болады.

«Каймаздың (10.07.2009) айтуы бойынша, дауыс беруге қатысқан әр адам, қағазға кішкентай бір сызық сызған, төрт кішкентай сызық үстінен бір сызықпен біріктірген. Осылайша әрбір сызық тобы бес адам санын білдірген; Оқыған дуаның санын есептеу үшін әр дуадан кейін бір дана ноқат қойылған. Жүз дуа үшін бір ноқат есептелінген кездері де болған. Сонымен қатар 500-дік тәспихтерде де бұл есеп қолданылған; Қожанасыр әңгімесінің бірінде тұтқан ораза санын таспен есептеген; *Манас* дастанында дауыс беру кезінде әрбір адамның дауысы орнына қойдың құмалағы немесе ұсақ тас пайдаланғаны көрсетілген».

Соңғы кездегі ғалымдардың пікірінше, кеңістік – материяның өмір сүру формасы, ол заттардың, нәрселер мен құбылыстардың арасындағы реттілікті көрсетеді, ал мұндағы реттілік ұғымының өзі кеңістік қатынасын сипаттайтын құрылымдық элемент болып табылады. Сонымен, кеңістік пен уақыт материя қозғалысының айғағы. Әлем бейнесіндегі уақыт пен кеңістік жүйесінде ерекше көрініс беретін өлшем бірліктері дегеніміз – белгілі бір нәрсені біртектес басқа бір нәрседен айыра, салыстыра айқындайтын бірлік. Олар қатынас жасау кезінде ұзақтық, қашықтық, ұзындық, шама, көлем, уақыт, мезгіл, дана саны, т.с.с. өлшеу объектілерін нақты білдіру барысында пайда болған. Ал өлшем – бір нәрсенің көлемін, салмағын анықтайтын өлшем бірлігі. Өлшем категориясын философия тарихында алғаш кең түрде талдаған немістің ғұлама ойшылы Гегель болды. Гегель (1984) мәңгіліктің ең алғашқы нышаны пайда болады деген. Оның белгісі Гегельдің айтуы бойынша, болмыстың өзге формаларынан оралып, өзіне-өзінің қатынасының болуында, болмыс тікелей өзіне-өзінің тепе-теңдігінен, өзіне-өзінің дәнекерленген қатынасына келеді.

Заттарды сандық тұрғыдан анықтау, оның сапалық қасиеттерін тану негізінде біртектілігін, мөлшерін, көлемін ажыратудан басталады. Бір-біріне ұқсамайтын нәрселердің айырмашылығында сапалық, ал бір-біріне ұқсас нәрселердің айырмашылығында сандық сипат бар. Сан дегеніміз – затты біртекті бөліктерге бөлуге (нақты немесе ойша) және осы бөліктерді қайта қосуға болатындығын білдіретін оның айқындамасы (Философиялық сөздік 1996: 374).

Санның ұғымдық категориясының мәні тек біртектілік пен жалпылық ортақшылықпен шектелмейтінін өз заманында «Аристотель (1934: 93) мына анықтамасында көрсеткен, количеством называется то, что может быть разделено на части, каждая из которых будут ли две или несколько, является чем-то одним данным налицо. То или другое количество есть множество, если его можно счесть это – величина, если его можно измерить».

Сандық категория күні бүгінге дейін осы түсінік негізінде анықталады. Сандық айқындылық заттардың бөлшектік сипаты көптік ұғымында есептеледі, ал тұтастық сипаты көлемдік қалпында өлшенеді, мөлшерленеді.

Бөлшектік сандық, айқындылық сандық категория тұлғасында көрінсе, тұтастық сандық ұғым сапа-сындық қасиеттердің мөлшерлік тұлғасында көрініс табады. Олай болса, болмыстың әрбір өзгеше формасы, ол – өлшем екен. Өлшем даму процесінде сапаның бұрынғы қалпын қайтадан орнықтыру емес, сол сапаның сандық өзгерістердегі толыса өзгерген дәрежесі. Өлшем дегеніміз – сапаның анықталған саны, өлшемі бәрінен де бұрын тұрмыс-тіршіліктің аясында анықталған сандар, мөлшерлер, межелер, шамалар жүйесі – деп, Г. Гегель (1984: 257) ой қорытады.

Өлшем бірліктері бүтіннің бөлшегі ретінде кеңістік қатынасының құрамдас бөлігі болып саналады. Кеңістік пен уақыттың айқындықтары мен өлшемдері тек заттық, табиғи құбылыстарға ғана тән деп қабылдау адамдардың күнделікті үйреншікті сезімдерінде, ойлау салтында берік бекінген. Сондықтан, халықтық өлшем адамның айналадағы құбылыс пен заттардың алыс-жақындығын, ауқымын, көлемін, мөлшерін, жылдамдығын, уақыт мөлшерін, аласа-биіктігін, тар-кеңдігін, тағы басқа жағдайын шартты түрде болса да анықтауға арналған. Халық өлшемі ғасырлар бойы қалыптасқан, қажеттіліктен пайда болған тілдің көмегімен, бейнелі тәсілмен

дүниеге келген, нақты өмір құбылысы іс-әрекетпен тікелей жалғасты. Сондықтан да олардың күнделікті істерінде, қатынастарында болды, оларды атауды сөздермен бекітті.

Сандық ұғымның мәні көпшілік жағдайда есептеліп, дәл бір сандық мөлшерде айқындала бермейді, кей тілдік жағдаяттарда, айтылымдарда сандық мағынаның түрлі себептерге байланысты дәл беру мүмкін болмаса, екінші бір жағдайда ондай дәлдік қажет те болмайды. Мысалы, *үй айналасында үш-төрт түйе, төрт-бес жылқы жайылып жүр*. Бұл айтылымда автор малдың сандық мөлшерін дәл беруді мақсат тұтпаған, олардың аздық мөлшерін тек шамамен, аз сандар қатарымен көрсетіп отыр.

Сандық ұғымның есептік санға байланыстыра отырып шамалы, жуық мөлшерді білдіретін бұл түріне оппозициялық қатынаста тұратын бейанық көптікті білдіретін субкатегориясы есептік санға қатыссыз анық және бейанық жиынтықты білдіретін субкатегориясымен ұштасып жатады.

Бұл құбылыстардың баршасы қалай болса, солай көрінген құбылыс пен заттың әрекетіне, қимылына, ісіне, мөлшеріне қарап, соны атаудан туған дәл өлшем емес, сол заттар мен құбылыстардың образдылығына арналған, шамамен айтылған өлшем. Бірақ шамамен айтылса да халықтық өлшемдер күнделікті тіршіліктің барлық саласында қолданылатын, қажеттілікті өтейтін өлшемдердің санатында болғандығын атап айтқан жөн.

Уақыт өте келе дараланған нақты өлшемдік қатынастардың көпшілігі алғашқы кездерде қарапайым, қарадүрсін өлшеу жүйелері негізінде жіктелген еді. Өлшемнің қабылдануы мен дәлелденуі барысында бастапқыда антропометрика жүйесі негіз болған. Мысалға, қашықтық, ұзындық және кеңістік өлшемдерінде *саусақ, қарыс, аяқ, қадам*; ауырлық пен көлем өлшемдерінде *уыс, саусақ ұшы, тұтам, жұтым* сияқты бірліктер осы түрден қолданылатын болып санала алады. Бір ғажабы, халық атаулары тым ерте кездерден қолданыла бастаса да, күні бүгінге дейін тіл қолданысынан шықпай, өлшем мағынасындағы ұғымды бейнелеп, баяндаудың бір тәсілі болып келеді.

Қалыптасқан ескі салт бойынша, түйесі көп адамдар әрбір жүзінші түйенің бір көзін ағызып отырған. Сондықтан да түйесінің санын сұрағандарға бір соқыр, екі соқыр немесе тағы сол сияқты қанша жүз екеніне байланысты астарлы эвфемизмдерді жауап орнына көлденең тартатын болған. Ал бес-алты түйесі бар адамдар тіпті *түйе* деген сөздің өзін де қолданбаған. Оның орнына түйенің мойның, терісінің атауын, яғни *мойнақ* деген, ғылыми тілмен айтқанда, әрі метанимиялық, әрі эвфемистік атауды пайдаланған. Демек, *бес-алты түйем бар* дегеннің орнына *бес-алты мойнағым бар* – деп, бүркемелеп білдіретін болған (Сейітқұлова 2002: 12).

Бұл жерде сан мен санаққа байланысты қалыптасқан ырымдар мен тыйымдардың негізінде діни наным-сенімдердің жатқаны айқын. Ерте кездерде қазақ және түрік халықтары санды, межені, шаманы өлшеудің осындай сан қилы өзіндік әдіс-тәсілдерін қолданған. Біздің ата-бабаларымыз да қоршаған ортадағы әлем бейнесін өзінің этнотанымдық табиғатымен байланыстыра қараған. Таңның атысы мен күннің батысын, тәуліктік уақытты сағатпен, салмақты таразымен, қашықтық пен ұзындықты километр мен метр сияқты нақты өлшемдік құралдармен өлшемесе де, соның бәрінің өлшемін өзінің күнделікті тұрмыс-тіршілігіндегі өмірлік тәжірибесінен таба білген. Әлем бейнесіндегі уақыт пен кеңістіктің түпкі табиғаты бір болғандықтан, бір-бірімен тығыз байланыста тұратын ажырамас біртұтас құбылыс екенін де

болжай білген. Уақыт пен кеңістікті бір-бірінен ажыратпай, тұтастықты танып-түсінуді дәстүр еткен.

Этнос танымындағы уақыт пен кеңістіктің біртұтастығы өлшемдік ұғымдарды білдіретін біршама атаулардан да ерекше көрініс береді. Мысалы, *арқан бойы, тұсау бойы, найза бойы, шай қайнатым жер, бие сауым жер, ет пісірім жер, сүт пісірім жер, күндік/күншілік жер, сәскелік жер* сияқты байырғы өлшем бірліктері әрі уақытты, әрі ұзындықты, әрі қашықтықты, әрі биіктікті, сонымен бірге *найза бойы* тереңдікті әрі қалыңдықты да білдірген. Мөлшер негіздерін анықтауда еңбек құралдары, көші-қон, тіпті адамның дене тұрпаты да алынған.

Көшпенділерде уақыт ұғымы тек өздеріне ғана тән түсінікте қалыптасты. Философ-ғалым «М.Орынбековтың (1998: 101) пікірінше, ежелгі қазақтардағы уақыт ұғымы алғашында күн мен түн ауысуын сезіну, аңшылық мерзімін түсінумен байланысты болды. Сонымен қатар, олар үшін жыл, кезең, уақыт ұғымдарының мәні болмады».

Көшпелі халық уақыт өлшемдерін өзінің өмір сүру тәжірибелеріндегі процестерден алып отырған. Бұл ойымызды «Ғ.Ақпанбектің (1993: 23) мына пікірі айқындай түседі: таңмен таласа басталатын қой өргізу, бие байлау т.с.с. қат-қабат үй шаруашылығын жүргізу белгілі бір уақытпен мөлшерленіп отырады. Уақыт өлшемдерін білдіретін *бие сауым, сүт пісірім, ет асым*, т.б. сөз тіркестері бар».

Көшпенділер өзінің ұлан-ғайыр даласында осы уақыт өлшемдерінің тұспалымен арақашықтықты байланыстыра қараған. Мәселен, *сүт пісірім, ет асым, шай қайнатым* сияқты уақыт өлшемдерінің негізінде бір нүктеден екінші нүктеге қанша арақашықтық жүргенін шамалап, жобалап отырған. Осыған орай, халық танымында осы атаулармен байланысты *сүт пісірім жер, ет асым жер, күндік жер, сәскелік жер, арқан бойы, құрық бойы, тұсау бойы, найза бойы* сияқты тіркесімдер қалыптасқан. *Бие сауым жер, ет пісірім жер* (шамамен 2 сағатқа жуық уақытта жүретін арақашықтық), *сүт пісірім жер* (15-20 минуттай жүрген арақашықтық) сияқты тұрақты тіркестер *жер* сөзімен тіркесе, арақашықтықты, *уақыт* сөзімен тіркесіп келсе, уақыт мөлшерін көрсететін болған. Сондай-ақ, халықтың қарапайым тұрмыс-тіршілігіндегі қолданылатын заттар (*арқан, тұсау, найза, құрық, қамшы*) мен *бойы* көмекші есімінің тіркесуінен жасалған тіркесімдер басқа сөзбен тіркесу қабілетіне орай, кейде ұзындықты, кейде биіктікті білдірген. Бұл тіркестердің контекстік қолданылу ерекшелігіне сәйкес ұзындықты немесе уақытты мезгеп тұрғанын контекстік мағынасынан ажыратуымызға болады. Мысалы, *Арқан бойы жердің, тұсау бойы төтелігі бар* мақалындағы тіркесімдердің ұзындық мағынасында қолданылып тұрғанын аңғарамыз.

Бұдан біз көрсетілген тіл бірліктерінің уақыт пен кеңістікке бірдей қатысты екенін байқаймыз. Қазақ халқының мұндай этномәдени дүниетанымынан уақыт өлшемі арқылы қанша шақырым жер жүргенін анықтағанына қарағанда, уақыт пен кеңістікті бір-бірінен ажырата отырып, оларды біртұтас жүйе ретінде қараған деп ой қорытындылаймыз. Халық өмірінің мәдени бірлігі ретінде танылатын бұл ежелгі өлшемдік межелер, сол ұжым мүшелерінің уақыт пен кеңістікті бір-бірімен тығыз байланыста түсінгендігінен хабар береді.

Қорыта айтқанда, кеңістік пен уақыт, сан өлшемі көшпелілер санасының негізгі құрылымдық өлшемдері болып саналады. Кеңістік пен уақыт, сан мен өлшем ұғымдары қоршаған ортаны қабылдаудың себепшісі болып табылады. Көшпелілер санасындағы әлемді уақыт ағымы анықтауы

жөніндегі түсініктері және кеңістіктегі мағыналық бағдарлары ата-бабаларымыздың құнды этникалық мұрасы саналады.

Уақыт, кеңістік және сан, өлшем ұғымдары қазақ мәдениетінде ежелден өзіндік ұлттық қабылдау ерекшеліктерімен түсіндіріліп келген. Секунд, минут, сағат сияқты дәлдікпен есепке алынбаған уақыт бедері әлем бейнесін танудағы қазақ ұлтының кеңістік пен уақыт өлшемдері туралы ұғымдар да тек қазақ менталитетіне тән болмыс түрлерін танытады.

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SARBASSOVA, Guldana Aktaevna: Treatment of Time, Spatial and Numerical Measurements from the Philosophical Position

As the Kazakh people lived closely with the nature, their world outlook vectors also developed following this nature. Proximity of white Kazakhs to truth of life and solidarity with being closely bound concepts of time and space with understanding sense of essence and an interior.

As the person and his experience of activity has a difficult history, categories depicting life laws as a whole have their own stages of development. From a historical and logical position a person's ability to think, his categorical acquiring of the world directly originates from spherical categories (quality, number, quantity, space and time). These categories in the history of mankind created high levels of ability to think, nobility, and formed the spiritual culture of the initial person. The space and time is the main structural measurement of changing consciousness. Concepts of space and time are shown as a motivator in an organization of an environmental perception.

Semantic vectors of space and the concept to define the current of world time in consciousness of nomads are considered as valuable ethnic heritages of our ancestors. In connection with this reasons, in this article the following are considered: the national names of measurements concerning the concept of time, space and quantity from philosophical point of view as well as their beliefs – dogmas, mythological legends in understanding of measuring names.

Keywords: quality, number, quantity, time, space, national measurement, philosophy.



RELIGION

**САТЕРШИНОВ, Бақытжан & НАСИМОВА, Гүлнәр &
НАЗАРБЕТОВА, Әсел, & БИЖАНОВА, Меруерт &
ЖАНДОСОВА, Шолпан**

**Діни экстремизм идеологиясын талдаудың әдіснамасындағы
иджтиһад мәселелері**

Өзінің мың төрт жүз жылдық тарихында «бейбітшілік пен бағынушылықтың діні» ретінде көрінген ислам бас-аяғы отыз-қырық жылдың ішінде лаңкестік пен содырлықтың діні болып шыға келді. Жиырма жыл бойы дінаралық төзімділік пен рухани келісім саясаты жүргізіліп келген Қазақстанда 2011 жылы аяқ астынан діни пиғылдағы лаңкестік пен содырлық актілер орын алды. Соның нәтижесінде осы уақытқа дейін таңсық болып келген саяси ислам құбылысымен біздің қоғам да бетпе-бет келіп отыр.

1. Саяси ислам және діни негіздегі стереотиптер

Исламның «саясилануының» салдарынан исламшылдық, ислам идеологиясы, фундаментализмі, догматизмі, радикализмі, джихадизмі және т.б. терминдер мен сөз тіркестері «сәнге» айналып, қоғамтанушылар тарапынан бұл күрделі құбылысты шынайы ғылыми тұрғыда зерттеуге деген қажеттілігімен қатар кедергілерін де тудырды. Әсіресе, бұл мәселедегі ислам мен саясат арақатынасы тәрізді кейбір концептуалдық және методологиялық сұрақтар өз шешімін күтуде. Көптеген өзге мәселелердегі сияқты бұл сұрақтың жауабын табуда да көзқарастар алшақтығының шектен шыққан формалары бар. Біреулер діннің саясатқа мүлдем қатысы жоқ десе, екіншілері бүкіл діни жүйені саясаттың өзіне айналдырады.

Осы уақытқа дейін материалистік және атеистік дүниетаным салдарынан қалыптасқан дін мен ғылым арасындағы кереғарлықтың бүгінгі күні біртіндеп жойылып, жақындасуы барысында Батыста Құранның жекелеген аяттарын «тәфсірлеумен», ғылыми зерттеумен айналысатын орталықтар құрылуда, сонымен қатар, ислам мен оның саясатқа қатынасын зерттейтін тұтастай институттар құрылып, олардың зерттеулерінде исламның жағымды да жағымсыз бейнелері қалыптастырылуда.

Әрине, бұл тұста ақпараттың қандай қайнардан алынып отырғандығын, оның риясыздығы немесе жасандылығын, объективтілігі немесе субъективтілігін, бейтараптылығы немесе тенденциялық бұра тартушылығын, ғылыми негізділігі немесе үстірт бағалаушылығын ескеру өте маңызды. Бұл мәселеге 2011 жылы Бүкіләлемдік ислам экономикалық форумының ашылымында Президент Нұрсұлтан Назарбаев ден қойып, өз сөзінде жаһандық БАҚ дін мен терроризмнің арасына теңдік белгісін қойып, исламды дискредитациялауына, демонизациялауына алаңдаушылық білдірді. «Бейбітшілік пен қайырымдылықтың, төзімділік пен әділеттіліктің діні ретіндегі» исламның жағымды бейнесін қалыптастыруға күш-жігер жұмсаудың қажеттілігін

айтты. Көп жағдайда болып жатқан оқиғаларға шұғыл талдау жасайтын сарапшылардың ғылыми теориямен қатар, теологиядан, иман негіздерінен терең хабары болмағандықтан, үстірт баға береді. Олардың арасында дінтанудың «сәнге» айналуынан желігіп, қоғамда қалыптасқан «исламдағы эндогендік радикализм» туралы жалаң стереотиптердің жетегінде жалпы дүрмекке ілесіп жүргендер де жоқ емес.

Шындығында басқа да барлық әлемдік діндер сияқты ислам мен лаңкестіктің үш қайнаса сорпасы қосылмайды. Қазақстан Республикасындағы дінтанушылардың бірінші форумында Жоғары муфтий Әбсаттар қажы Дербісәлі Тараздағы лаңкестік оқиғаларды айыптайкеле, террәктілерді «исламға қарсы қылмыс, дінді жамылып жасалған кез келген қаталдық сол діннің өзіне қарсы жасалған қылмыс», - деп атап өтті.

Діннен алыс, исламнан хабары жоқ осындай шаласауатты интеллектуалдар экстремизм мен терроризмге қарсы әрекет етпеді деп Қазақстан мұсылмандары діни басқармасын кінәлап та жатады, тіпті бұл құқықбұзушы құбылыстардың ошағын мешіттен іздеп жатады. Осылайша діни уағыздардағы ерекшеліктерді (діни ағымдар туралы пікір айтудан, қаралаудан, күйе жағудан аулақ болу, дінге жалаң уағызбен емес, көркем мінезбен, терең діни біліммен тарту, лаңкестік туралы көп айтып, қоғамды қоздырғаннан гөрі, көбірек жақсы сөз айту, пайғамбарлар мен сахабалар өмірінен ғибратты әңгімелер айту, жамандықтан жирендіру мен жақсылыққа үйретудің әдейі таңылмаған (дінге тартудағы жаңа діни ағымдар мен секталардың әдіс-тәсілдері сияқты емес) бейтарап әдісі арқылы жүзеге асуы) терең білмеуінің салдарынан исламды саясат ауқымына кіргізуге өздері де үлес қосатынын аңғармайды.

Жалпы әлемде орын алып отырған «исламшылдық» айғағынан Қазақстан да тыс қала алмады. Тәуелсіздікке қол жетісімен дәстүрлі дінді жаңғыртудың жалпы жағымды үдерісінің аясында жергілікті тариқатты ұстанушы зікіршілерді айтпағанда, жатжерлік салафизм, уаххабизм, дәғуатшылар (тәблиғ-жамағат), хизб-ут тахрир, ахмадия және т.б. ағымдардың елге еніп, қоғамда алаңдатарлықтай діни ахуал қалыптастырғаны белгілі. Елдегі діни ахуалға ықпал етіп, өздерінің саяси және фундаменталистік сипатымен ерекшеленіп отырған ағымдардың қатарына «Халифат сарбаздары» деген ұйым да қосылды. Сондықтан дінге қатысты мемлекеттік саясат Қазақстанды мекендейтін халықтардың 70 пайызы мұсылмандар екенін ескеріп, ислам дінін зерттеуге баса назар аударып, жергілікті халықтың ғасырлар бойы ұстанып келген ханафи мазхабына, радикализммен үш қайнаса сорпасы қосылмайтын оның ақидасы (иман негіздері) мен ғықына (құқықтық-этикалық ілім) насихаттауға үлкен көңіл бөліп отыр. Әдетте ислам мен оның саясатқа қатынасы, жоғарыда айтылғандай, радикализммен қате байланыстырылады және ол көпшілігінде бүкіл ислам әлеміне тән деген жалған стереотип қалыптасқан. Солтүстіктегі көрші түшкірсе, біздің оңтүстіктегілердің ауырып қалатынын, яғни ислам дініне қатысты құндылықтық көзқарасқа Батыс пен Солтүстіктің айтарлықтай ықпалын ескерсек, бұл стереотиптерден арылу үшін оның жалғандығын ғылыми тұрғыда негіздеу керек болады.

2. Мұсылман әлемі және ислам интеллектуализмі

Осы орайда жалпы «ислам әлемі» бар ма деген сұрақ туындайды. Иә, Ислам әлемі, Дар аль-ислам, Muslim world терминдері әртүрлі тілдерде қолданыс табуда және мұсылман діні таралған аймақтарда біртұтас мәдениеттің бар екені даусыз. Бір жарым миллиард ұстанушылары бар деп есептелетін Исламның қандай формада да болмасын әлемге таралып жатқанын, танымал адамдардың да, қарапайым адамдардың да исламды қабылдап жатқанын теріске шығаруға болмайды. Либералдық бағдарымен сипатталатын «евроислам» ұғымы да пайда болды.

Дегенмен, «мұсылман әлемі деп аталып жүрген аймақтарда ауызбіршілік бар деп айтуға келмейді. Егер бар десек, онда ол мұсылмандыққа таңылған жала. Ал егер мұсылмандық жоқ дейтін болсақ, онда ол адамдарға таңылған жала болар еді» [1, 147 б.]. Оның үстіне, әдетте ирандық және саудтық түбірге ие теріс және лаңкестік пиғылдағы топтар қашанда ат төбеліндей ғана аз болған, оларды бүкіл мұсылман әлемі мен қарапайым діндарлар қолдап отыр деудің жөні жоқ. Әлемдегі мұсылмандардың 90 пайызын Аһли-сунна уәл-жамаға (сунниттер) құраса, ондағы заңды 4 мазхабты (Ханафи, Шафиғи, Мәлики, Ханбали) ұстанушылардың басым көпшілігі ханафилер болып табылады. Сондықтан діни пиғылдағы лаңкестікті бүкіл исламға таңу қисынға қонбайды.

Әдетте мұсылмандар мен арабтар арасына теңдік белгісін қояды. Ислам тарихында дінді түсіндіріп, таратуда арабтар мен араб еместердің арасында қайшылықтар болғаны белгілі және мәуәлилердің (араб еместердің, әсіресе, парсылар мен түркілердің) үлкен жетістіктерге жеткені анық. Сондай-ақ қазір де исламның заманауи мәселелеріне келгенде, дін саласында өзіндік саясат ұстанып отырған Қазақстанды айтпағанның өзінде, Малайзия мен Түркияның тәжірибесін айналып өтіп, Араб Таяу Шығысының бүгінгі болмысы сөз болады.

Алайда қазіргі мұсылман әлемінің ахуалын айқындайтын факторлардың бірі кезінде бүкіл әлемде жетекші рөл ойнаған ислам өркениетінің бүгінгі күні «әлсіз, шеткері аймаққа» айналуын мойындау болып табылады. Мұсылман қоғамдарының ішкі моральдық және рухани құлдырауы ислам теологиясы мен философиясындағы, ғылымы мен технологиясындағы шығармашылық және интеллектуалдық күштердің сарқылуынан (атрофиясынан), Батыстың ғылыми жетістіктеріне деген енжарлықтан, уақыт ағымы барысында діннің догматизмге бой алдыруынан аңғарылады. Әлем алдында тұрған мәселелерге араласудан алыс, қауқарсыз, қараңғылықта қалған бұл кеңістікте өзгелермен сұхбат құра отырып, ғалам туралы ой өрбітіп, бүгінгі заман мен болашақ туралы адамзатқа ортақ пәтуа айта алатындай ғұламалар тапшы болып отыр.

Жалпы ислам дінінде Пайғамбар мен турашыл халифтер, сахабалар мен табиғиндер заманынан кейін төрт мазхабтың негізін қалаушы имамдар, Хасан Басри, Баязид Бистами, Имам Ағзам Әбу Ханифа, Имам Ғазали, әл-Ашари, Матуриди, Имам Раббани, Әбдулқадір Гейлани т.б. сынды жалпы мойындалған ғұламалар, Йасауи, Руми, Нақышбанди, Сухраверди тәрізді тариқат негізін қалаушылар, сондай-ақ қазақ халқынан шыққан Абай мен Шәкәрім тәрізді хақимдер ақидада (иман негіздерінде) бір-бірінен алшақ кетпейді. Бірақ кейіннен олардың ілімдерін басқа мақсаттарда бұрамалайтындар табылады. Әр ғасырдың өз ғұламалары болған.

3. Санадағы әдіснамалық ақтаңдақтар және иджтиһәд мәселесі

Саяситәуелсіздікке қол жеткізгеннен кейінгі жиырма жыл ішінде қазақ халқының қоғамдық санасындағы түбегейлі өзгерістер тарихи тағдырдың тәлкегімен ұмыт болған ұлттық дәстүр мен мәдениетті, тіл мен дінді қайта жаңғыртуымен сипатталды. Бірнеше ғасыр бойы отаршылдық пен тоталитаризмнің ықпалымен мәдени деградация мен трансформацияға ұшыраған ұлттық мәдениетті қайта өркендету, ең алдымен, түбегейлі құндылықтарды, оның ішінде адамдарды рухани тұрғыда оятатын діни дәстүрді қайта жаңғыртуды қажет етеді. Осы уақытқа дейін тыйым салынып келген халықтың тарихи өткенін толығымен, жан-жақты зерттеулер арқылы қалпына келтіру, тарихи сананы қалыптастыру арқылы мәңгірттік жағдайдан арылуға ғасырлар бойы қалыптасқан қазақ халқының ұстанып келген ханафи мәзхабындағы ислам дінін бүгінгі заманның парадигмасына сай түлетумен қатар жүруі тиіс.

Қазақ халқының дәстүрлі мәдениетінің діңгегін де, ұлттың өзіндік санасының өзегін де құрайтын ислам дінінің дүниетанымдық мәселелері философия мен ғылыми әдіснамадағы басы ашылмаған «ақтаңдақтардың» бірі болып табылады. Күні кешеге дейін әлеуметтік болмысты талдаудың жалғыз лайықты тәсілдері деп есептеліп келген әмбебап еуроорталықтық әдістер, оның ішінде монистикалық тәсілдің шеңберінде екі тұжырымдама – маркстік формациялық тұжырымдама қоса, постиндустриалдық қоғам теориясы «әдіснамалық нәсілшілдіктің» салдарынан ислам өркениетінің өзіндік ерекшеліктерін назардан тыс қалдырды. Тек соңғы XX ғасыр бойы еуропалық рационалистік дүниетанымның тығырыққа келуі барысында, сондай-ақ шығыс халықтарының «мәдени империализммен» күресі барысында ғана «эндогендік дамудың» өркениеттік түбірлері зерттеу жұмыстарының тақырыптарына айналды. Осыған сай, ғылым мен философияда үстемдік етіп отырған әмбебап екі әдіснаманың – дәурені өтіп бара жатқан формациялық парадигма мен жалпы ортақ теориясы болмаса да, белгілі бір қоғам мәдениетінің барлық формалары мен руханилығының негізін құрайтын субстанциясы өркениет түрінде мойындалған өркениеттік парадигма аясында мұсылман дініндегі иджтиһәд әдіснамасын қайта қарастырудың маңызы зор.

Ислам діні мен ілімін дұрыс түсіну үшін Құран мен Суннаның жалпы рухынан туындайтын өзіне тән әдіснаманы қолдана білу шарт. Қазақстандық зерттеуші Ғалым Жүсіпбектің пікірінше, «дінді еуроцентристік және позитивистік-материалистік тұрғыдан түсіндіру өз мәні жағынан біржақты әрі таптауырынды болып табылады және Исламға қатысты өзекті мәселелерге лайықты жауап бере алмайды. Қазіргі ғалымдар өткен ғасырлардағы сияқты позитивистік-материалистік парадигмалармен тұйықталып қалмауы керек, өйткені басқа да (постпозитивизм, креационизм, ислам парадигмасы және басқалары сияқты) парадигмалар бар» [2]. Бұл автор өзінің бірқатар мақалаларында [3] ислам мен азаматтық қоғам арақатынасы, зайырлылық ұстынындағы үлгілер, ислам мен терроризм алшақтықтары туралы әдіснамалық тұрғыда да, ғылыми тұрғыда да, діни тұрғыда дәлелді әрі салмақты ойларды қозғайды. Оның пікірінше, неоориенталистік таптауырындар мен жабыстырмалардың салдарынан «исламиязм» мен терроризм арасына тікелей параллельдер жүргізіледі, бұл түбірімен дұрыс емес. Біріншіден, «саяси исламды» «исламиязм» (исламшылдық) деп атау қате, өйткені «саяси ислам – терроризм емес, бұл белгілі бір саяси мақсаттарға жету үшін Ислам ілімін құралға айналдыру (қолдану). Екіншіден, стереотиптер мен

нақты шынайылықты ажырата білу керек. Өйткені, ең алдымен, ислам дүниетанымына (әсіресе, Аһли Сунна түсінігінде) сәйкес Құдайға құлшылық кез келген саясаттан жоғары» [2].

Бүгінгі ислам ойшылдардың осы заманғы әлеуметтік және саяси құндылықтармен сәйкес келетіндей ұғымдармен исламды түсіндіруге ұмтылуы әдетте, радикалдар тарапынан наразылық тудырады. Бұл тұста бұрын беймәлім болып келген жаңа таңсық ахуалдарға қатысты іргелі ислам қағидаларын қолданудың құралы ретінде «иджитхәд» мәселесі алдыңғы орынға шығады.

Кей жағдайда саяси исламға қатысты өз пікірін үстірт айтатын адамдар көбіне Құранның аудармалары мен әдейі іріктелген әлсіз хадистерге сүйеніп, өз көзқарастарын таңуға бейім тұрады. Олар мұсылман құқығы – шариаттың Құрандағы құқықтық-этикалық қағидалар мен Мұхаммед пайғамбардың хадистерінен тұратын діни-этикалық бастаулармен қатар, мұсылман қоғамының біртұтас келісімі – иджмалармен сипатталатын арнайы құқықтық қайнарлардан құралатынын естен шығарады. Нәтижесінде бүгінгі күні белең алып отырған мұндай жеңілтек шешімдер заңнамалық ретсіздік пен заңдылықтың дағдарысын тудырады, байыбына терең бойламай қабылдана салатын қоғамдық пікір қалыптасады. Ислам тарихынан белгілі, Мұхаммед пайғамбар дүниеден өтіп, уәхи тоқтағаннан кейін діннің өзге мәдени орталарға таралуы барысында күнделікті өмірде туындаған кез келген мәселенің шешімі аят-хадистерден (настан) табылмаса, алдыңғы қатарлы сахабалар, тәбиғиндер мен тәуа-табиғиндер, мүджтәхид ғұламалар мен факих ғалымдар Құран мен Суннаның негізінде қияс (аналогия) әдісін қолданып, рай мен иджитһәдқа (ыждаһат – дұрыс шешімге келу үшін күш-жігерді жұмылдыру) жүгінген. Мүджтәхид (иджитһәд әдісін қолданушы) ғалымдардың бір діни үкімге бірауыздан келісуі иджма деп аталады.

Исламшылдар арасында иджитһәдты қолданудың шекарасы мен пәтуа беруге кімнің құқығы бар екендігіне қатысты пікірталас бар. Оның бір жағында діни үлемдер болса, екінші жағында көбіне батыстық білім алып, батыстық елдерде тұратын «ислам интеллектуалдары» тұр. Бұл интеллектуалдардың «беделді иджитһәдқа» деген дін иелерінің дәстүрлі монополиясына таласы бар.

Жалпы мойындалған иджитһәдтің заңдылығының түбінде екі шарт болуы тиіс: біріншіден, оны қолданушы адам құқық әдіснамасына қатысты дәлелдеменің барлық шариаттық әдістерін білуі тиіс, екіншіден, ол осы әдіс-тәсілдердің рухын меңгеріп қана қоймай, өзі құқықтық қисынды ақылға жүйрік болуы керек. Сол сәттегі ғана емес, болашақта да туындауы мүмкін деген ғықтық мәселелерге қатысты миллионнан аса иджитһәд жасаған Әбу Ханифа осы әдіснама мен құқықтық мектептің негізін қалаушылардың бірі ретінде дін ілімінде ерекше орны бар тұлға болып саналады. Оның өзі мен шәкірттерінің заманында ислам әлемінде өркен жайған бұл ерекше бай әрі қайталанбас құқықтық мәдениет мұсылман қауымына зор игілік әкелді. Ислам дүниесіндегі бұл ең ірі ақидалық-құқықтық мектептің қазіргі әлеуметтік-мәдени болмысқа жақын қалалық ортада, дүниетанымдық плюрализм мен мәдени-өркеніеттік әртектілік (гетерогендік) жағдайында Басра қаласында VIII ғасырда дүниеге келіп еді. Алайда уақыт өте келе, жаттандылық пен көзсіз еліктеудің, дүмшелік пен догматизмнің салдарынан иджитһәд дәстүрінің өмірлік кеңістігі тарыла түсті. Дегенмен бүгінгі діннің жаңғыруы барысында, ислам интеллектуализмінің оянуы аясында тақуалығы мен ақылы жарасқан, жан-тәнімен жауапкершілікті түсінетін адамдардың арқасында иджитһәд өнері қайта өркендеуі әбден мүмкін.

4. Саяси ислам түсінігінің қалыптасуы мен оның кейбір қырлары

Құндылықтардың қазіргідей қайта бағаланып жатқан тұсында, сенім мен білімнің, дін мен ғылымның өзара жақындасқан кезінде, парадигмалардың алмасып, монизмнен плюрализмге өту барысында иджтиһәдтәжірибесін саяси сипат ала бастаған діни-экстремистік топтардың идеологиясын талдауға қолдануға болады. Тұтастай алғанда «саяси ислам» терминінің өзінің бейтарап екендігін айта кету керек, бағалаушы немесе айыптаушы пікірлер нақты бір исламшыл қозғалыстың немесе ұйымның көзқарастарына, мақсаттары мен құралдарына қатысты айтылады. Халықаралық қауымдастықтың қазіргі құқықтық нормаларына қайшы келмеген жағдайда бұл қозғалыстарға өз бағдарламаларын жасауға, оны жүзеге асыруға мүмкіндік берілуі тиіс. Бұл тұрғыдан алғанда, саяси исламның таңсық болатындай ештеңесі жоқ, ол басқа да «дамушы әлем» елдері сияқты бүгінгі әлеуметтік, саяси, құқықтық, экономикалық және адамгершілік мәселелермен бетпе-бет келіп отыр. Ол отаршылдық бұғауынан босап, өз бірегейлігін орнықтыру барысында күнделікті өмірдің барлық саласындағы күрт өзгерістермен, урбанизациямен, әлеуметтік құрылымның бұзылуымен, дәстүрлі құндылықтардың шайылуымен сипатталатын жаңғырту (модернизация) мен жаһандану (глобализация) үдерістерінен туындаған көкейтесті мәселелерді шешуге тырысуда. Ислам тек діни дүниетаным ғана емес, ол өмірдің тәртібі, белсенді өмір сүрудің мәдениеті. Батыстың бұқаралық тұтынушылық мәдени тегеуірініне қарсы тұруға қабілетті исламды сыртқы формалды түрде ғана емес, оның рухы мен ішкі мәнін түсіне ұстанған жағдайда, ол көркем мінезді тұлға, адал азамат, салауатты отбасы, ізгі қоғам қалыптастыруға оң әсерін тигізеді.

Американдық белгілі исламтанушы әрі саяси сарапшы Грэхэм Фуллердің «Саяси исламның келешегі» деп аталатын еңбегінде «саяси ислам» мен «исламшылдық» бір мағынада қолданылады. Бұл автор «ислам фундаментализмі» терминін «Құранды тұтас рухымен емес, тар әрпімен оқуды» жақтайтын және исламды жалғыз өздерін ғана дұрыс түсінеді деп пайымдап, өздерінен басқа кез келген көзқарасқа төзімсіздік танытатын исламшылдардың ғана ұстанымы деп түсіндіреді. Ал жалпы исламшыл қозғалыстар мұсылман әлемінде азаматтық қоғам институттарын құруға, жағымды әлеуметтік өзгерістер қалыптастыруға қатысады және де басқа бағдардағы партиялармен салыстырғанда анағұрлым белсенді қатынасады. Олардың әрі теориялық әрі практикалық белсенділігінің арқасында мемлекеттің бақылауынан азат жаңа қызмет салалары мен аймақтары пайда болады. Шынайы саяси исламның негізгі құндылықтары - әлеуметтік және экономикалық әділеттік, қоғамды басқаруда сыбайластыққа жол бермеу, ахлақты нығайту және ислам мәдениетін сақтау [4].

Г. Фуллердің пікірінше, ислам радикализмі мұсылман әлеміндегі интеллектуалдық және саяси шоғырдың аз ғана бөлігін құрайды, алайда оның мәні ондағы белсенділерінің бір бөлігінің өшпенділігімен және зорлық әрекеттерге, оның ішінде ірі террорлық актілерге дайындығымен айқындалады. Бұл радикалдардың барлығы да фундаменталистер болып табылады, төзімсіздігімен көзге түсіп, панисламдық мемлекеттің утопиялық көзқарасын ұстанады. Қазіргі саяси, әлеуметтік және экономикалық жағдайлар мұндай топтардың пайда болуына қолайлы болғанымен, олар мұсылмандардың бетпе-бет ұшырасып отырған салмақты мәселелерін шеше алмайды. Мұны исламшылдар билік басына келген әлемдегі үш елдің – Иранның, Суданның және Ауғаныстанның тәжірибесінен байқауға болады. Үшеуінде де исламшылдар эволюциялық және

демократиялық жолмен емес, әлеуметтік революцияның, әскери төңкерістің және азаматтық соғыстың барысында билікке келді. Осылайша күшпен билікке келу «зорлықтың мұрасы» мен авторитарлық құрылымды қалыптастырып, заңдылықтың эволюциясына кедергі келтіреді. Бұл режимдердің бір де бірі игілік әкелетініне өз халқын сендіре алмай отыр. Дегенмен, бұл американдық автор егер халықаралық тәртіп исламға қатысты бітімгершілік түрге келіп, терроризм жойылатын болса, Палестина мәселесі әділ шешілсе, мұсылман елдерінде адами потенциалды іске асыруға кедергі келтіретін тосқауылдар алынса саяси исламның болашағына сеніммен қарауға болатынын түйіндейді.

Саяси исламды ұлтшылдық, социализм, либерализм және коммунизм сияқты идеологияларға балама ретінде қарастыруға болмайды. Атқаратын функцияларында кейбір ұқсастықтар (идентификация мәселелеріне байланысты өз мүдделеріне қарай этностық факторды пайдалану сияқты) болғанымен, саяси исламды жалпы мұсылман әлемінің саяси өмірі мен саяси мәдениетінің құрамдас бөлігі деп қарастырған дұрыс. Бірақ, Ислам дін мен сенім ретінде саяси исламнан бұрын тұрғандықтан, Құраннан қандай да бір саяси теорияны немесе мемлекет үлгісін іздеп, оны саяси ұранға айналдырудың мүлдем жөні жоқ.

Құранның көптеген аяттарында, сондай-ақ Суннада Құдайдың еркі бекітіледі, биліктің қандай да бір топқа, рухани көсемдерге немесе шіркеулерге (теократиялық басқаруда осындай болады, ал исламда дінбасылар кастасы немесе шіркеу институты деген болған жоқ) тиесілігі туралы ештеңе айтылмайды, керісінше биліктің жауапкершілігі туралы айтылады. Сондықтан исламның бұл бастау көздерінен абсолюттік монархия туралы да, классикалық демократия туралы да, диктатура немесе анархия туралы ешқандай мәлімет табылмайды. Жалпы исламды идеологияландыру әрбір мәселені көппен келісіп шешіп («шура», «сұхбат»), өзгеге зиянын тигізбейтін құқыққа негізделген мұсылмандық жүйеге, исламның өзінің рухына қайшы келеді. Исламдағы басқару бағынушы мен басқарушы арасындағы заңды келісімге негізделеді. Ал бұл заң үстемдігі (оны басқарушы да, бағынушы да сақтауы керек) Алланың Еркі мен Сөзіне сүйенуі тиіс. Мұны белгілі бір дәрежеде Руссоның «қоғамдық шарт» тұжырымдамасымен және құқықтық мемлекет идеясымен салыстыруға да болады.

Исламшыл қозғалыстардың және олардың әлеуметтік, саяси функцияларының алуан түрінен ислам радикализмі және ислам либерализмі (жадидизмнен бастау алады) деп анықтауға болатын екі идеологиялық алшақ ұстанымды бөліп қарастыруға болады. Г. Фуллер өз пікірінде демократияны, адам құқықтарын, плюрализм мен азаматтық қоғам құндылықтарын жақтайтын либералдық немесе модернистік (кейде «ағартушылық», кейде евроислам терминдері де қолданылады) исламшылдық әуел бастан оған «мультикультурализм» тән болған исламмен толық сәйкес келеді деп есептейді. Исламның негізгі постулаттарына сәйкес, бұл дін қоғамның әртектілігін, әр алуан этностық, діни топтардың болуын алдын ала «априори» қабылдайды. Исламның қайнар көздері бойынша адамдардың арасында дінге сенетіндер мен сенбейтіндердің, әрқилы наным-сенім өкілдерінің болуы, сондай-ақ әр алуан нәсілдер мен халық өкілдерінің өмір сүруі Жаратушының даналығы мен құдіретінің бір белгісі болып табылады [5].

Өзінің қазіргі формасы мен қоғамдық пікірдегі мағынасында саяси ислам өзінің бастауын ресми түрде әлі күнге дейін өз саяси белсенділігін сақтап келе жатқан 1928 жылы Мысырда «Мұсылман бауырлар» ассоциациясының құрылуынан басталады. Дегенмен, мұның алдында

Мысырдағы Жамаладдин әл-Ауғани, Мұхаммед Абдо, Пәкістандағы Мұхаммед Икбал, Сайид Ахмад хан, Әмір Әли ілімдері, Ресей империясындағы (кадимизммен қайшы келген) жәдидтік қозғалыстар бұл құбылыстың алғышарты болды десек қателеспеспіз. 1975 жылы американдықтардың Вьетнамда жеңіліс табуымен және Африкада португалдықтардың империясының күйреуімен әлемдік деколонизацияның аяқталуына дейін саяси ислам ұлт-азаттық күреспен сипатталды.

Исламшылдықтың күшейген екінші кезеңі өткен ғасырдың 80-жылдарынан басталады. РФА Шығыстану институтының ғылыми қызметкері Б.В. Долговтың пікірінше, оның «екі маңызды факторы болды. Біріншісі Иранда вестернизацияны (батыстандыруды, «ақ революцияны») жүзеге асырмақшы болған проамерикандық шах режимін құлатқан ислам революциясы (1979 ж.). Екінші фактор – социалистік идея туы астында көрінген ауған режимі мен оны қолдаған кеңес әскерлеріне қарсы соғысқан өздерінің муджәхидтер (дін күрескерлері) қатарына бүкіл ислам әлемінен мыңдаған мұсылмандарды тартқан Ауғаныстандағы азаматтық соғыс (1979 – 1992 жылдар). 90-жылдардың басынан бастап саяси сахнаға радикалды салафилер қозғалысы шығады. Оның Ауғаныстан мен Пәкістанда орналасқан барынша лаңкестік тобы - «аль-Каиданы» атышулы Уссама бен Ладен басқарды. Егер бұрын олардың басты міндеті жихад жолымен Ауғаныстандағы кеңестік бағдардағы үкіметті құлатып, ол жерден кеңес әскерлерін қуып шығу болса, ендігі жерде басты қарсылас АҚШ болды» [6].

5. Ислам фундаментализмінің идеологиясы және догматизм

Әдетте, ислам фундаментализмі дегенде қазіргі салафизм немесе уаххабизм ағымы ұғынылады және оның өкілдерін «жаңа хариджиттер» (хариджиттер туралы төменде айтылады) деп те атайды. Қатаң монотеизм – тәухидті шектен тыс абсолюттендіру, («үкім беру – Аллаға ғана тән»), Пайғамбар мен турашыл халифтер заманынан кейінгі жаңашылдықтарды бидғат деп қабылдау, ұлттық дәстүрлердің көріністерін ширк (серік қосу) деп есептеп, оларды күпірге санау, сондай-ақ араб тіліндегі «сәләф» сөзінің өзі (аударғанда – «бұрынғылар») бұл бағытты фундаментализмге жақындатады. Саудтық сәләфилер арабтық уағызшы Мұхаммед Әбд әл-Уаххабтың (1703/4–1797/8) діни тұжырымдамасын ұстанды. Олар сондай-ақ Құран мен Суннадан өзге, сунниттік төрт мазһабтың ішіндегі ең қатаңы болып саналатын ханбалилік мазһабтың имамы XIII ғасырда өмір сүрген Ибн Тәймийаға ғана жүгінетін скриптурализмімен ерекшеленді. Уәххабшылдық Сауд елінде ресми мойындалғанымен, олардың «бастапқы» исламды қалпына келтіруге деген ұмтылысы билік басындағы басқарушы режимнің мүддесімен сай келмей отыр.

XX ғасырдың 60-жылдарынан бастап Сауд Арабиясында Бүкіләлемдік мұсылман лигасы құрылғаннан кейін уаххабшылар елден тысқа шығып, ислам әлеміне тарала бастады. Басқа да трансұлттық, қайырымдылық қорлар, сондай-ақ өз елдерінде қуғынға ұшыраған Мысырлық, одан кейін Сириялық «Мұсылман бауырлар» ұйымының идеологтары Сауд Арабиясына көшіп келіп, уаххабизмнің саясилануына өз үлестерін қосты. 1973 жылғы мұнай эмбаргосы ислам ұйымдары мен қорларына ықпалды экспансия үшін мол қаржылық мүмкіндіктер берді.

XX ғасырдың 80-жылдары Ливан мен Палестина саяси исламның қайнаған ортасына айналды. «Хамас» (Ислам қарсыластығы қозғалысы) сунниттік қозғалысы «Мұсылман бауырлар»

ассоциациясының бөлігі ретінде 1987 жылы Газа секторында құрылып, Израильдің оккупациялаған палестиналық жерлерді азат ету мен шариатқа негізделген палестиналық мемлекет құруды өзіне мақсат қойды. Ал 1982 жылы Ливанда құрылған «Хизб Аллах» шииттік қозғалысының саяси күш ретінде Ливан парламенті мен үкіметінде өкілдері болды.

1998 жылы Бен Ладен «Сионистер мен айқыш ұстанушыларға қарсы бүкіләлемдік ислам майданын» құру туралы пәтуа жариялағанда, оны Мысыр, Пәкістан, Бангладеш, Алжир елдерінен бірқатар радикалды ислам ұйымдары қолдады. Содан бері әлемнің әртүрлі жерлерінде террорлық актілер сериясы жасалды. 2003 жылы АҚШ әскерлерінің басып кіріп, Саддам Хүсейін режимін құлатқаннан кейін Ирак шииттер мен сунниттердің арасында үнемі қақтығыс орын алып отыратын радикалды исламшылдық «полигонына» айналды.

Жалпы исламшыл қозғалыстарды байсалды және радикалды (жихадшылар мен ультра радикалды тәкфиршілер) деп бөлер болсақ, қазіргі кезде олардың байсалды бөлігінің жеңіске жетіп отырғанын байқауға болады. 2007 жылдан бері Түркияда байсалды исламшыл «Әділет және даму» партиясы билікке келіп, оның көшбасшысы Тайиб Эрдоган премьер-министр, оның пікірлесі Абдуллаһ Гүл президент болып отыр. 2011 жылғы «араб көктемінің» нәтижесінде байсалды исламның саяси партиялары Тунистегі, Мароккодағы, Мысырдағы, Кувейттегі парламенттік сайлауларда жетістікке жетті, Ливияның Өтпелі Ұлттық кеңесінде олардың алатын орны едәуір күшейді, сондай-ақ сириялық «Мұсылман бауырлардың» оппозициялық қосындағы рөлі күшейді.

Демографиялық зерттеулерге сәйкес, 2009 жылы әлемде 1,57 млрд. мұсылман болса, оның 18%-ы ғана араб елдерінде тұрады. Мұсылмандардың жартысынан көбі – 62 %-ы Оңтүстік-Шығыс Азия елдерінде (Индонезияда – 203 млн., Пәкістанда – 174 млн., Үндістанда – 161 млн., Бангладеште – 145 млн., Қытайда – 21,5 млн., Малайзияда – 15,5 млн. мұсылман) тұрады [6]. Бұл елдерде соңғы жылдары исламшыл ұйымдардың белсенділігі байқалады. Мысалы, соңғы 50 жылда мұсылмандар ең көп тұратын ел - Индонезияда кейбір исламшыл топтар (мысалы, «Нахдат уль-улама», «Ласкар джихад», «Дар аль Ислам» ұйымдары) арақідік ислам мемлекетін орнатуға ұмтылғанымен, елдің мұсылман қауымдастығы бұл идеяны қабылдамады.

Қазіргі кезде ақпараттық шу туғызып отырған ислам фундаменталистерінің идеологиялық тұғырнамалары мен саяси тұжырымдары туралы мәліметтер көп емес. Радикалды сипатымен ерекшеленетін саяси исламның идеологиялық бастауында көбіне дін ғұламалары мен үлемдер емес, діни емес саяси интеллектуалдар тұрады, сондықтан оны ислам дінінің ішіндегі өзекті бағыт деп қабылдауға болмайды. Өтпелі тарихи кезеңдер мен дағдарыстарда орын алып, қоғамдық институттарды түбірімен өзгерту үшін қандай да бір көзқарастар мен тұжырымдарды шектен тыс әспеттейтін радикализм (латынша *radix* – түбір) және олардың қолданған қарулы күресі екінші дүниежүзілік соғыстан кейінгі ұлт-азаттық және революциялық қозғалыстарда діни ғана емес, зайырлы белгіге де ие болатын. Фундаменталистердің идеологиясы туралы жанама (тікелей емес, өйткені көп жағдайда қазіргі кезде төзімсіздігімен көзге түсіп жүрген көптеген ағымдар заңды мазхабтарда тұрған бастапқы өз рухани көсемдерінің ілімдерін бұрмалайды) мәліметтерді уаххабизмнің негізін қалаушы саналатын Мұхаммед Әбд әл-Уаххабат-Тамимидің «Тәухид кітабынан», А. Маудиди (кәсібі – журналист) мен С. Кутб (әдебиетші) сияқты «Мұсылман бауырлар» ұйымының, Т. Нахбани тәрізді «Хизбут-Тахрир» ұйымының негізін қалаушы

көшбасшыларының, сондай-ақ аятолла Р.М. Хомейнидің ғылыми және саяси мақалаларынан, Ю. Карадави, М. Крикар, Х.Тураджонзода, М. Омар, Х. Иззеддин, Х. Машааль, Р. Гайнутдин, А. Рашид және т.б. танымал мұсылман және қоғам қайраткерлерінің сұхбаттарынан алуға болады. Сол сияқты «Мұсылман бауырлар», Аль-Каида, ХАМАС, Хизб Аллах, Хизбут-Тахрир, Талибан және т.б. атышулы саяси партиялар мен ұйымдардың бағдарламалық құжаттарын дереккөз ретінде алуға болады.

Фундаментализмнің догматтық жолды, кейде фанаттық жолды ұстанатыны белгілі. Догматизм (грек тілінде δόγμα – ілімі, пікір, шешім дегенді білдіреді) – сын мен күмәнге көнбейтін мәңгі қағидаларға сүйенетін ойлау тәсілін білдірсе, фанатизм (грекше – Φανατισμός латынша *Fanaticus*) өзге көзқарастар мен сенімдерге төзімсіздікпен қоса, өз ұстанымына көрсоқырлықпен сенетін шектен тыс энтузиазмнің эмоционалды көрінісін білдіреді. Әрбір адамның өзінің сана-сезімі мен ақыл-ой қабілетін толық пайдаланбай белгілі бір қағиданы немесе беделді көрсоқырлықпен қабылдаумен түсіндіретін догматизмнің, шартқа байланушылықтың белгілерін кез келген діннен табуға болады. Оның айғақтарын ислам тарихының ерте кездерінен-ақ кездестіруге болады. Мысалы, хазіреті Әлидің халифалық кезеңінде оның Мұғауиямен арасындағы шиеленісті шешуге қарсы болып, «үкім беру тек Аллаға ғана тән» деген сөзге тістей жабысып, алдыңғы қатарлы сахабалардан бөлінген топ харижиттер («хуруж» - шығу) деп аталды. «Ақидасын қызғыштай қорып, шаң жуытпайтын, сырттай асқан діндар болып көрінетін олар діни мәтіндерді сөзбе-сөз түсініп, көрсоқырлыққа байланды, ақырында ақылмен әрекет ете алмайтын күйге жетті. Күнә жасағанның бәрін кәпір деп, оларға қарсы соғысып, адам қанын суша ағызды» [8, 313 б.]. Бұл харижиттік экстремизм кейінірек захиризм (Дәуіт әл-Захири мен әл-Хәзм оны жүйелеп, кітаптар жазған) арқылы уахабизмге ұласты. Сондай-ақ шиизмнің де ерте кезден мұсылман әлемінің бірлігіне сызат түсіргенін атап өту керек.

Ал діннің өзінде ата-баба идеологиясына табыну немесе еліктеу («Аталарымызды қай жолда тапсақ, біз де сондамыз», Маида сүресі, 104-аят), шарттанумен алдыңғыларға сәйкес кесімді үкім шығару құпталмайды. Мұндай рухани жағдай тәкаппарлық пен әділетсіздікке жол беріп, адамның ақылы мен имандылығына зиян келтіреді. Жоғарыда айтылғандай, Құран кәрімде иджтиһәдқа орын берілген тұстар жеткілікті. Ислам тарихында әр ғасырда өмір сүрген ғұламалар Құранның рухынан ауытқымай отырып, өз заманының парадигмасына сай пәтуа беріп, көзқарастарын білдіріп отырған. Ендеше Құранның өзінде оны талдауға, тәпсірлеуге ашық тұстар болса, өмірдің сан алуан басқа салаларын талдауға неге болмасқа?!

Экстремистік пиғылдағы фундаментализмге ислам дінінде орын жоқ, өйткені мұсылманшылықта ынтымақ пен ауызбірлікті бұзатын бүлік (фитнә) пен лаңкестік (экстремизм) құпталмайтыны бәсенеден белгілі. Осы уақытқа дейін исламның ханафилік мәзхабын ұстанып келген қазақ халқының дәстүрлі құндылықтар жүйесінде де бұлар теріс қылық ретінде түсіндіріледі. Оған қоса, әділетсіздікке қарсылық көрсетудің басқа да бейбіт формалары бар.

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SATERSHINOV, Bakhytzhan & NASSIMOVA, Gulnar & NAZARBETOVA, Assel & BIZHANOVA, Meruyert & ZHANDOSSOVA, Sholpan: Islam in the Era of Globalization

The article analyzes the intellectual problems of Islam of finding solutions to the pressing issues of contemporary modernization and globalization. In doing so it reveals some of the conceptual and methodological aspects of political Islam. Subjected to research are the challenges that political Islam faces, including the major trends.



POLITICS

MARÁCZ, László

Revolt at the Danube: Tensed Relationship between Hungary and the European Union¹

Victor Orbán is under fire in Europe. His policy meets resistance and is little understood. Furthermore, Orbán is in the media very negatively pictured. What moves Orbán and his Fidesz-party?

Since the governmental change in 2010 is the Prime Minister of Hungary, Viktor Orbán, and his centrist coalition Fidesz (Hungarian Civic Union) and KDNP (Christian Democratic People's Party) is exposed to a negative information campaign in the Western media; not even soundbites as "Viktator" and "Orbanistan" are spared in this campaign. The opponents of the Hungarian government use this terms to express that in their view Hungary has become an authoritarian regime and therefore unworthy of the membership of the European Union. The question is to what extent these opinions about Hungary are correct. The present article demonstrates that the political, juridical and financial-economic policy of Prime Minister Orbán can only be understood if placed in context. When analysing the political situation in Hungary one must keep in mind that the greatest part of the government and the society does not believe any more in the effectivity of a neo-liberal, capitalist global order. This is the reason behind the radical change of direction in Budapest and behind the fact that the restitution of the own juridical and financial-economic sovereignty became the backbone of political policy.

The 2010 Hungarian elections

In April 2010 the centrist coalition of the Hungarian politician won with a spectacular result. With this, the eight-year long "left-liberal" rule came to an end which in 2009 brought Hungary to the edge of a financial 'meltdown'. During the 2010 elections the Fidesz-KDNP coalition won by a landslide, in which the 'young democrats' increased their share of votes to 68.13% as compared to 42.49% in 2006. The centrist coalition got therefore about two-third of the seats that is 263 seats (compared to 164 in 2006). Just as great the victory of the Fidesz-coalition, so was the defeat of the left-wing. In 2010 the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) got 15.28% of the votes as compared to 49.22% votes in 2006, which means 59 seats of the 386 that the Hungarian Parliament holds. From governing party the socialists converted to a mediocre political force. This election drama of the left has not yet been processed. The results showed that the Hungarian electorate lost their confidence in left-winged politicians.

¹ Originally published in Dutch under the title '*Rebellie aan de Donau: gespannen verhouding tussen Hongarije en de Europese Unie*' in July 2013 in the *Internationale Spectator*, the journal of the Clingendael – Netherlands Institute of International Relations, a Dutch think tank and diplomatic academy that aims to enhance insight in international relations. The article can be accessed at the following address: <http://www.internationalespectator.nl/article/rebellie-aan-de-donau-hongarije-en-de-eu>.

English translation: Éva Patrícia Murakeözy.

Context

The spectacular win of the Fidesz was by no means the merit of the Fidesz exclusively. The historical defeat of the left was mostly due to the policy the left parties followed. This policy came into operation following the 2002 elections. The period between 2002 and 2010 was characterized by political and financial-economical failures, corruption scandals, violations of human and civil rights, and trampling upon Hungary's democratic achievements.

Directly following the 2002 elections, the new Prime Minister, the MSZP list puller Péter Medgyessy, admitted that he had worked as a spy in the negotiations between the communist Hungary and the IMF from 1979 to 1982. Although Hungarian communists apparently independently negotiated about loans with the IMF, there worked local agents as Medgyessy for the Soviet secret service KGB. The public opinion in Hungary was shocked. It was a painful realization that Hungary, which joined the NATO in 1999 and was preparing to join the EU, was led by a former Soviet spy. In spite of this untenable situation, Medgyessy was replaced only in 2004 by his minister of youth affairs and sports, Ferenc Gyurcsány, who used to work as the last secretary of the communist youth movement (KISZ). In his function, Gyurcsány managed to accumulate a fortune by speculating with the immovables of the youth movement². Through his marriage with Klára Dobrev he joined the network of ex-communist oligarchs, who managed to transfer the financial power they grabbed during the communist era through foreknowledge about privatization and speculation to the post-communist era³. In this way, with the help of the 'red oligarchs', the way was open for Gyurcsány to the highest political office in the newly formed Hungary.

In 2009 Hungary barely escaped the economic meltdown

In September 2006 leaked out already that Prime Minister Gyurcsány forged Hungary's macro-economic statistics in order to be able to win the 2006 spring elections. He accounted for the public a budget deficit below three percent, in line with the Maastricht criteria, although in reality the deficit was above ten percent.

In 2009 Gyurcsány announced that Hungary was running the risk of not being able to pay his duties. In order to avoid bankruptcy, Gyurcsány pleaded the IMF for financial help, what he got immediately. His position became untenable due to his open approaches to the regime of Vladimir Putin through his plans of choosing a Russian gas pipeline in the south corridor, the so-called 'South Stream', instead of the European Nabucco-variant. Next to it, the appointment of the KGB-educated Sándor Laborc to head of the national security, provoked distrust among his western allies⁴. Great Britain protested and pointed

² About the political survival strategies of the ex-communist nomenclature of Hungary see: L. Marác, 'Pressing the Reset Button on US-Hungarian Relations', in: G. Scott-Smith (red.), Obama, US politics and transatlantic relations, in: change or continuity? Vol. 50 European Policy, Brussel: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2012, p. 169-181. See also the references in this article for further information.

³ K. Dobrev's grandfather was Antal Apró, communist to his fingertips, and former president of the Hungarian People's Republic. After 1989 a real 'red dynasty' has been assembled around the Apró-clan.

⁴ For an overview on interlinkages between the Hungarian ex-communists and Putin's Russia see Marác, a.w. noot 1.

out that Hungary might become a security risk to the NATO⁵. Not only got the left-liberals and the ex-communists entangled in a financial-economic bankruptcy problem, they also ran into trouble in an ethical question. The question arose whether it was allowable in politics to lie about the situation of the country. This was the tradition which characterized the communism in Hungary; but could this policy be continued in a democratic constitutional state? According to Gyurcsány and his men yes, and the Prime Minister saw no reason to resign⁶. His staying brought discredit to the new Hungarian constitutional state.

In this background of financial-economic and moral bankruptcy took place the 2010 elections, in which the triumph of Viktor Orbán and his Fidesz party was well known in advance. The Fidesz promised his electorates to clear the decks. Orbán announced to his supporters that his Fidesz-government would not recoil from the radical reforms just because the challenges would be “so titanic”⁷. The party won a ‘landslide’ victory. The two crucial political objectives of the new Fidesz-government were the constitutional and the financial-economic reforms⁸.

Constitutional Reforms

The Hungarian Constitution from 1949 which had a Stalinist signature, was in 1990, following the first democratic elections, in several points amended. In spite of the amendments the constitution did not meet the demands of a modern democratic constitutional state. So the separation of powers, *de Trias Politica*, was not unequivocally defined. However, it was a political decision of the reformist communists and the previous oppositional groups who prepared the transition to a democratic society not to adopt a new constitution. The Hungarian communists in the course of the so-called Roundtable conference in 1988-1989 decided to divide the power voluntarily with the united opposition. This opposition, mostly composed of non-legitimate groups such as the Fidesz, was invited by the communists to take part in the process. During the negotiations the communists built in several safety-valves in order to secure that the new Hungary would not accuse the ex-communists with fundamental human rights violations and economic mismanagement during their dictatorship. In the course of the Roundtable it was established that the constitution would fundamentally be changed only on basis of a more than two-third majority in the parliament. The communists, who later changed their name to socialists, supposed that this situation in the highly fragmented Hungarian political landscape would never occur.

Due to the Fidesz’ overwhelming electoral victory the first possibility to fundamentally change the constitution presented itself in 2010. Since then there is a new Hungarian constitution and almost 400 new laws came into force giving Hungary a totally new juridical basis. Despite the fact that according to

⁵ In this question see the British and other international reactions: ‘International reactions to the appointment of the Hungarian secret service chef’, *Budapest Analyses*, no. 183, 25 February 2008 (http://www.budapestanalyses.hu/docs/En/Analyses_Archive/analyses_183_en.html, retrieved 8 May 2013).

⁶ ‘Premier Hongarije vraagt parlement om vertrouwen’, *Trouw*, 3 October 2006.

⁷ See the text of the overwinningsspeech at http://www.miniszterelnok.hu/beszed/koszonto_beszed_a_valasztasi_gyozelem_utan, retrieved 8 May 2013.

⁸ For further discussion on the Hungarian constitution see: L. Marác, ‘Revolutie en liberalisme in Hongarije’, *Liberaal Reveil*, jrg. 53, 2012, nr. 1, blz. 21-25.

the amended constitution it was not necessary to consult the Hungarian citizens about formulating a new constitution, the Orbán-government invited each citizen in written mail to comment on it. In this way the Hungarian citizens all got the possibility to let their opinion be heard. The -mostly European-critique concerning the Hungarian constitution focuses on what according to the critics can be named as a "liberal deficit". The new constitution would be an attempt of Orbán *cum suis* to secure his staying in power for a long period; to undermine the system of 'checks and balances' such as the independence of the legal power what characterizes a democratic society; to tie the hands of the authorities of the Constitutional Court; to restrict media freedom; to hinder the introduction of the euro; to force a Christian ideology on the Hungarian society; to diminish the citizen's freedom, for example by forcing students -upon acceptance of a governmental fellowship- to work in Hungary for a couple of years after graduation; to subjugate religious institutions to governmental assessments; to emphasize traditional family values and thereby causing anxiety among Hungarian atheists, homosexuals and one-parent families⁹.

In several aspects the Hungarian Constitution is pro-European in an exemplary fashion

These critics come mostly from the representatives of European greens, liberals and socialists¹⁰. The Orbán-government got into political and legal dispute with the European Parliament and the European Commission in order to show that the Hungarian government's policy does not violate any European value or any European right.

In spite of all critics it cannot be demonstrated that this constitution is "nationalist" or "anti-European" is. Nor grants the Hungarian constitution free rein to the government. The text of the Hungarian constitution is rather a hybrid compilation of European and Hungarian viewpoints. In the preamble of the constitution positions are adopted concerning important episodes of the history of Hungary which can be seen as a reinforcement of the national identity, a process which has been taking place, next to Europeanization, in the course of the past twenty years in Hungary¹¹.

The title of the constitution, 'God bless the Hungarian' is the very first line of the Hungarian anthem which is indeed a prayer. This reference to God does not mean that the "Christian-national values" would form the exclusive directive of the Hungarian constitution. It is however admitted that Christian ethics and spiritual heritage played a very important role at the formation of the Hungarian state, under the direction of the first Christian King of Hungary, Saint Stephanus (1000 AD). Moreover, a reference to 'God' and 'Christian heritage' in the constitution is nothing particularly Hungarian. Similar references can be found in the constitution as well as in vital laws forming the constitution in a large number of member states, such as the United Kingdom in the Magna Charta (1215), Greece (1975), Ireland (1937),

⁹ For critics about the Hungarian constitution, see: 'Hungary's parliament passes controversial new constitution', *Deutsche Welle*, 18 april 2011 (<http://www.dw.de/hungarys-parliament-passes-controversial-new-constitution/a-14998392-1>, retrieved 8 may 2013)

¹⁰ See Guy Verhofstadt, March 21, 2013. Time to suspend Orbán's voting rights, *EUobserver.com/Opinion* (<http://euobserver.com/opinion/119530>, retrieved 8 may 2013)

¹¹ The official English translation of the Hungarian constitution can be found on the website of the Hungarian government: <http://www.kormany.hu/download/4/c3/30000/THE%20FUNDAMENTAL%20LAW%20OF%20HUNGARY.pdf> (retrieved 8 may 2013)

Poland (1992), Malta (1964), Germany (1949) and Slovakia (1992). Only in the case of Hungary are references to 'God' and 'Christian heritage' seen by critics as an attempt to force a Christian ideology on the Hungarian society. How these critics think about similar references in the constitutions of other EU-member states, remains in the discussions unclear¹².

In the Hungarian constitution the disassociation from the crimes committed by the totalitarian regimes of the 20th century is declared. The outrages of the Nazism as well as those of the communism are condemned. This is understandable from the perspective of the victims and their successors in Central and East-Europe where, next to the Holocaust, also the communists' terror acts led to enormous human suffering. Inside Fidesz circles we find many who signed the Prague Declaration. This declaration about European Conscience and Communism was signed in Prague, on the 3rd of June 2008 by a number of prominent European politicians, former political prisoners and historians. The signatories, among them the former president of the Czech Republic Václav Havel and the current president of Germany Joachim Gauck, called for the condemnation of the communist crimes next to those of the Nazism. The Fidesz-politicians do not understand that the left-liberals in their country, but also in Europe, stand up against the use of Nazi symbols but not against those of the communism, such as the hammer and the sickle. Finally, the Hungarian constitution is pro-European in an exemplary fashion in several aspects. For example, in article E (1) it is stated that Hungary is committed to guaranty the security, well-being and freedom of the European nations in order to help the realisation of the European integration. The reference to 'European integration' in the constitution of a member state is rather unique. The articles (25-28) of the constitution state the independence of the legal power, totally in line with the Trias Politica, a common principle of the modern state organisation in Western Europe.

Economic policy

The economic reforms that Orbán introduced directly after his coming to power are maybe even more important than the constitutional reforms. The economic 'meltdown' from which Hungary barely escaped in 2009 had to be prevented from re-occurring, otherwise this and similar situations would bring Hungary into a hopeless future in poverty. However, under the left-liberal government the debt of Hungary increased to 56 milliard dollars, about 80% of the GDP, an obvious infringement of the Maastricht criteria. In striking contrast with the above is the fact that from the '80s hundreds of milliard euros have been pumped out illegally from Hungary to so-called 'offshore'-paradises¹³. The ex-communists and politicians of the MSZP bear great responsibility for that. They were the ones who left the lead for the Hungarian banks which -after the fall of the communism- were taken over by Western banks and continued to function as dependences of these Western banks. The carrier of the above mentioned socialist politician Péter Medgyessy, who between 1990 and 1994 worked as president and director-general of the French bank Paribas in Hungary, is typical for a generation of ex-communist

¹² See Verhofstadt, *a.w. noot* 9, for European critics of the Hungarian constitution who interpret the Christian references as ideological.

¹³ For more details see the rapport of the tax Justice Network (http://www.taxjustice.net/cms/front_content.php?idcat=148), issued 22 July 2012.

politicians¹⁴. According to a report issued in 2012 by John Christensen, previously *offshore*-banker and director of the independent London-based Tax Justice Network, calculated that in the timespan following the revolution the capital flight from Hungary, in other words, the tax evasion, amounted to about 183 milliard euros¹⁵. This equals three times the total debts of Hungary!

Already in his first governing period (1998-2002) Prime Minister Orbán raised criticism on the fact that the power of multinational companies, and among them, the private media-imperia, was disproportionately big in Hungary. Also because the average salary in Hungary is about 450 euro per month and Western prices have to be paid, Orbán found that it was not the responsibility of Hungarian citizens alone to foot the bill of Hungary's debts. Therefore the Hungarian government decided to counterweight the financial-economic injustices. For this reason, quickly after Orbán-II took office in 2010 a decision was made that the banks were to take part in bearing the burden of the crisis by means of a bank tax. In an interview for the Polish public broadcaster TVP on 19 January 2012 Orbán said that since the introduction of the bank tax he found himself facing the whole financial world and being in a real war¹⁶. The 'economic war' became a conflict between Hungary on one side and the financial world and countries with much financial interests in Hungary such as Austria and Germany, on the other side. The financial institutions which must have been deeply involved in the gigantic capital flight from Hungary, consider themselves victims of the Orbán-government. By reason of the bank tax the foreign banks either threatened with leaving Hungary –it has never actually happened- or they squeezed the European Commission to apply sanctions on Hungary¹⁷.

Hungary and the Union

The recent conflicts between Hungary and the EU are going on two fronts. The financial world and the European Parliament (EP) understood well that the 'left' in Hungary was eliminated. For this reason the left-liberal parties in the EP took over the function of the Hungarian opposition.

Up to now no EU-institution is able to prove that Hungary is transformed into a dictatorship

With each constitutional or legal reform the same thing repeated over and over and over again. The left-liberal European politicians reacted as if stung by a wasp. One of the most vehement opponents of Orbán in Europe is the Belgian liberal politician Guy Verhofstadt, who regularly takes stand against what he calls the "Orbanisation" of Hungary¹⁸.

¹⁴ For the Curriculum Vitae of Péter Medgyessy see: http://www.tvk.hu/en/about_tvk/investor_relations/corporate_governance/board_of_directors/peter_medgyessy (retrieved 8 may 2013)

¹⁵ Tax Justice Network, *a.w. note 12*.

¹⁶ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KB1bOOxluck> (retrieved 2 may 2013)

¹⁷ See: <http://www.hongarijevandaag.nl/portal2/economie-mainmenu-27/2571-banken-spreken-bericht-over-vertrek-tegen> (14 october 2012, retrieved 8 mei 2013); *Trouw*, 2 january 2011

¹⁸ Verhofstadt, *a.w. noot 9*

Subsequently similar political attitudes translated into the ‘mainstream media’ in political campaigns, thereby giving the impression that in Hungary a courteous “dictatorship” was developing. The EP and the media pressed the European Commission to “immediately intervene” and “to adopt the nuclear option”. In case when the principles of the European Union would be systematically violated by a member state the European Council can suspend its voting right in the council, in the so-called ‘article-7 procedure’ which is also called “nuclear option” in European jargon¹⁹. The European Commission, in the person of the concerned commissaries Neelie Smit-Kroes (digital agenda), Viviane Reding (justice and civil rights) and Olli Rehn (economic and monetary matters), threatened Hungary alternately with sanctions and considering the nuclear option.

Upon reflection they repeatedly came back to the subject. Thereby the Hungary-dossier was sent to the Venice Commission. This commission, the European Commission for Democracy through Law is an advisory body of the European Council aimed at expressing the spirit of the European Union and assisting individual countries which will improve their legal and political institutions. The Venice Commission concluded that at some points the laws could be improved but they could not effectively demonstrate that it was “anti-European”. The Foreign Minister of Hungary, János Martonyi, who had called the Venice Commission to action, tried to express his opinion about the Hungarian constitutional changes to the Commission but drew a blank²⁰. Obviously, this commission is reluctant to get too deep into the politically quite sensitive Hungary-dossier. Yet Hungary showed its cooperativity in improving laws. It also went under infringement proceedings, two of which went to the Court of Luxembourg. The European Union can initiate infringement proceedings against those member states which appear for the Commission irrespective to the European law. If the state in question and the European Commission cannot find a compromise, the case is brought to the Court of Luxembourg. Three times began the European Commission an infringement proceeding against Hungary (see text box for an overview).

Infringement proceedings

According to the European Commission, the independence of the jurisdiction, of the data protection supervising and of the Central Bank of Hungary was not guaranteed in the constitution. The European Commission therefore initiated an improvement of the relevant laws. Finally, it seemed contented with the improvements the Hungarian government made in the law concerning the Central Bank of Hungary²¹. In the two other cases no agreement was reached between the parties. These two cases were finally brought to the Court of Luxembourg²². The Court concluded that the Hungarian constitution cannot forbid judiciary continuing to work until they are seventy. The early retirement of the judiciary in their 65th would be discriminatory. The Hungarian government wanted to retire judiciary “early” from their jobs, in order to regularize the retirement age at 65 for the whole governmental personnel²³. The Hungarian government accepted the opinion of the Court of Luxembourg and changed the law. The case concerning the data protection supervisor is still open.

¹⁹ The nuclear option, regarded as a serious penalty, had already been applied once by the Commission, without much success however, on Austria in 2000 to protest against the participation of Jörg Haider’s extreme-right FPÖ in the Austrian government.

²⁰ <http://www.kormany.hu/hu/kulugyminiszterium/hirek/martonyi-felkerjuk-a-velencei-bizottsagot-hogy-mondjon-velemenyt> (retrieved 8 may 2013).

²¹ http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-12-395_en.html (retrieved 8 may 2013)

²² See ‘European Commission launches accelerated infringement proceedings against Hungary’ (http://ec.europa.eu/commission_2010-2014/reding/multimedia/news/2012/01/20120111_en.htm, retrieved 8 may 2013)

²³ See http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-12-832_en.htm (retrieved 8 may 2013)

The final proof that Hungary is transformed into a dictatorship has not been presented up to now by any institution of the European Union.

Up to now prime minister Orbán has been three times present on the 'debates' about Hungary, what is rather exceptional²⁴. He debated with representatives of the left parties; the Party of European Socialists (PES), the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats (ALDE) and the European Greens (EGP). Those members who took the floor seemed to speak in an emotional, arrogant way and showed an inadequate knowledge of the Hungary-dossier. Besides, the Fidesz could count on its equivalent, the Christian-Democratic European People's Party (EPP), the largest parliamentary faction. During the EP debates the popularity of Orbán, who defended the standpoints of his government in a dignified manner, increased at home. Each debate raised his popularity in Hungary. Thanks to his popularity the Fidesz convincingly won all mid-term elections for the Hungarian parliament in the course of the previous months. The suggestion that the supporters of Orbán would dwindle was not justified.

The iron curtain was replaced by a financial-economical dividing line between 'East' and 'West'

Guy Verhofstadt, president of the European liberal faction was right to say that Hungary was an important ideological and political battlefield concerning the future of Europe. Orbán is an intergovernmentalist who will hold on to the planning of the Union in terms of sovereign national states, meanwhile Verhofstadt is a federalist who will eliminate the national state in order to grant place to a European supranational state. This ideological difference involves different policies and political actions as well as different ways to combat the economic crisis. The effects of the crisis were much earlier tangible in Hungary than in the Western-European member states. Hungarians and other Central- and East-Europeans were watching with great disquiet during the past decennia that in spite of the 'eurospeak' about European integration, solidarity and concordance, the Iron Curtain was replaced by a financial-economical dividing line between 'East' and 'West'. The average real net income of the citizens and authorities in Middle and East-Europe is a long way behind that of Western-Europeans.

This situation has not really changed in the course of the past twenty years. The EU-accessibility of the Central- and East-European countries could not eliminate the dividing line. To describe this situation analyses in terms of 'center-periphery' are applicable where Hungary is obviously laying in the periphery, not in the center²⁵. The EU -by means of the transnational connections and the internal market with free movement of services and capital- in countries with weak government aggravated the existing situation as shown by the massive tax evasion practices. It is characteristic for the Central- and East-European 'periphery' that there are harmful social phenomena, such as poverty, 'brain-drain', low pensions, high unemployment rates, poor legal status of the employees, environmental pollution, worsening of the health care service, and, last but not least, the phenomenon of "Othering", a stereotyping of East Europe in the West, perfectly illustrated by the soundbites "Viktator" and

²⁴ László Marác, 'Europese Commissie en Hongarije op ramkoers', *Armix*, jrg. 96, 2012, p. 24-25

²⁵ See about 'centrum-periphery'-analyses the work of Marxist political-economists, such as Immanuel Wallerstein or Kees van der Pijl, who named the Western centrum of the world economy 'Lockean' opposing to a 'Hobbesian' centrum.

“Orbanistan”. According to Orbán, the market economy has to be urgently reformed based on a new moral foundation if it is to stay credible for the nations in Central- and East-Europe²⁶.

Orbán noted that the European membership does not protect against political and financial-economic arbitrariness. The EU applies double standards. Commissioner Rehn threatened Hungary with losing half milliard euro cohesion fund because the budgetary deficit was expected to be exceeded by 0.2% for 2013; meanwhile countries which infringed the euro-criteria with several percentages can still count on generous treatment²⁷. The reason for Rehn’s policy is unclear. Hungarian euro-parlamentarians from the Fidesz see it as a new attack from the European Commission to knock Hungary into line, though euro commissioner Reding denies the possibility of a “war against Hungary”²⁸.

Viktor Orbán and his party wish to fight out each political action against trans- and supranational institutions time and again because people want to rely on a strong state. It is this fight, by now a revolt, which is responsible for the tension between Hungary and the Union.



²⁶ See the speech of Viktor Orbán on the crisis of the capitalism: [http://nol.hu/archivum/orban_meghirdette a kapitalizmus valsagat](http://nol.hu/archivum/orban_meghirdette_a_kapitalizmus_valsaगत) (retrieved 2 may 2013)

²⁷ See the interview with Tamás Deutsch, the Hungarian EP member of the Fidesz faction on the Union’s double standards: <http://szegedma.hu/hir/szeged/20012/03/deutsch-kettos-merce-az-eu-ban.html/print/> (retrieved 2 may 2013)

²⁸ MTI, 8 april 2013, ‘Reding says EC ready to force Hungary into compliance over dismissed judges, urges Budapest to stop press “attacks”’ (<http://www.politics.hu/20130408/reding-says-ec-ready-to-force-hungary-into-compliance-over-dismissed-judges-urges-budapest-to-stop-press-attacks/>, retrieved 9 may 2013)

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Afghanistan and US Interests in Central Asia

In late 1990s, the Taliban moved away from the American orbit of influence, US policies based on democracy and human rights towards Central Asia failed and numerous and diffused threats emerged as primary geopolitical challenges. As a consequence, the US interests and role in Central Asia received a blow. The US looked for an overriding global threat around which it could organize its geopolitical interests. The al Qaeda's attack on twin towers in the US on September 11, 2001 transformed terrorism into a threat with such global significance and the US' militaristic approach culminated in the War on Terror. The US' interest in Afghanistan was partly driven by the fact that it provided the long-term justification for the former's stay in the region with its problem of terrorism and drug-trafficking. However, the geopolitical significance of Afghanistan remained in the interconnectivity that it provides to various important regions and between the Indian Ocean and the Eurasian landmass. The Lisbon Summit of November 2010 between NATO and Afghanistan and the Strategic Partnership Agreement of May 2012 between US and Afghanistan foreground the long-term American interests in Afghanistan and Central Asia.

During the Cold War period, West Asia and South Asia were seen as the key areas of geopolitical concern to the US. South Asia's importance was derived from the fact that it was the site of Cold War rivalry involving the US, the USSR and China. These rivalries were partly mediated through the India-Pakistan face off. The end of the Cold War fundamentally eroded Sino-Russian and US-Russian rivalry in South Asia. The American attention shifted from South Asia to Central Asia where huge power vacuum erupted after the disintegration of the USSR. The US wanted to reach out to the former Soviet Republics to prevent Russia from consolidating its control in the Eurasian heartland once again. Secondly, the resource potential of the Central Asian states which was much publicised in the 1990s attracted the American attention to exert control over these natural resources and come out with a plan to multiply the pipeline system to rid them of both Russian and Iranian control. The Clinton Administration fostered regional cooperation with Central Asia relying on multilateral institutions such as NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) initiative and the Central Asian Economic Community. PfP allowed the partner Central Asian countries to build up an individual relationship with NATO, choosing their own priorities for cooperation. Starting from late 1990s, the US Congress passed bills that called for diversification of energy supplies from the Central Asia and Caspian region (Chi-Lin, 2008, p. 338). The Bush Administration after assuming office released an energy policy report indicating that the exploitation of Caspian energy resources could not only benefit the economies of the region, but also help mitigate possible world supply disruptions, a major US security goal.

Both the Clinton and Bush Administration considered Afghanistan vital for the American Central Asian strategy for variety of reasons. First, it is geographically contiguous with most of the Central Asia states. It is natural that an increasing role in Afghanistan would facilitate a greater American role in Central Asia. Secondly, it provides an alternative route to transfer Central Asian energy resources to the world market bypassing Russia and Iran. Thirdly, influence in Afghanistan is vital to realise the American plan of a 'Greater Central Asia' to move Central Asia out of Russia's orbit of influence towards Afghanistan and Pakistan. Fourthly, military bases in Afghanistan and in the surrounding region are considered important by the US foreign policy makers to check the moves of Russia, China and Iran, the primary conventional threats in the post-Cold War era as Afghanistan is situated in the middle of various continents and provide inter-linking routes. Fifthly, it is believed that the geo-strategic situation of Afghanistan would allow the US to develop multidimensional strategies based on ocean and land as well. Historically, all the great powers wanted to master both naval and continental strategies but could develop only one and therefore their power was challenged at one time or the other.

It is noteworthy that in the 1990s it was through Afghanistan that the US sought to spread its influence towards Central Asia. There were signs of American support for the Taliban as a counterweight to Iranian influence in Afghanistan and further its influence in Central Asia undercutting both Iranian and Russian influence there. Achin Vanaik says, "Even after the accession of the Taliban to power in Afghanistan in 1996, the US was by no means averse to improving relations with a Taliban-controlled Afghanistan, including giving formal diplomatic recognition. It came close to doing so on a number of occasions between 1996 and the 1998 bombings of the US embassies in East Africa" (Vanaik, 2004, p. 112). Ahmed Rashid observed, "The Clinton Administration was clearly sympathetic to the Taliban, as they were in line with Washington's anti-Iran policy and were important for the success of any southern pipeline from Central Asia that would avoid Iran. The US Congress had authorised a covert \$20 million budget for the CIA to destabilise Iran, and Tehran had accused Washington of funneling some of these funds to the Taliban – a charge that was always denied by Washington" (Koshy, 2003, pp.63-64).

To justify their support for the Taliban, the US officials, on different occasions, said that the Taliban should be acknowledged as an 'indigenous movement' and that they were vital to stability in Afghanistan as they had demonstrated staying power. Robin Raphel, the in-charge of the Central Asian region in the US State Department, paid two visits to Kabul to meet the Taliban government functionaries. The US State Department spokesman Glyn Davies said that the US found 'nothing objectionable' in the steps taken by the Taliban to impose Islamic law. He described the Taliban as anti-modern rather than anti-western. By declaring its neutrality in the Afghan Civil War, the US had in effect withdrawn its recognition of the national unity government of President Rabbani, and had therefore, by implication, given recognition to the Taliban (Tarock, 1999, p. 815). However, with the Taliban turning away from the US, the American interests in Central Asia received a setback.

There were three factors that alienated the Taliban from the US. The 1998 bombings of the US embassies in East Africa, violation of human rights specifically women's rights, opposition to which found resonance in various protests in the US and unwillingness to cooperate with the US to apprehend Osama bin Laden distanced the Taliban from Washington. However, the US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright was reported to have said that, were the Taliban to cooperate with Washington on bin Laden, it

would facilitate US recognition of the movement as the legitimate government of Afghanistan (Complete 9/11 timeline, 2010).

Though overt US military action against Taliban occurred only after 9/11, there are credible reports that point to the planning in the US to take military action against Afghanistan and oust Taliban months before 9/11. Once the US realised that the Taliban could not be a trusted ally to foster American interests in Afghanistan and Central Asia, it started covert military operations against the Taliban (Koshy, 2003, pp.63-64).

Failure of American Policies towards Central Asia

In the 1990s, while on the one hand the US considered good relationship with the Taliban vital for its long-term interests in Central Asia, it promoted policies based on democracy and human rights in Central Asia on the other. After the disintegration of the USSR, the Clinton Administration believed that by aggressively engaging the newly independent Central Asian states, the US would be seen as taking advantage of Russian weakness and hurt bilateral relations between the two nations which were vital to contain emerging regional powers like Iran and Iraq. Narrowing the focus to the Gulf region in the post-Cold War era, Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, warned that while keeping Iraq weak, the US would also have to be watchful of Iran.

The end of Cold War also reposed state actors' faith in the international laws and norms in the absence of the ideological rival. In this context, the US declared "New World Order" to ensure its primacy through pushing the ideas like democracy and human rights. The "doctrine of Enlargement" was developed by Lake to spread American influence to the areas of strategic importance (Lake, 2009). However, the ideas of democracy and market economy were to be cautiously followed in the former Soviet Republics so that Russia was not antagonised.

As America's energy politics was facilitated by the ideology of liberal democracy, the US Congress signed the "FREEDOM Support Act" in October 1992, which tied aid with promotion of liberal democracy in Central Asia (Shen, 2010, p. 102). The US in its Silk Road Strategy Act in 1999, "authorised enhanced policy and aid to support conflict amelioration, humanitarian needs, economic development, transport and communications, border controls, democracy, and the creation of civil societies in the South Caucasus and Central Asia" (Nichol, 2008).

However, the incremental approach based on democracy and human rights towards Central Asian states did not allow the US to play a major role in the Central Asian region. The Central Asian states which are dynamic actors after their independence resisted to be part of US hegemonic influence cast through the ideas of democracy and human rights. For example, throughout the 1990s, Uzbekistan was not perceived to be a cooperative partner who would buy into the US vision of bilateral relations built on shared commitment to democratic values, economic liberalisation, and a non-zero sum approach to international relations. American role in the coloured revolutions as part of its strategy to promote democracy in Central Asia was much criticized by the authoritarian rulers. The Central Asian states were also cautious not to allow an extra-regional power to play a major role in their security affairs and challenge the Russian role in a major way.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, the formation of which in 1996 was viewed by the US with indifference on the assumption that the political and military interests between Russia and China could not be reconciled stood firm against the American interests in Central Asia. Both Russia and China shared common perception on the US' grand design in the Central Asian landscape. Russia did not want the American penetration into its strategic backyard. China, which shares border with Central Asian region, did not want American influence near its border. Iran along with Russia saw in the rise of American influence in the region and policy of diversification of energy supplies a looming threat.

Increasing Threats to America's Geopolitical Interests and Militaristic Approach of the US

In 1990s, the American engagement with Central Asia on the basis of democratic and human rights principles, however, did not define its role in the larger international context which was becoming more militaristic. In contrast to the Cold War era, when the US could develop a grand strategy due to the presence of clear threat and therefore could mobilise allies, there seems to be little consensus on how to prioritise the myriad national security challenges facing the United States in the post-Cold War era. In this era, threats are both numerous and diffuse. The US grand strategy has to involve more traditional concerns about rising powers, concerns about emerging non-conventional threats in the form of terrorism, global energy supply, and the spread of military technology and the enlargement of the democratic/capitalist sphere.

Unlike in the Cold War when the US was getting easy and quick support from its allies to pursue its geopolitical interests from the pro-Capitalist and anti-Communist Islamic countries, the overarching ideological threat got evaporated in the post-Cold War era and in its place arose a number of conventional and non-conventional threats. Terrorism emerged as the most dangerous non-conventional threat and geopolitical challenge to the US in the post-Cold War era. The supreme leader of the Islamist-Jihadist movement Ayman al-Zawahiri asserts in his book "Knights Under the Prophet's Banner" that the struggle ahead will be over the control of the energy-rich heart of Asia and transportation routes connecting it with the rest of the world. He says, "If the Chechens and other Caucasian mujahedeen reach the shores of the oil-rich Caspian Sea, the only thing that will separate them from Afghanistan will be the neutral state of Turkmenistan. This will form a mujahid Islamic belt to the south of Russia that will be connected in the east to Pakistan, which is brimming with mujahedeen movements in Kashmir" (Vidino, 2005, pp. 57-66). It is noteworthy that the US has not only to deal with terrorism, it has to contain the power of Iran, China and Russia and diversify energy supplies so as to contain the dominance of these powers in energy politics.

To deal with both the conventional and non-conventional threats and pursue its geopolitical objectives, America followed a militaristic approach. To meet diversified threats, many states increasingly relied on the United States for either the actual provision of security or the training and equipment necessary to perform security functions. By 2008, the US was providing security assistance to 149 countries. To fill up the power vacuum after the Soviet Union's disintegration and to pursue its geopolitical interests in various regions, the US in addition to formal treaties, offered protection to a number of countries under its Security umbrella either by law or by policy. Another host of countries were offered special security provisions through major Non-NATO Ally status.

The ideas of democracy and market economy which found their ultimate expressions during Bill Clinton's Presidency received setback after the Administration explicitly rejected "dovish" prescriptions to abandon "America's forward strategic presence" (McDonough, 2009, pp. 10-11). The Clinton's Presidency was engaged in military deployments with missions that varied from providing logistic support to UN peacekeeping missions to stability operations in the Balkans. Douglas Ross and Christopher Ross, two Canadian observers noted that an imperial approach to world affairs "is more likely to be created under a Democratic rather than a Republican presidency in the name of human rights and democratization" (McDonough, 2009, p. 15).

George Bush though in the initial years of his Presidency wanted to steer clear of the excessive commitments outside of the Clinton era, post-9/11 restored US' aggressive primacist vision. It is argued that President Bush's strategy did not represent a revolutionary change when compared to its predecessor, but it did represent the culmination of a strategic adjustment process that has effectively settled on primacy – in one form or another – for the post-9/11 period. According to Walter Russell Mead, the Bush Doctrine, far from being a neoconservative innovation, was in fact well within the mainstream of US foreign policy and very much in keeping with the vision of America's founding generation, as well as the practice of the Early Republic's statesmen (Owens, 2009, p. 25).

The US-led War on Terror

By the end of the 1990s and beginning of a new century, the Taliban had moved away from the American sphere of influence, its policies towards Central Asia failed and numerous and diffused threats emerged as primary geopolitical challenges. As a result, the US interests and role in Central Asia received a blow. The US looked for an overriding global threat around which it could organize its geopolitical interests. After the al Qaeda's attack on twin towers in the US in September 11, 2001, terrorism assumed such global significance and the US's militaristic approach culminated in the War on Terror. According to Barry Buzan, when the Cold War ended, Washington seemed to experience a threat deficit, and there was a string of attempts to find a replacement for the Soviet Union as the principal adversarial power to give effect to US foreign and military policies. Buzan says that the terrorists' attacks of 9/11 offered the solution as the War on Terror right from the beginning had the feel of a big idea that might provide a long-term cure for Washington's threat deficit (Buzan, 2006, p. 1101). The assertion that the War on Terror will be a long war can be compared to a similar kind of zero-sum, global-scale, generational struggle against anti-liberal ideological extremists who want to rule the world. Buzan is of the opinion that the significance of War on Terror is more political in nature than anything. It might justify and legitimise US primacy, leadership and unipolarism, both to Americans and to the rest of the world (Buzan, 2006, p. 1102). Buzan seems to be right in view of increased US access to and activities in Central Asia after the War on Terror began. The TAP pipeline project, which was put to halt after the relationship between the US and Taliban broke was again pushed forward in 2002. More importantly, the proposal to create Greater Central Asia in the first decade of 2000, to move Central Asia away from Russia's orbit towards Afghanistan and Pakistan was a clear US move to pursue its geopolitical interests in a vigorous manner. The Greater Central Asia project and the TAP pipeline project go together as they cover the same geographical areas vertically.

Prior to September 11, though US concerns about the Taliban were widely shared in Uzbekistan, as well as rest of Central Asia, the Uzbek leaders roundly rejected US strategies for addressing the challenge posed by the Taliban, including political reform, human rights, and economic liberalisation, for fear of causing domestic destabilisation. These long-term concerns were sidelined after the 9/11 attacks. Uzbekistan became the United States' strategic ally and the frontline state in the war on terrorism overnight. Similarly, other Central Asian states also shed their long-term concerns with Washington's ideas of democracy and human rights and cooperated with it (Rumer, 2006, p. 144). The US, on the other hand, strengthened the authoritarian rulers in Central Asia putting its ideological baggage on the back-burner. The US stopped harping on these ideas and called for all sorts of assistance from the Central Asian states to meet the common enemy in order to secure a firm foothold in Central Asia. The US' interest in Afghanistan was derived from the fact that it provided the long-term justification for the former's stay in the region with its problem of terrorism and drug-trafficking.

The US-led War on Terror expanded the American presence and role in Central Asia considerably. Its military involvement in Central Asia included temporary forward basing in Uzbekistan, Kirgystan, and Tajikistan; access to airspace and restricted use of bases in Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan; coalition-building by high-level visits to Central Asia, intelligence sharing, improved coordination within the US Central Command, and increased assistance. Operation Enduring Freedom brought the Central Asian states to the frontlines of the campaign in the anti-terror war. According to Achin Vanaik, what the US had now achieved, which it did not possess before 11 September 2001, was a new legitimisation of its specifically military conduct abroad. Its second great and new gain was its military political entry into Central Asia on a depth and scale that it had never before had. The one weak spot in its post-Cold War effort to dominate the Eurasian landmass was Central Asia and the Caspian region. This area is not just the 'backyard' of Russia but abuts Iran and China, which along with Russia are considered by imperial America's most determined protagonists as its most serious potential rivals (Vanaik, 2004, p. 119). Central Asia was seen not only as a platform for operations in Afghanistan, but it was also significant in its own right being a potential breeding ground for terrorism given the nexus between the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan and Al-Qaeda. For Russia, the War on Terror was a suitable opportunity to treat the Chechenyan problem as one of terrorism and link it with the global crusade against it and for China it was to mitigate the secessionist problem in Xinxiang. The US successfully linked the War on Terror with several longstanding security concerns facing Central Asian states, Russia and China like crime and trade in drugs and the technologies for weapons of mass destruction (Buzan, 2006, pp. 1103-06).

Despite the American success in gathering the momentum for a long-term war plan, it led to a series of academic debates and discussions as to the real interests underlying US action in Afghanistan. Some commentators argued that the real motive behind the US-led War on Terror in Afghanistan is related to America's direct interest in the natural resources of Central Asia. According to Frank Viviano, "the hidden stakes in the war against terrorism can be summed up in a single word: oil. The map of terrorist sanctuaries and targets in the Middle East and Central Asia is also, to an extraordinary degree, a map of the world's energy resources in the 21st century..." (Gokay, 2002, p. 6). With the intention to revive the TAP pipeline project and exploring the potential for post-Taliban energy projects in the region, President Bush appointed a former aide to the US-based oil company UNOCAL, Afghan-born Zalmay Khalilzad,

as special envoy to Afghanistan. As already noted the TAP pipeline project was revived in April-May 2002 once the Karzai government was installed and received international legitimacy (Gokay, 2002, p. 6).

However, reducing everything to oil does not allow one to understand the larger geopolitical interests the US has in Afghanistan and through it in Central Asia. The US has enough of oil beneath its own soil and it also easily secures oil from the Latin American countries. From a military and strategic perspective, Afghanistan provided the US accessibility to a large continental expanse to operate against both conventional and non-conventional threats. Apart from the economic value and utility of natural resources, its production and supply carry a geopolitical significance. In this context, Afghanistan's importance as an alternative route to transfer Central Asian resources needs to be underlined. First, multiplying the pipelines would end the hegemony of a few particular powers. Secondly, controlling the production and supply of natural resources would require military projection of power and that would go a long way in securing supply of these resources to regional allies and denying the same to countries adopting adversarial foreign policies. Therefore, natural resources can be used as an instrument to control and shape foreign policies of state actors. Thirdly, the supply routes for their safety would require military presence and thereby would contribute to development of military strategies of the controlling power. Finally, the ports and routes for the transfer and trade of natural resources can have dual use: commercial and military. Therefore, despite the commercial non-viability of the alternative pipeline projects, they were given utmost importance by the US. Williams and others argue that the US went to the extent of invading and destroying Iraqi oil resources to shoot up the price of oil to give effect to its financially nonviable projects (Williams, Tekin, Ali, 2008, p. 383).

America's Conduct of 'War on Terror' in Afghanistan

The disproportionate response to the 9/11 terrorist attack by waging a war against Afghanistan instead of applying legitimate methods to capture a group of individuals who masterminded the act points to America's larger interests in the region. According to Gerard Toal "One can find evidence of a counter-modern tendency in certain geopolitical crises where global threats are territorialised as threats from 'rogue states'. The problem of weapons of mass destruction, for example, becomes the problem of Saddam Hussein and what to do about Iraq...Terrorism becomes the problems of 'rogue states' like Sudan and Afghanistan" (Toal, 1998, p. 24). The War on Terror aimed at toppling the Afghan regime led by the Taliban which refused to hand over Osama bin Laden, the culprit of 9/11 terrorist attack to the US. However, the UN Charter prohibits change of regime in a country by external actors as that defies sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. The article 2 of the UN Charter prohibits the use of or threatened use of force against another state (UN Charter, Article 2). It is argued that the Taliban refused to turn over bin Laden because there was no extradition treaty existing between the US and Afghanistan. Secondly, there is a long tradition in Muslim countries to treat foreign visitors as guests. Nevertheless, the Taliban expressed its willingness to deliver bin Laden over to the US or to a third country if US officials provided convincing evidence that bin Laden had, in fact, been complicit in the 9/11 attacks. The US President George Bush's response was that the US officials would not furnish any such evidence to the Taliban government (Hornberger, 2011). After the 9/11 attack, the US received sympathy from almost all countries of the world. However, instead of capitalising on those positive feelings to isolate bin Laden and his aides, the US reacted to the occasion in a knee-jerk military fashion. According to Arturo Munoz,

the US opposed to reconcile with the Taliban in early December 2001. "A peace process among the Afghans was discussed at the time, only to be repudiated by the Americans" (Munoz, 2011, p. 12). The US quickly divided the world into two categories of nations, American allies who supported the War on Terror and enemies who opposed or even maintained neutrality. Soon, Iran was included as part of the latter category in Bush's "Axis of Evil" speech (Bush 'Axis of Evil' Speech, 2002). The American President Barack Obama replicated his predecessor's military and security centric strategies. According to M. J. Williams, "the US has and remains overly inclined to use military power to fix a problem, even when that problem ultimately defies the ability of the military to provide a solution. While the new Obama Administration has a more evolved view of the Afghan issue, the continued US over-investment in defence illustrates the preference of tools in the American psyche" (Williams, 2011, p. 124).

The US was more interested in waging a war to eliminate the enemy and spread its influence in the region than building a peaceful and democratic Afghanistan. To conduct the war in Afghanistan, the US resorted predominantly to air power and limited its ground-troops presence. And for ground operations, it depended on Afghan warlords. While, on the one hand, the US wanted to limit the casualties on its army, the increasing use of air power led to the growth of death of Afghan civilians. Moreover, the US dependence on Afghan warlords militated against the idea of peaceful and democratic Afghanistan. The warlords practiced no less violence than the Taliban. They used the American military and economic assistance for consolidating their role in different pockets of Afghanistan. The intelligence provided by the warlords to the US was based more on their desire to sort out personal feuds with other warlords than to give authentic information about al Qaeda and Taliban hideouts. Instead of creating an independent Afghan National Army, it was suggested at the Bonn conference that the ANA be recruited from these militias (Zia-Zarifi, 2004). The American military-driven foreign policy was explicit in the reports pointing to Afghan detainees being tortured in Bagram and other US detainment centres. An article in the *Guardian* (UK) stated that in Bagram and eighteen other US detention centres and firebases around Afghanistan, Afghan detainees were regularly tortured (Campbell and Goldberg, 2004). Patience, which is required for successful nation-building process is found to be lacking among US troops. Copies of Koran have been found to be burned by US troops and a US soldier opened fire and killed 16 people in a village near Kandahar (Swami, 2012).

Williams argues that Afghanistan poses virtually no threat to the US and its NATO allies in the way that Nazi Germany threatened Europe or that Soviet Russia threatened NATO. It is the absence of power in Afghanistan - the ability of the government to hold a monopoly on the use of force, to curb narcotics production, to root out warlordism and to defeat an insurgency - that causes problems for NATO allies (Williams, 2011, p. 26). Nation-building, which requires continued engagement in social, economic and political restructuring of a society after a war was not part of the American Afghan War plan. The various peacekeeping operations in the 1990s of which the US had been a part - in the former Yugoslavia and Haiti, for example - were held up by key administration figures like Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld as proof of strategic vacuity of the Clinton administration. They, instead, believed that the military was to be fundamentally transformed and should not to be used for 'policing' or for open-ended peace-keeping missions linked to the notions of nation-building. The transformation of the military was to be essentially based on high-technology, rapidly deployed, short-duration combat missions, in which victory could be achieved quickly and forces speedily withdrawn. To conduct the Afghan War, the

American forces confined their activity to a high-technologically driven military role while the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission was portrayed as post-conflict stabilisation and reconstruction. Between 2001 and 2005, the US spent eleven times more on military operations in Afghanistan than it did on reconstruction, humanitarian aid, economic assistance and the training of Afghan security forces combined (Bird and Marshall, 2011, p. 134). According to Dobbins, the inadequate resources especially in Afghanistan “represented both an exaggerated confidence in the efficacy of high-tech warfare” and “an aversion to the whole concept of nation-building” (Dobbins, 2011, p. 17).

Munoz argues that the paltry investment of the US resources in Afghanistan was only one reason for the mission there stalling. Another reason was the way those resources were applied. “Instead of honouring Afghan terms of peace, utilising village institutions to maintain security, and training Afghans to do most of their own fighting and rebuilding..., the US and NATO tried to impose Western ways of doing things” (Munoz, 2011, pp. 23-24). The US applied a top down approach to ensure security and socio-economic development in Afghanistan. On the security front, this has meant building the Afghan National Security Forces – consisting of the Afghan National Army, Afghan National Army Air Corps, Afghan National Police, and Afghan Border Police – as the bulwarks against the Taliban and other insurgent groups. On the economic and development fronts, this has meant improving the central government's ability to deliver services to the population. But “there were few efforts to engage Afghanistan's tribes, sub-tribes, clans, and other local institutions,” laments Seth Jones, who worked closely with US Special Operations Forces in Afghanistan (Jones, 2011, pp. 37-45).

While to get a foothold in Central Asia, the US strengthened the hands of the authoritarian rulers in the name of creating a common front against terrorism, the same country followed the ideology of “liberal democracy” to keep the war-ravaged Afghanistan weak by not allowing the state to consolidate power. According to Tim Bird and Alex Marshall “Warlordism and the absence of an effective bureaucracy were the absolute natural by-products of an externally dictated and implicitly decentralising economic agenda in Afghanistan” (Bird and Marshall, 2011, p. 131). The agenda was based on the principle that the state should be the enabler rather than the provider of economic growth. International aid was tied to the global private sector which was entrusted with the task of reconstruction and as a result Afghanistan remained as a weak and rentier state. Furthermore, these two scholars also point to the problem of tying aid to the purchase of America-sourced products and services. According to them, a full 70 per cent of US aid was made conditional upon US goods and services being purchased or employed (Bird and Marshall, 2011, p. 135).

Durability of American Interest and Presence in Afghanistan

In contrast to the arguments of many scholars that globalisation has rendered geopolitics irrelevant, the American role and interest in Afghanistan has largely been geopolitical and long-term. The US role and NATO's intervention in Afghanistan “confirms rather than undermine the value of conventional military capabilities although in the form of lighter and more flexible infantry forces supported by strategic airlift” (Hess, 2004, p. 97). Since the break-up of the Soviet Union's heartland domination, *Geopolitic* has even experienced a veritable renaissance in both academic and policy circles. 1 Qaeda-organised and sponsored terrorist attacks have only intensified an already existing belief that

the heartland bestows a geopolitical advantage to the power that controls it. Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth argue that previous leading states in modern era were either great commercial and naval powers or great military powers on land, never both (Brooks and Wohlforth, 2002, p. 23). At the dawn of the Cold War the United States was clearly dominant economically as well as in air and naval capabilities. But the Soviet Union retained overall military parity, and thanks to geography and investment in land power it had a superior ability to seize territory in Eurasia. Thus, the US strategy in the post-Cold War has not only been to keep Russia weak to consolidate its control over the heartland, it is also keen to develop its land power capabilities. Afghanistan borders Central Asian states in the north and American ally Pakistan in the south. Therefore, control over Afghanistan was vital to acquire a line of communication between the Indian Ocean and Eurasian landmass and develop multidimensional strategies.

Being located at the centre of many regions, Afghanistan and the Central Asian region provide point of access to these regions. While Afghanistan is situated in the middle of major Asian regions like Central Asia, South Asia, West Asia and Far-East, Central Asia being part of larger Eurasia joins Europe with Asia. Therefore, both regions are important in terms of controlling various other regions. In Zbigniew Brzezinski's words both Afghanistan and the Central Asia region are geopolitical pivots. Geopolitical pivots are the states "whose importance is derived not from their power and motivation but rather from their sensitive location and from the consequences of their potential vulnerable condition for the behaviour of strategic players" (Brzezinski, 1997, p. 41). However, it needs to be underlined that neither Afghanistan nor the former Soviet Republics after their independence are completely passive actors. They constantly shape the will and capacity of the geostrategic players pursuing their geopolitical interests. According to Brzezinski, geostrategic players are the states that have the capacity and the national will to exercise power or influence beyond their borders in order to alter the existing geopolitical state of affairs (Brzezinski, 1997, p. 41). The US, Russia, Iran, India, China and Pakistan can be considered as geostrategic players according to this definition.

The importance of the geopolitical pivots for the geostrategic players has been enormous despite the resistance from the geopolitical pivots and vulnerable conditions arising from the presence of other active geostrategic players. Saul B. Cohen has described Eurasia as a "convergence zone". According to Cohen the importance of this area is that it is "where five of the world's geopolitical power centres – Maritime Europe, Russia, China, India and Japan – converge upon it. The countries and regions within the Convergence Zone serve as land, air, and water transit-ways for flows of capital, people, technology, manufactured goods, energy, and other mineral resources. Increasingly the importance of the area to its abutting powers has been magnified by its natural resources, especially oil and natural gas, specialised agriculture, tourist services, and relatively low wages for off-shore manufacturing operations, and negatively as bases for terrorists and the smuggling of arms and drugs" (Cohen, 2005, p.1). Thus, Afghanistan and the Central Asian region are important for multiple civilian and military purposes. Being bridge to different areas the regions serve the civilian interests as they are not only emerging as the major centres of natural resources, they also provide one of the largest markets of millions of people and more importantly, they provide the transit-ways for multiple inter-continental transactions.

According to a former diplomat of India, by the end of 2008, the US taking advantages of the interconnectivity that the region provides began developing an altogether new land route through the

southern Caucasus to Afghanistan which steers clear of Iran, Russia and China. He believed that the project, if materialised, would be a geopolitical coup – the biggest ever that Washington would have swung in post-Soviet Central Asia and the Caucasus (Bhadrakumar, 20 January, 2010). At one stroke, the US would be tying up military cooperation at the bilateral level with Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan and the US will be able to consolidate its military position in southern Caucasus. Furthermore, Washington looked for new supply routes from and military bases in Central Asia even though its close partnership with Pakistani military continued. He says, “the US has done exceedingly well in geopolitical terms, even if the war as such may have gone rather badly both for the Afghans and the Pakistanis and the European soldiers serving in Afghanistan” (Bhadrakumar, 2010).

Professor S. Frederic Starr of the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute at Hopkins University articulated the vision of Modern Silk Route seeing the enormous trade potential in the region. In the first half of 2009, the US established several new transit corridors to deliver nonlethal goods to its forces in Afghanistan. These routes, put together, are termed as Northern Distribution Network (Kuchins, 2010, p.33). Many US officials are interested to see this network being transformed into Modern Silk Route (Kuchins, 2010, p.34). However, it must be noted that many political ideas like the Greater Central Asia project are justified through this economic logic. In reality, the supply routes and ports once put in place can be used for dual purposes-both civilian and military.

The US interest to stay in Afghanistan and Central Asia for long time became clear after the Lisbon Summit between NATO and Afghanistan took place in November 2010. Both signed a declaration, the thrust of which was on affirming “their long-term partnership” and building “a robust, enduring partnership which complements the ISAF security mission and continues beyond it” (Bhadrakumar, 27 November, 2010). The Lisbon summit confirmed that the NATO military presence in Afghanistan would continue beyond 2014, the timeline suggested by President Hamid Karzai for Kabul to be completely in charge of the security of the country. Going by the spirit of the declaration, NATO will maintain its counter-terrorism capability in Afghanistan even after 2014. The declaration said that NATO would be present in Afghanistan so long as it did not have confidence that the Al-Qaeda was no longer operative and was no longer a threat. NATO may even undertake combat operations beyond 2014 if and when need arises. The US President Barack Obama said, “by 2014 the NATO footprint in Afghanistan will have been significantly reduced. But beyond that, it is hard to anticipate exactly what is going to be necessary...I will make that determination when I get there” (Bhadrakumar, 27 November, 2010). On May 2, 2012, the US and Afghanistan entered into Strategic Partnership Agreement. The countries agreed to oppose threats to the sovereignty of Afghanistan by cooperating closely on defence and security. The Agreement stipulates that even after US forces withdraw in 2014, the US would continue to support training, equipping and sustaining Afghan Security Forces “to ensure terrorists never again encroach on Afghan soil and threaten Afghanistan, the region and the world” (Enduring Strategic Partnership Agreement, 2012).

Conclusion

American interest in Afghanistan and former Soviet Republics deepened after the disintegration of the USSR. Emergence of independent states in the Eurasian Heartland led the Americans believe that it could manipulate situations there to develop continental strategies. American attention was also on the volume of natural resources hidden in the Central Asian region which was much advertised in the 1990s. In the post-Cold War period, the leadership in the US developed the doctrine of enlargement in place of the containment strategy to reach out to the former Soviet Republics. The doctrine of enlargement which was based on the principles of democracy, human rights and market economy was not successful in the authoritarian Central Asian states. The US could not also resort to coercive diplomacy as it needed Russia's support to deal with new conventional threats like Iran and Iraq. In this context, terrorism appeared to be a global-scale overriding threat around which it could organise its geopolitical interests immediately after 9/11. Afghanistan was not only the centre of terrorism, it was also vital for the US to transfer Central Asian energy resources to the world market bypassing Russia and Iran. Moreover, Afghanistan was central to the American 'Greater Central Asia' project to move the Central Asian states away from Russian and Iranian orbit of influence towards Afghanistan and Pakistan. The War on Terror in Afghanistan provided the US an entry to the Central Asian states and helped in establishing military bases and securing transit rights in Central Asia for the military and non-military supplies to the American and NATO forces in Afghanistan. The US' militarily driven policy in Afghanistan points to the geopolitical character of its interests. In the first place, the US resorted to pre-emptive strikes against Afghanistan to topple the Taliban regime bypassing all the legitimate methods to capture the individuals who masterminded 9/11. Secondly, it took the help of warlords of Afghanistan to fight Al Qaeda and Taliban forces and instituted them to power knowing that they were not less violent in their approach and objectives. Thirdly, it invested many times more on military than on the socio-economic development of Afghanistan. Fourthly, it applied a top-down approach to security and development without rural and tribal peoples' interests into account.

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This paper concludes the trilogy dealing with Afghanistan's recent past. The first two parts were published in the previous two issues of the Journal. — Editor



LITERATURE & ARTS

ABDUVALIEVA, Rahima**The Great Kirghiz**

"Genius is the talent for inventing what cannot be taught or learnt"

(I. Kant).

That was the quote used as a heading for an article by a German journalist, after Chingiz Aitmatov had visited the German town of Kassel for a function which we had dedicated to the 1000th anniversary of the Kirghiz epic poem *Manas*. In German that sentence has a ring about it worthy of our Great Elder – "Aksakal" ("Grey Beard"), as we Kirghiz like to call our famous writer.

What was it that lent greatness to the Kirghiz writer, Chingiz Aitmatov? This is a question that is asked by young people in Kyrgyzstan. I see it as my duty to explain...

Chingiz Aitmatov burst like a comet into Soviet literature in 1957 and after one short year he was already being talked about in many different countries! Through his story *Jamila*, readers the world over came to learn of the Kirghiz people's existence, their traditions and their distinctive way of life. International recognition of Chingiz Aitmatov went hand in hand with recognition of Kirghiz culture.

For writers in the West, Chingiz Aitmatov appeared like a sphinx – there was no other word for it. How could a son of an "enemy of the people" forgive the social system which had killed his father and continue to create such magnificent works in those conditions? Yet he went on doing so – going from strength to strength throughout the fifty years of his creative life.

The birth of Kirghiz cinema is also linked with the name of Chingiz Aitmatov. Most of this writer's works have been filmed first in the USSR and then abroad after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Many well-known directors started out in the cinema with screen adaptations of works by Chingiz Aitmatov, such as Andrei Konchalovsky, Larisa Shepitko, Bolot Shamshiev, Eldor Urazbaev, Tolomush Okeyev and Gennadii Bazarov.

Aitmatov's first work – the novella entitled *Betme bet* (1957) or *Kyzyl zholuk zhalzhalum* (1961) – was written about a deserter. For that era it was an act of rare courage, since prior to that the only person in the Soviet Union to have written about prisoners-of-war during the war of 1941-1945 was the Nobel Prize winner, Mikhail Sholokhov, in his story *The Fate of a Man*. This boldness on the part of a writer making his debut could have ended tragically, if Alexander Tvardovsky had not rallied to Aitmatov's support. From then on the writer from Kirghizstan always used to give a copy from the first edition of all his new works to both Tvardovsky and Mukhtar Auezov – his older Kazakh friend and mentor.

His bold choice of subject-matter is a thread running through all works by Chingiz Aitmatov. While in his early works *Face to Face*, *Jamila*, *First Teacher*, *Camel Eye* and *Mother Earth* he merely acquainted readers throughout the world with the Kirghiz way of life, in the story *Farewell Gulsary* he gave a critical

account of the social fabric of his country, attracting still greater respect than before for himself as a writer with a philosophical bent. The profoundly philosophical conclusion of his novel *The White Steamship* put Chingiz Aitmatov on a par with internationally renowned writers such as Ernest Hemingway and Antoine de Saint-Exupéry.

The novel was the only possible genre for Chingiz Aitmatov to use in his mature period to express his moral and ethical principles and his world-view. The appearance of each of his novels was a major landmark in the history of Soviet literature and the culmination of this creative path was *The Day lasts more than a Hundred Years*, for which the writer was nominated for the Nobel Prize. *The Scaffold* marked the end of the Soviet period in the writing of Chingiz Aitmatov.

Having been born and bred in Kirghizstan, I can truly say that Chingiz Aitmatov also had a real talent when it came to the titles he selected for his works. It is impossible to convey all the nuances of meaning in translations of his titles into other languages from the original Kirghiz. This is always one of the greatest challenges for those translating his works into European languages, as I often point out to students during my lectures.

It is striking how *The Scaffold* – Aitmatov's last novel written during the Soviet period – also marks the beginning of his post-Soviet writing in Western Europe. In 1986 the writer met Friedrich Hitzler during a visit to Germany, who was to become his 'right-hand man' in his literary activity up to the very end of his life... This novel came out in German in 1986 in Hitzler's translation and that was followed by translations entitled *The White Cloud of Genghis Khan*, *Cassandra's Brand*, journalism, fairy-tales and reminiscences... and *The Eternal Bride*.

The post-Soviet period in our Aksakal's career as a writer was not only memorable as regards the number of works he completed and the range of subjects broached, but also the fame which now attended the life of Chingiz Aitmatov in Europe.



The respect and admiration for the Kirghiz writer was especially pronounced in Germany: whenever the writer came into a room, his readers would fall silent, as if they had glimpsed a halo round his head radiating personal magnetism. Silent homage would be paid to Chingiz Aitmatov, a sign of profound respect.

Our Aksakal had nothing to prove to them! After each appearance the audience would be left sitting entranced, as if hypnotized!

Apart from his inborn talent as a story-teller, which he had inherited from his *Karagyz-apa* (paternal aunt), Chingiz Aitmatov possessed a tremendous capacity for work, forged in the difficult war-torn years of his childhood. It was this industriousness which had made it possible for him to write such an enormous number of works, which have since been translated into more than a hundred languages.

Perhaps Aksakal's most remarkable quality of all was his demanding attitude to his writing and to himself: that was what brought him world renown both during his life and after his death. This was the key to his genius!

Bringing the radiant inspiration to be gleaned from Chingiz Aitmatov's work to people everywhere – that is our duty!

Chyngyz Aitmatov

Chyngyz Aitmatov was a bilingual writer (Kyrgyz & Russian) from Kyrgyzstan. He was an intellectual as well as an advisor to Mikhail Gorbachev. After the collapse of the Soviet Union he helped to strengthen the newly independent Kyrgyzstan in his role as Kyrgyz Ambassador to Brussels.

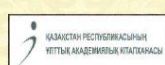

Aitmatov was born on December 12th, 1928 in Talas, Kyrgyzstan. He lost his father at the age of 10, a victim of Stalin's purges. His father was executed as an "enemy of the people" in 1938. As the eldest son of the family, Aitmatov took over the responsibility of helping his mother to bring up his younger brother and two sisters. During World War II, Aitmatov was a hard-working teenager helping his family to get by in the small village of Sheker.

He graduated as a veterinary surgeon, studying first in Dshambul and later at the Agricultural High School in Frunze (now Bishkek – the capital of Kyrgyzstan). Aitmatov published his first short story in 1952.

He had been working for four years as a vet when he decided to become a writer. He applied for special training and from 1956-58 he studied at the High School for Literature in Moscow. He published his first story "Face to face" in the Kyrgyz language in 1957. His second story "Jamilia" was translated into French by Louis Aragon in the same year and brought him worldwide fame. He went on to become a celebrated author, thanks to his hard work and great talent.

His works have been translated into more than 150 languages worldwide!

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The Life of Chyngyz Aitmatov

- | | | | |
|------|--|------|--|
| 1928 | born in Talas, Kyrgyzstan | 1980 | published "The Day Lasts More Than a Hundred Years" |
| 1938 | lost his father | 1983 | won third State Prize for his last novel |
| 1942 | began to work on the Sheker Village Council | 1984 | Chairman of Kyrgyz Writers' Union |
| 1952 | began writing, attended the Agricultural Institute in Frunze | 1985 | won the Indian J.Nehru Prize |
| 1954 | published his first short story "Ak jaan (White rain)" | 1986 | published "The Scaffold" |
| 1956 | graduated from the Agricultural Institute with distinction, studied at Gorky Literary Institute in Moscow | 1988 | Academy Award of the Japanese Institute of Oriental Philosophy, Gold Olive Branch award |
| 1957 | published his first story "Face to face" in Kyrgyz, Louis Aragon translated "Jamilia" into French | 1990 | Soviet Ambassador to Luxemburg, an advisor to M. Gorbachev |
| 1958 | published "Jamilia" in Kyrgyz & Russian, graduated the Gorky Literary Institute in Moscow, became a correspondent for Pravda | 1991 | Kyrgyz Ambassador to European Union |
| 1959 | joined the Communist Party | 1994 | published "The White Cloud of Chyngiz Khan" in German, Austrian Prize for European Literature |
| 1960 | published "Camel Eye" | 1995 | published "Cassandra's Brand" in German |
| 1961 | published "The First Teacher" and "Goodbye, Aselle!" | 1997 | published "Fairytales" in German, he was awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labour in Kyrgyzstan |
| 1963 | published "The Mother Earth" and "Tales of Mountains and Steppes". This selected volume brought him the Lenin Prize | 1998 | published his memories "Childhood in Kirgizia" in German, awarded Friedrich Rueckert Prize in Germany |
| 1964 | published "The Red Apple", Chairman of the Cinema Union of Kyrgyzia | 1999 | published the first volume "Selected Works", 5 volumes in Kyrgyz |
| 1965 | published "Farewell, Gulsary!" | 2004 | won the Alexander Men & Leo Kopelev Prize in Germany |
| 1967 | member of the Executive Board of the Soviet Writers' Union | 2006 | the first course of Aitmatov's short stories at the University of Frankfurt for students in Germany, published "An Eternal Bride" in Russian |
| 1968 | won Soviet State Prize for "Farewell, Gulsary!" | 2007 | presentation of his novel "Der Schneeleopard" in Germany |
| 1970 | published "The White Steamboat" | 2008 | died in Nuremberg, Germany. He was buried in Ana Beyit Cemetery in Kyrgyzstan according to his last will. |
| 1973 | published "The Ascent of Mt. Fuji" | | |
| 1975 | published "Cranes came earlier" | | |
| 1976 | won the Kyrgyz Toktogul Prize for "Cranes came earlier" | | |
| 1977 | published "Spotted Dog Running Along the Seashore", won the second State Prize for "The White Steamboat" | | |
| 1978 | he was awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labour in USSR | | |
- Aitmatov was awarded the title of "Honorary Professor of Arts" by many European Universities as well as in Russia and Japan.

Summary by Prof. Dr. Rahima Abduvalieva

Rahima Abduvalieva

One of the writer's 'comrades-in-arms', who from 1992 was working together with him in Germany to popularize his work in the German language. After Chingiz Aitmatov's death she moved to London and continued this work within an English environment. Dr. Abduvalieva gives lectures on the writer's work in universities of various countries. She is working on the theory and practice of translating the works of Aksakal into other languages. She is also the director of the Aitmatov Academy in Great Britain and chairs the jury which awards the annual International Chingiz Aitmatov Prize. Dr. Abduvalieva is a holder of the Franz Kafka Medal for literature for her translations of works by Chingiz Aitmatov.



MURAKEÖZY, Éva Patrícia**Peter the Great, an Inspired Tsar**

*Review on the exhibition devoted to Peter the Great (1672–1725)
at the Hermitage Amsterdam between 9 March and 13 September 2013*

**1.**

Two Pine Trunks Joined with a Bough Grown from One Trunk into the Other, on a Stand. Russia, St Petersburg. First half of the 18th century. Wood (pine); turned. 64.5x99x31.5 cm. Image is used from www.hermitagemuseum.org, courtesy of The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia.

The above object, rather sombre at the first glance (it may evoke the combined images of a guillotine and a coffin in sensitive souls), represents a rare natural phenomenon: the two tree trunks are joined through a bough which grew from one trunk into the other. This piece stood surprisingly unnoticed¹ among the items of Peter the Great's Cabinet of Curiosity but for me it had an obvious symbolic value: the two pine trunks that grew together through a common branch stood for a natural analogue to the growing together of the Russian Empire and the Dutch Republic, through the person of Peter the Great. The strength of the relationship between the Dutch and the Russian nations in the course of the 17th and 18th centuries becomes evident in this brilliant show, as well as the hard-working and stormy character of this Russian emperor who well merits the epithets «great» and «inspired». The exhibition was jointly

¹ It took me quite an effort to get an authorized picture of this object since it is featured neither in the exhibition catalogue nor on the website of the Hermitage Amsterdam.

opened by Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands and Russia's Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev, hallmarking the «Year of Dutch-Russian Relations».

From Infant Prodigy to Emperor

Peter the Great (1672-1725) was born into the House of Romanov, the second and last imperial dynasty to rule over Russia (Muscovy). The Romanovs reigned for over 300 years, from 1613 until the 1917 revolution when the royal family was executed.

Peter was born in 1672, as the fourteenth child of Alexis I and the first child from Tsar Alexis' second marriage. The boys from the first marriage were all weak and sickly, so it came as a great relief to the Russian ruler to see this lusty boy. The little Peter was more than lusty, he was an infant prodigy: already walking by the age of six months, restless, inquisitive, quick in the uptake and exceptionally skilful.

He was about ten years old when the rivalry between the relatives of the two wives of the late Tsar Alexis I led to the Streltsy Uprising where a number of supporters of Peter's family, including two of his uncles, were killed. It made a deep impression on the young boy who eye witnessed the events. As a result, Peter was proclaimed second tsar after his semi-disabled half-brother, Ivan V, and he withdrew with his mother to Preobrazhenskoye, some 18 kilometres north-east of Moscow.

Not only was it safer in Preobrazhenskoye for the young second tsar, he could also undisturbedly follow his interests. These interests would later on all turn into crucial elements in his reforms. His favourite game was the «war-game». He set up a toy army of his playmates– the sons of noblemen– and organized mock battles. In the course, he studied gunnery, marksmanship, military tactics, uniforms and flags, as well as drumming. Gradually, his toy army grew into a regiment which would later become the Russian Imperial Guard. His other pass-time was visiting the 'German Quarter'. It was a neighbourhood where non-Russians were required to live (according to a law implemented in 1652 which meant to protect the native Orthodox believers from Catholic and Protestant influence). The 'German Quarter' was populated by foreigners from Western Europe (collectively called "Germans"), working there as merchants, store owners, or army officers. Despite his mother's disagreement, Peter kept on visiting the district which made a deep impression on him with its cleanliness, order, and the great variety of people there. The tsarevits learnt all kinds of skills there, such as horse riding, fencing, dancing, or speaking Dutch, but he also acquired a taste for tobacco, wine and beer. He listened to stories about faraway lands, and made friendships, among which were some of his future associates, such as Patrick Gordon and Franz Lefort, as well as his mistress Anna Mons. When an old sailing boat was found in a village near Preobrazhenskoye, Peter got interested in shipbuilding. Next to a nearby river he set up a boatyard under the guidance of a Dutchman and began implementing a new idea: to create a navy for Russia.

Thus Peter reached the age of 24 when -following the death of his half-brother-, he seized absolute power. On the below painting of Pieter van der Werff we can see the Tsar in his full youth: self-confident, good-looking, and intelligent.



2.

Portrait of Peter the Great
Pieter van der Werff, 1697-1700. Oil on
canvas. 56 x 49.5 cm. © State Hermitage
Museum, St Petersburg.

Altogether, Peter was an interesting phenomenon to look at. He was a very tall man (2,08 m), balancing on very small feet, he was handsome but had notorious facial tics. There was a deep ambivalence in his appearance as well as in his behaviour. Despite being the ruler of an enormous empire, he preferred the company of ordinary people. He liked walking instead of travelling on a carriage, he preferred to stay in wooden houses instead of fancy palaces, he liked to cloth as a simple worker, was extremely modest in eating, and extremely excessive in drinking. His cruelty was as legendary as was his mercifulness. «A righteous monarch he appears to be, a virtuous man as well, but an irretrievable sinner at all that»². He was intuitive; he got easily exited by new ideas and projects, and drew on all available resources to realize them. He was also impulsive; he would rather implement ten decisions out of which only seven proves to be right, than making just three thoroughly planned decisions³. However, about one thing Peter I was always very clear: that his principal role was to serve the motherland. He worked very hard; he woke up at four every morning (even when feasted the previous day) and promptly set to work.

² Quote from the notes of a German princess who met the tsar personally (in: Peter the Great. An Inspired Tsar. Background of the exhibition)

³ Shekshnia, 2004

On the below picture is a nice object from the exposition: a knitted hat. The tsar loved to put on a worker's cloth and this hat was one of his favourites. If we look at it from close, we can see the very fine handwork behind the searched simplicity.



3.

Hat from a sailor costume worn by Peter. Russia, Russian and Dutch tailors, 1690-1725; Woollen thread, velvet, silk; knitted. Hat 24 cm; Ø brim 35 cm
© State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg

Peter I's great achievement was that he transformed his huge but backward country, hardly known in Europe, into a leading power which exercised enormous influence on European and Asian affairs. He reached it by increasing the territory of Russia by one million km² at the one hand, and by fundamental reforms on the other. For his reforms, he took several Western European countries as models but relied greatly on the Dutch model.

«Apprenticeship» in Western Europe: 1697-1698 and 1716

After his first successful military campaign against the Turkish city of Azov the young tsar began an extraordinary journey through Western Europe. The Grand Embassy, with its 250 people including the tsar (travelling incognito under the name of Pyotr Mikhailov) visited the most influential courts in West Europe to solicit their cooperation against the Ottoman Empire. «Pyotr Mikhailov» also had another, equally important, goal and that was «to see and to learn». Next to shipbuilding which stood at the focus of his interests, he attentively studied the systems of government in the countries he visited.

The longest and richest part of the journey was the time the tsar spent in the Dutch Republic. During the «Golden Age» the Dutch Republic was one of the wealthiest and most economically powerful states in the world. And what a great place for someone eager to learn! The country attracted scientists and philosophers from all over Europe. Book publishing flourished. (Many books deemed controversial abroad were printed in the Netherlands – a tradition that is still alive.) The Dutch trade, military, fine and applied art were equally world-famous.

Peter the Great befriended many leading figures in the Dutch society, among them Nicolaas Witsen (mayor of Amsterdam), and Frederik Ruysch (physician, anatomist and botanist). Himself a keen collector, Witsen introduced Peter to many exhibitions and cabinets of curiosities, where plants, animals

and rare objects were on view. Frederik Ruysch, on his part, initiated Peter into the art of dissection and taught him medical skills, such as pulling teeth. (For Peter the Great medical art was just another handcraft, so he practiced it with similar enthusiasm he had for shipbuilding or cannonry. It is said that his attendants were afraid to show any sign of toothache in his presence and that a sack full of teeth that he had pulled out was found after his death. According to another story, the tsar forced his entourage to tear at corpses' muscles with their teeth at the anatomy theatre in Leiden – just to prove their loyalty.) In Leiden the tsar saw the mercury thermometers made by Daniel Fahrenheit and bought two of them. He also visited Antonie van Leeuwenhoek in Delft and looked through his microscope and admired Jan van der Heyden's improved patented fire hose. He also studied printing, geometry and physics, but, primarily, deepened his skills in shipbuilding and learned on the theory of it.

Profound Reforms

Following his return from Western Europe, Peter the Great began a huge series of reforms. Big changes often start simple: when he got back to Russia and saw the boyars (the aristocrats) coming to receive him, he yielded to a sudden impulse and cut off their beards. Later on, he introduced a beard tax for those who insisted on keeping their masculine ornament. On another occasion, at a banquet, he cut off the long and wide sleeves of the boyar's gala costumes to make it more «European».

Instead of waging war against the Ottoman Empire Peter I attacked Sweden. In this exhausting war, which lasted for twenty-one years, Sweden had lost almost all of its "overseas" holdings and ceased to be a major power. Charles XII of Sweden, who at first underestimated the capacities of Russia, noted with exasperation that he was fighting against «Dutch ships and Dutch generals». In this war, Russia gained its Baltic territories with an access to the sea and definitively established itself as one of Europe's great powers.

His most illustrious achievement was the foundation of a new capital. Peter I disliked Moscow from his childhood because of the strong religious influence. It was the city of Amsterdam, in particular, with its pattern of streets and canals that inspired him when founding St Petersburg. He has chosen a swampy area «where no one in their right mind would have built a capital city»⁴. He did and he succeeded: the new capital mirrored perfectly the image of a strong absolutistic empire in the Age of Enlightenment. Its skyline is dominated by huge state buildings instead of churches (as in Moscow) and shows more similarity to Madrid or Berlin than to other Russian cities. Peter I called his new capital: "window to Europe."

Behind all his decisions, we find an advanced sense of state. He created a new administration system, which was clearly designed to be more efficient and augmented the autocratic power of the tsar. He also strengthened the feudal system, making the serfs legally part of the land. Furthermore, he abolished the patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church and placed religious affairs under the control of a government department. He believed people were wasting their time as monks and they would better do working for the state. (Quite a familiar idea for communists.)

⁴ Shekshnia, 2004

He modernized the Russian alphabet, introduced the Julian calendar⁵, and established the first Russian newspaper. It is interesting to note that there was practically no secular culture before Peter I. 90% books published were religious texts.

Peter focused on the development of science and recruited several experts to educate his people about technological advancements. He ordered the establishment of technical schools. A school of navigation was also founded and a seaman's academy. (Hence the numerous Dutch loan-words related to shipping in the Russian language.) Also, the newly acquired territories in the West and East, which were economically more advanced than Russia proper, served as models and provided administrative and scientific talents. Substantial funds were provided for Russia's industrial growth; domestic and foreign trade were improved as well.

Thus Peter the Great's reforms «Westernized» Russia even while they strengthened traditional institutions like the monarchy and the feudal system. Obviously, such reforms, especially what regarded the serfs, provoked discontent and resistance. And not just the changes themselves. Hundreds of thousands of people perished in the wars and the construction projects, and from hunger and disease. The human costs of these reforms were around 500,000 lives (Kluhevsky, 1989⁶).

Collections

In the 17th and 18th century any prominent person considering himself well-educated would have established a Cabinet of Curiosities, dedicated to preserving "natural and human curiosities and rarities". Peter the Great collected many items, including fine and applied artworks, items from Eastern cultures and «exotic» lands, archaeological objects, etc. but was most interested in *naturalia*, especially in human malformations and anatomical deficiencies. The tsar's personal collection features a large assortment of human and animal foetuses of the kind. During his travels he purchased animals, dried plants and anatomical specimens in great quantities, even entire collections (e.g. that of Albert Seba and of Frederik Ruysch).



4.

Bullet extractor; Western Europe, 1690-1720; Steel, brass. L 21 cm
© State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg

⁵ A funny thing is that Peter I introduced the Julian calendar (which used to be prevailing in Protestant countries) precisely on the day when the Dutch Republic changed to the (Catholic) Gregorian calendar. This results in an 11 days difference between the systems of reckoning.

⁶ Kluhevsky, 1989 cited in Shekshnia, 2004



5.

Peter's travelling medicine chest; Augsburg, Tobias Lenghardt and Hans Georg I Brenner, 1613–15; Wood, copper, steel, silver, glass, silk, velvet, braid; oil paint on copper, ebony veneer, gilding. 39.5 x 41 x 32.5 cm
© State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg



6.

Wet Dry Anatomical Preparation: Child's Hand; Northern Netherlands, Frederik Ruysch (1638–1731). 1700–17. Glass, vaseline, paint, spirit, child's right hand, cotton lace, prepared, with arterial injection; jar 5.8, h 14 cm.

Provenance: Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstammer), Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg

© State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg

Ruysch was an unrivalled expert in anatomical preparation. The quality of his wet dry preparations is still inimitable. Together with Ruysch's collection, Peter the Great also bought the secret recipe for making similar preparations. In fact, Ruysch's technique consisted of injecting white or red wax into the blood vessels which he could carry out with such precision as no one else after him.

This trend of collecting odd and surprising items and stuffing them haphazardly into cramped rooms was the predecessor of today's systematically organized museums. Peter the Great's personal collection is now a precious part of several museum collections, including that of the State Hermitage Museum.

Among the most important ones is the *Siberian Collection*. The collecting of Scythian gold objects began in the years 1715-18 upon the orders of Peter the Great. The two hundred ancient gold artefacts that we find in his collection include magnificent belt plates and clasps with scenes of animals fighting, torques and bracelets. Many are adorned with turquoises. Peter I purchased them from robbers of ancient graves, and in this way he preserved them for the posterity. However, we should not forget to pay tribute to the Amsterdam major Nicolaas Witsen, who opened the tsar's eyes for the exquisite beauty of these objects⁷. Today the world's most important collection on Scythian art is to be found in St Petersburg, of which 17 golden objects can be seen in the Hermitage Amsterdam.



7.

Belt plaque: Battle between a wolf and a snake
Siberia, 4th-2nd century BC. Chased gold, turquoise, glass; moulded on a relief matrix. 14 x 8.5 cm. © State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg



8.

Belt plaque: battle between a monster and a horse
Siberia, 4th-3rd century BC. Chased gold. 12.3 x 8.2 cm. © State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg

Art collection

Similarly to other enlightened rulers in Europe, Peter the Great put emphasis on collecting artworks. He purchased numerous works during his travels abroad and later hung them in his residence. He particularly enjoyed the works of Adam Silo who was specialised in depicting maritime scenes and those of Adriaen van der Werff, renowned in his time for technical finesse and subtle erotica. Adam Silo even gave drawing lessons to Peter the Great.

Spending considerable amount of money on artworks did not prevent the tsar from destroying them when he liked. Meanwhile Peter I was deepening his skills in shipbuilding at the English Deptford

⁷ Witsen's contribution to archaeology and linguistics cannot be overemphasized. He accounted on all the information available to Europeans at that time about the northern and eastern parts of Europe and Asia, and also about the Volga area, Crimea, Caucasus, Central Asia, Mongolia, Tibet, China, Korea and the neighbouring parts of Japan, including word lists on more than 25 languages, illustrations of the writing systems, and drawings on Scythian gold objects.

Dockyard, King William III lent him and his people Sayes Court, widely celebrated for its beautiful garden. The damage that the Russian delegation caused was so important (e.g. the paintings in the mansion served as targets for shooting exercises) that the Russian tsar was made to pay the sum of £350 9s 6d (£36.8 thousand as of 2013) in compensation.

Thanks to the passionate collector Catherine the Great, by the time the last Romanov ascended the throne in 1894, he was heir to the greatest collection of art in Europe.

Significance

The changes that Peter the Great brought about were enormous and swept through Russia like a sudden storm – changing everything from economy and social structure to army and navy, education and life-style... With his skilful hands, Peter I reshaped Russia. As we are viewing the relics of the great tsar at the exhibition, e.g. his death mask and handprint, his most personal belongings, carefully preserved for the prosperity as cult objects, we should not forget that such radical reforms unavoidably led to rebellions and the overwhelming majority of the Russians felt an enormous relief when the great tsar (= the Antichrist, as many believed) passed away.

It is still debated if the strong kick of Peter's reforms really produced a long-lasting momentum (Shekshnia, 2004). Certainly, Russia needed another emperor for consolidating the changes, which she got in the person of Catherine the Great, some seventy years later. However, one thing is sure: under Peter the Great Russia became an international power, a position that she has maintained ever since, despite the successive governmental changes and the various hardships on common people.

About the exhibition

The Hermitage Amsterdam is the only European satellite of the famous St Petersburg museum. It has been opened in 2009, as a result of the joint efforts of several leading Dutch private companies. The idea of the present exhibition was conceived at the opening. The exhibition is based on the collection of the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg, with additional pieces from other Russian and Dutch museums.

In parallel to the exhibition at the Hermitage Amsterdam, artworks of renowned Russian artists are to be seen at various locations in the Netherlands. In the Hague, both the plein air exhibition at the Lange Voorhout and the exhibition at the Museum «Beelden aan Zee» merits our attention and impresses us with their inherent striving for monumentality.

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In writing present article I relied on the following sources:

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PLÁJÁS, Ildikó Zonga

Constantijn & Christiaan Huygens

At first sight there was a peculiar and discrepant contrast between the location, the poster and the content of the exhibition. Hosted by the Grote Kerk in The Hague between April 25th and August 28th the exhibition entitled *Constantijn and Christiaan Huygens, A Golden Legacy* was only one of the many collaborative projects in and around The Hague marking 2013 as “Huygensyear”. The exhibition was opened by none other than Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands on 24th April, just 6 days before her abdication of the throne in favor of his eldest son, and the expectations of success proved to be reached in no time: distinct gentlemen and ladies lined-up at every moment of the opening hours. But let us go step by step and take a closer look at the different aspects of the exhibition.

The Grote Kerk: space and beyond

The Grote Kerk as location already reveals a lot about the glamour and richness of the exhibition, which refers not as much at the number of exhibits but more at the ambitious concept and its affluent implementation. Rich here I use in both meanings, that of belonging to the high society, and in its symbolical meaning implying something at highest standards and value. For the hidebound, non-Dutch visitors at first sight it might be striking entering a church with a different purpose than that of religious motivations, yet in the Netherlands filling the historical spaces provided by churches with various cultural content has a long tradition. At this point the Grote Kerk as location for the exhibition becomes not just a curiosity (we should also keep in mind the great challenges posed by choosing such a space for an exhibition, with limited possibilities for manipulating the space as seen in the case of regular exhibition halls), but also integral part of the main concept: how to use or integrate the heritage and legacy of the past in the actuality of the present. And the Dutch curators are proving once again the higher professionalism and creativity in mastering this issue.

The poster: actuality and relevance

Arriving in front of the church the poster of the exhibition is welcoming us: Constantijn Huygens dressed in suit and wearing orange tie, with colorful folders in his hand having the logo of the Dutch government. Christiaan, his teenage son, on the other hand, is standing with his hands in the pockets of his Jeans and wearing a T-shirt with the imprint of the Saturnus. For someone with little knowledge about the Huygens family or without being familiar with the concept of the exhibition at this point these two information, i.e. the church as location and the poster, may seem a bit confusing. Let us play the ignorant, in order to experiment the richness of this exhibition without having to fight preconceptions about exhibitions or historical heritage in general. This will lead us to the third part of our initial contradiction.



Huygens Tentoonstelling © BBK/Door Vriendschap Sterker

Nevertheless before turning towards the content, by way of introduction let me mention that there are indeed a couple of historical facts which connects the protagonists, the church and the poster. The Huygens although living in the 17th century here are presented as masters of contemporary practices, and the Grote Kerk is indeed the place where father and son are buried, as proven in 2007 when during the restoration work to the bases of the tombstones of the Grote Kerk, dozens of graves were found and uncovered.

The title of the exhibition “A Golden legacy” is accurate also in the sense that represents not only the tendentious ideology behind the way the material is presented, but it is elaborated at every step resulting in a narrative which arrives at its final answer at the end of the exhibition. The poster picturing Constantijn and Christiaan Huygens in contemporary clothing reveals its final meaning in the last “room” of the exhibition. But let us make the visit together entering finally the Grote Kerk and visiting the rooms in the order suggested by the layout of the exhibition.

The exhibition: a master narrative of legacy

Entering the lobby intimate classical music introduces us to the sublime atmosphere. I have instantly noticed the distinct public, old gentlemen and chic ladies, which back then I tend to connect to the fact that it was a Sunday early afternoon, when families with young children were probably enjoying the sunshine on the playgrounds. But looking back I might have been mistaken. Entering the church I realized that in fact there was no church, but instead a fascinating other space, which revealed its miracles slowly as I advanced through the carefully planned rooms.



Oranjezaal Huis Ten Bosch © Margareta Svensson

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The first room entitled “In the seat of power” had the theme the father, Constantijn, and the way he took up the governmental and cultural elite. From the encyclopedic quotes, images and letters a great man got outlined with tremendous knowledge, diversified talents and even greater aspirations. Constantijn Huygens had several qualities: besides being a connoisseur and poet, he was the advisor of the Prince of Orange taking services as art expert and counselor for the Stadtholders. The museological language of this room is still very classical, but I didn’t have too much time to wonder about it, as the answer was just right over the doorstep.

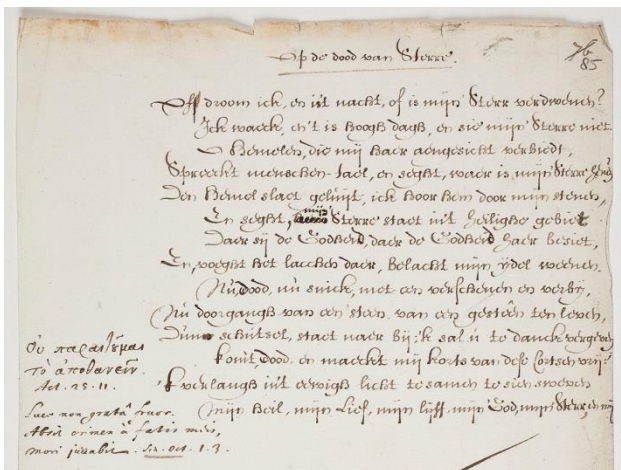
The Orange Hall, our second room was situated at the very center of the church, constituting the visual triumph of a curatorial concept which managed to get all the attention captured and all the curiosity awakened. As the most striking piece of the exhibition the Orange Hall is the full-sized exact replica of the Oranjezaal in Huis ten Bosch, the residential palace of (that time still) Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands. Her Majesty granted permission for a replica to be manufactured which was a distinctive honor and provided the unique opportunity for the broader audience to experience it in its original splendor. All of the storylines of the exhibition are meeting in this space. The Oranjezaal first of all reveals the originality of the idea locating the Huygens exhibition in the Grote Kerk. No other space than

the Grote Kerk would answer the honor of this replica, moreover it provides with the ingenious modality of dividing and organizing the interior space of the church.

Regarding the subject matter, the Oranjezaal signifies the common ground for the Huygens family and the Dutch Royal family, implying the continuity between the glory of the past and the order of the present. The Oranjezaal also represents the culmination of the Dutch architecture and painting during the Golden Age, and gives an overview of the grandeur and magnificence of the 17th century's art, also of a great importance in the history of arts.

Stepping out from the Oranjezaal, Christiaan, the genius son, gets in focus. The audience at this stage is invited to get involved at a different level in the exhibition. We are all welcome to check out for ourselves what Christiaan Huygens might have seen on 25th of March 1655 when looking at the Saturnus through his telescope. The concepts of the magic lantern, the critical spiral, the rings of the Saturnus, the pendulum clock or the wave theory of light are explained and visualized through imaginative audio-visual means and interactive models. His scientific achievements are embedded in the revolutionary scientific progress of the period but also in the family history and the epoch-marking political turns of the 17th century.

In the fourth and fifth room the light falls again on the father, Constantijn, and his eldest son, Constantijn Huygens Jr., the older brother of Christiaan. We are in the late 80's of the 17th century when Willem III the prince of Oranje manages to conquer the throne of England. The success of this action is mostly connected to the power of networking and sophisticated propaganda campaign, praising also the geniality of his mentor, Constantijn Huygens. This combination of political history, science and the arts presented through the life history of the Huygens family gives an air of familiarity and stresses the exemplary of the Dutch Golden Age.



Manuscript Constantijn Huygens © (1638) –
Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag



Zaal Christiaan © Ingrid Jongens

Finally, in the last room, entitled “The past today” the legacy of the past becomes once again clean-cut. The testimony of the Golden Age gains shape in the various practices of the contemporary political and economical life. The networker, the lobbyist, the spin doctor, the propaganda or the pamphlet writer indicates some very important aspects of the all-time regimes and governments. How these tactics and techniques are used today is presented through several installations in the ambulatory of the church. The modern relevance of Constantijn and Christiaan’s legacy is thus exemplified through interactive games and panels. The fact, that the graves of father and son are just halfway between these kiosks, represents an obvious hint about the importance of this legacy.

Conclusion

As emphasized at the beginning of the review the present and past are close-knit and very much interrelated in the exhibition featuring the Huygens family. Nevertheless it also has a very straightforward moral about the social and political order of the present. From this respect it might be interesting to know that the exhibition initiated by the Huygens Exhibition Foundation of the Grote Kerk, had among its partners many of the royal and national cultural and higher educational institutions, providing a living example of how the institutional networks and the higher society functions nowadays. The patterns of how the high society and the cultural elite is interlocking with the royal family in the contemporary cultural and political practices, becomes obvious through the historical example of the Huygens family. The exhibition about the House of Orange, the Golden Age, and the development of arts and sciences thus presents the ongoing influence of the works of father and son until this very day.

Yet the exhibition also reveals a more plain understanding of the legacy of the past. Leading its visitors from room to room and emphasizing the personal aspects and family events of the Huygens, outlines the model of a warmth and exceptional family producing free spirit and grounding the exceptional, versatile and innovative achievements of these two great and influential men of enterprise and discovery, father and son, Constantijn and Christiaan Huygens.



TRAVELOGUE

MIRABILE, Paul**Voyage on the Mekong from China to Upper Laos¹**

Etre l'artiste de sa propre vie suppose la possibilité de vivre selon certains styles au lieu de certaines obsessions, c'est-à-dire la possibilité de se répéter dans une variété de paroles, de gestes, d'actions.

Leo Bersani

Forword

'Chaque homme porte la forme entière de l'humaine condition'

Montaigne

My Voyage on the Mekong completes a triptych that has required thirty-two years or so to accomplish, and although my final destination in Northern Laos on the Chinese border was never attained, one must keep in mind that it is the Road that measures the meaning of a Voyage and not necessarily the realisation or the goal foreplanned...

I had discovered Nicholas Roerich, the Master of the Mountains, during my retreats in the Himalayas, discovered Sir Richard Burton, the Master of Tongues, whilst journeying over the Sahara Desert to Timbuktoo. This third Voyage, on the Mekong River, allowed me to discover Alix Hava, Aymé or Delaware Fautereau, the Master of the Road, for her life was accomplished on the Road. The French painter, musician, professor, explorer, in short, *Voyageuse*, whose mural paintings at the Royal Palace in Luang Pra Bang stunned me by their colour and density, travelled through Asia and Africa, impassioned by Life's colour and density because these are the very medium or vehicle of her artistic accomplishments. Her paintings, a manifestation of her Philosophy of Life, contribute thus to Humanity's weal of noble souls. The discovery of this noble soul, or better put Pilgrim of Humanity, drew into relief the Mekong adventure, when in spite of my efforts the Lao authorities refused me entrance into China via the On Nam, the northern tributary of the Mekong, out of bounds to foreigners due to mines, military activities, weapon and drug smuggling, and other reasons that linguistically I

¹ This travelogue was originally written in 2001. The piece here is an abridged version of it. The full version can be read in the supplement to this issue. — *Editor*

failed to understand. The fact, too, that I spent so much time on the river caused my mind to drift through many worlds of confused revelations. Were they real ? Surely there must have been some reality to them...But is it all that important to define and class various plateaus that one gains so desperately, and remains upon without intelligent attestation or luminous testimony ?

That green and misty wonderland indeed transported me back into my Self, and consequently once again away from the self-indulgent mediocrity of our globalising world, be it in the West or in China : *c'est blanc bonnet et bonnet blanc* ! A Self again purged of ideological indoctrination, racism and beguiled superiority which began with the cleansing sands of the Sahara, continued with the icy warmth of the Himalayas, and wended its desintoxicating way along the quietessence uncanniness of the Mekong River. Each Voyage into Self meant a violent severage from Habitude, that lethal nemesis ! But without that severage there cannot be any transformation. And without transformation there can be no Voyage : only tourism, business *déplacement*, neurotic *fuites en avant*...Did not Segalen express the Voyage as those '*marais des joies immortelles*' and those '*remous pleins d'ivresse du grand fleuve Diversité*' ? To voyage is to follow that river of Diversity ; to wallow in the marshes of immortality ! These are indeed the realities of peripheral errings, metaphorically couched because authentically experienced ; they are not addressed to 'experts' bred and groomed on self-centred essentialising, whose programmes for future *décideurs* abroad illumine the theatres of business schools and university departments of language or political science...

To judge the world from some centre is to misinterpret the Reality of Humanity : Noble souls contribute to the world as being part of the world, not scornfully aloft from it, for without direct contribution, however insignificant, the world can never achieve wholeness. Thus all that constitutes the wholeness of the world is derived from the continual centrifugal and centripetal forces which construct the Self ; alternating forces, analogical, antagonistic or complementary, full of the fury of Life because willed by the Self for the Whole and by the Whole. To Voyage sparks the quest of fully understanding that a contributable part of the Whole signifies plenitude with it, and not a part or rôle of it, which reduces it to a mere subservient cog of it ! And the true traveller senses this and realises it ; he or she strides to stimulate and sustain interest in this, beyond the clichés and platitudes, beyond *la langue de bois* and the childish phantasy of a monolithic world-order. This is what, I am sure, Alix Aymé understood and fully accomplished in her ill-illuminated life. Beyond is where the Other lies and waits to be part of the Whole, waits to be **thought of** and not only **communicated to** ! Her life was on the Road ; the Road as that contributable part of our world as a Whole. A noble adventure indeed, one that escapes ignoble minds whose quest of New World Orders has blinded them to the richness of those invisible activities of men and women who achieve nobility for our world through other means than what is demanded from them by callous producers of canon fodder and consumer cattle. To be the Pilgrim of Humanity is to be *really* part of Humanity. And as Soharwardî once proclaimed whilst on the Road towards Khazar Lake in Southern Turkey:

«*I am the eternal pilgrim; without respite I voyage throughout the world, and upon its wonders I contemplate* »

 Part One

The Mekong

Strange are these scenes amongst thick muddy waters and void. Amongst glassy greens and oily azur blues. Mountain hazes and river swirls. Jinhong and Hatsa...and beyond the spiralling mountain mists and spongy ferns into the Unknowness of hazardous conjectures of circumstances: U Tai...those bluish green mountains over which slide and settle mops of alto-cumulus. South China to North-East Laos: U Tai. Slowly, very slowly abandoning my Self to the movement of the Mekong waters; dark here, glistening there, alto-cumulus piling higher and higher upon me, below the dull sound of motors, of ploughed waters, all wedged in by matted jungle, sweating a soggy smell.

The engines below are deafening. Rattling metal. Three days aboard the Chinese riverboat *Chong Guo Ban No* out of Jinhong with the Dai. Xishuangbanna, the Dai autonomous region of China, where Dai, Yi, Han, Dao, Naxi and Bai cultivate their respective languages and writing systems. Xishunagbanna slips quite imperceptively into Northern Laos, an extension of the Dai culture, a slice of land wrested from them after the Second World War... I thus crossed the China-Laos river border with the Dai -a border that hardly exists for them because as many borders it is artificial, imposed by a conquering administration-, perhaps the first Westerner to have done so since the crestfallen cowboy pilots of the sixties and seventies : the secret war?

'...Nameless here for evermore.'

Wisdom has its soil and roots in the wander's geographical and existential Traces. Traces engraved upon the crust of the Earth, upon the Memory of Humanity. Signs to and for those who have learnt the subtle Art of Exposure: *Xu Xiake* the geographer...*Xie Lingyun* the traveller-poet. Exposure to the Outside...And yet keeping a cool aloftness from Power, Glory and Riches; for indeed much deeper territories await him who penetrates the *terrae incognitae* of Being. That innermost voyage borne by the winds of circumstances: accident after accident, contingency after contingency. That inner voyage which paves the Royal Road... *wang dao*, by which the sands are cleared away, weeds uprooted, debris tossed aside. The Road on which melodies and rhythms are beaten out, descending into verdant valleys, mounting ever so high into icy, snow-coiffed passes, where the gelid whiteness blinds the unsuspecting, streaming through hamlet, village and town amongst the teeming hordes, both man and beast, settling in deep, dank grottoes in which the stench of urine, sacrifice and campfire blend into a vast phantasy of some primeval past of ikon-filled and fresco-laden caverns, where the spirit of the World Soul still dwells, still hovers above and below us...

And thus into the depths of Mekong Asia I descended, that great Mother of all waterways, snaking through Asia's womb, worming through her intestines like the ever-growing ring-worm. Like the scaly dragon-snake ; an antediluvian, telluric force, fuming...coiling...twisting. This tropical density drew my

eyes back over unfamiliar libidinal scenes, where the rampant roots of Parashorea and Giant Elephantsear rampaged down into slimy banks, crept upon unctuous waters like dinosaur claws clutching an unfortunate victim: strangling, throttling...smothering.

The boat motored languidly on her course down river, transporting tons of garlic and animal feed. An eight-man crew manned her: all Dai, all experienced, all reserved in both manner and speech towards the foreigner. The cook, especially, whose Chinese and cooking were excellent. His sole responsibility: feed the crew...and the foreigner. And so he fed me and whilst doing so spoke of the Mekong, the voyage to Thailand once a week upon the *Chong Guo Ban No* : a matriarcal penetration into a jade-green womb of islanded stûpas, sweet-scented soil, petrified forests, drunken vessels gliding on silken waters; telluric forces whose weeping willows, crown ferns and spinulose drove me ever back, back into the heart of some ageless epoch of Poetry. Snatches of blue tore through the grey pregnant skies. Rolling, fleecy mousse hills emerged to the left into which crept sharp, flaky cloudlets, whose coiling manes dipped into densely forested *cirques*, hidden arenas which imprisoned bearded ferns and gossamer boughs. To the right, a riot of *fougères*, glowing green in the midday sun, fanning ever so lightly the creamy clouds, silvery white, away. Such fluffy, solitary Beings there above: an ivory sculpture, snuggled up against a backdrop of papier-mâché blue. Below the current ran swift and erratic.

The thick jungle girt villages. Stilt-homes stabbed the sloping pasture lands of thick, glazed carpets; a gentle cant of meadow brushed through root and knotty bark, skimmed by razor-sharp elephant leaves. Splays of ochre-yellow rose out of shimmering greens. Palms, in serried ranks, stood guard round these islanded hamlets, isolated from civilisation.

The speed of the boat slackened...ten, five knots? Soon we were drifting with the current. We ported at the Laos border, and awaited police inspection. Thorough fellows they were these Chinese: arms, drugs, illegal merchandise...or immigrants. A team of about five Chinese officials scoured the vessel whilst a young officer secured our passports and disappeared into a riverside wooden hut built on stilts. The crew and I waited obediently at the bow, in silence. Then a young officer called each of our names, mine causing him some embarrassment to which no one dared snigger, after which one by one we retrieved our passports. Mine being the last, the young Chinese officer carefully examined the exit and the re-entry visas for China, somewhat dubious about my being aboard. But the Chinese do not question their authorities : he handed me my document, his forehead furrowed in intense interrogation.

Boarding the transport vessel had been arranged quite miraculously at Jinhong. I simply loitered about the docks from morning till night, gathering information here and there, noting boats leaving for the South to the border town between China and Laos, Guanlei. On the second day of my observations, I met an officer of the merchant marines, a Dai, and explained to him my intentions. He informed me that no exit visa was issued at Guanlei, but that I could buy one at Jinhong, and get aboard a boat that would be departing that very day at about six o'clock. All agog, I ran back to my hotel, packed my things, rushed back to the harbour, bought my exit visa, and waited for this same officer to call the captain of the departing vessel. The conditions were agreed upon over the hand phone, and two hours later, from the opposite bank, the *Chong Guo Ban No* came into sight and moored alongside us. The crew waved me on, so I shook the friendly officer's hand, jumped into the boat, and away we ploughed downriver out of the huge port of Jinhong. My bag was placed in a cabin for four. I was the only passenger aboard besides the captain's wife.

Six hours later...

The cook nodded into the darkening walls of jungle: the motor suddenly pushed us sideways towards a beachhead. The captain poked his thick-haired head out of the pilot-house, yelling to one of the younger boys who, incredibly agile, hopped overboard onto the wet sands, trailing behind him the winch cable which he feverishly wound round a metal pike that had been hammered deep into the sands. The cook, busy washing vegetables with two young crew members, made me understand that we would be spending the night at the edge of the jungle. For no boat, no matter how versed her captain in nautical skills, could be navigated after dusk upon the turbulent waters of the Mekong, lest it be ripped open by snags or caught up on a shoal.

And that night in my tiny cabin, which I failed to describe, for indeed besides the three other empty berths, the cubicle only contained casks, baskets, a generator, crates and bales of chain and cordage, scattered about in the most chaotic fashion either on the empty berths or on the steel-plated floor ; that night I say, sweating in the mosquito net, the silence of the still vessel and the jungle thickness grew terribly frightening. I gagged. Interred alive in that overgrowth without a cough or cry. A shroud in which the body gradually decomposes, gnawed by the creatures of the underworld; those subterranean species grovelling in the dark. Injungled Beings of the Night...Creeping into the coffin, like a grey, vaporous steam along a mountain crest, like a caterpillar slithering along the blade of the Knife of Hell. I struggled out of the suffocating mosquito-net -that draping shroud- to seek fresh air. In the Night I brooded over the full, waxen moon. Silvern beams cut out tunnels in the rises and falls of matted jungle. Hollowed sanctuaries. And there in the lunar rays a million gods danced and chanted. Cowry bells dangled from ebony arms, drums made tremble fern and palm. Bluish flames licked and lapped the *fougères* of their oozing emerald. The moon turned blood red...and droplets dripped steadily, thickly, unctuously into the spongy verdure...until, like a candle, both the blood-red moon and the verdant green jungle melted into some mass of hissing cerumen. The sound of the motor startled me: Rosy Dawn had arisen out of the Black of Night...

Churning through cross-currents and whirlpools, the boat was lurching and rolled as if out at sea. She zig-zagged from bank to bank eschewing sand-banks, snags and eylots, heavily overgrown with reeds and bamboo, one of which, particularly large, harboured a gold-tipped stûpa. The sun rose and with it the flaws of heat which seemed to float above the treetops, above the surface of the swirling pools of water. Here the Mekong, in spate, had considerably risen during this very rainy season, devouring Parashorea and Vatica, washing away rooted banks and willows. We churned past quivering tree-tops whose boles and roots lay imprisoned in their watery graves, buried alive like sailors of some sunken, drunken vessel, the crow's nest the last visible sign of Hope...The speedy current made glisten the quivering leaves in the sun, made them tinkle in spite of the infernal engines...tinkle like the buffalo bell...

Peering into the jungle, rocked to the rhythm of the mighty Mekong, I envisioned one of Alix Aym's paintings : *On the Mekong River in Upper Laos* : the green jungle, swaying ferns and branches...a perfect resemblance ! Her visions were wrought from both without and within...

Alix Angèle Marguerite Hava or Alix Aymé or Alix Delaware de Fautereau was an extraordinary artist-traveller. Her paintings inspired me, oily and dense, like Lao jungles ; bright-coloured, like Lao

clothing ; joyful, like people and their markets and village life. She wished not to emulate but to transform the banal and blank walls of the royal palace into a spirited kaleidoscope. A richness and density of colour that creates stark contrarities, for example, to Roerich's airy pastels ; indigo rivers which rival Roerich's airy azures, depending greens and violet wavelets which greatly contrast Roerich's snowy whites and icy purples...The colours of the Mekong changed with the passing of day in the same way that the colours of her mural paintings changed with the shifting light of day. Indeed, I stood wrapped in meditation before a house on stilts along the banks of an unruffled Mekong, and lo and behold, there sprang her *House on Stilts*, the purplish waters reflecting that house and that foliage, violet and purple, there before my eyes ! She travelled throughout South-East Asia, Sri Lanka and India, exploring, painting, living. Her life was a novel, like those written by her brother-in-law, the French novelist Marcel Aymé, whose stories of the fantastic were taught in all the French High Schools of Asia where I had worked. She too worked in the French schools of Indochina : was she then a fervent colonialist ? How could she have devoted such energy and time to Laos if she had been ?

She taught at Hanoi in the 1920's prior to her painting the frescoes at the Royal Palace in 1931. Odd really, she painted the Lao people's eyes blue : a reflection of the azure or the Mekong ? I had never met a Lao with blue eyes ! A colonialist cliché or *clin d'oeil* ? Her bouncy, fiery colours put to shame so splendidly the dull and drab colonial machine-programme. It was with those bombastic colours that she staged her revolt, I am sure of it...like André Malraux's first rebellious writings some twenty-five years later in Indochina...The artist's revolt against convention, conformism, unquestioned superiority !

The Voyager wends on the High Road : his or her desire materialises in images that are unsought, unexpected, unforeseen. The globe-trotter discovers exactly what he has set out to discover ; an image of the Other that likens to and thus comforts his own. It is not a question of the exotic or the picturesque ; but of painting or expressing in words that which is in constant tension, that which risks to sever him or her from the familiar and accustomed.

Alix Aymé's life was on the Road, and like many Pilgrims of the Road she remains hardly known...

We reached Mamo on the third day.

This small Lao village lay wallowing in the effects of three days of tremendous rainstorms : descending the boat, I waded in scummy water, mud, excrement and trash in search of some police bureau. A driving rain had kept most of the crew members aboard the boat; only two or three had jumped off to attend formalities, they sloshing through the sloughy lanes and alleys of this monsoon-stricken village. The accountant suddenly appeared before me, charging out of a curtain of rain like a ghost risen out of its tomb. He pointed upwards over a few shops towards a cluster of Hardwood trees. His mouth opened and closed but not a word did he seem to utter. I slapped him on the shoulder and ploughed through the mud. And indeed, under three or four magnificent Oak trees a small, ugly bureau of concrete had been built. All smiles, although rather nonplussed at my presence in Mamo, the police staidly informed me that they had not the authority to stamp my passport, and although my entry in Laos be illegal, they would magnanimously permit me to carry on towards Hoçay where the river police would take care of all formalities...in one way or another! And so with these cryptic tidings a speed-boat sped me to Hoçay before nightfall.

The police of Laos share certain traits with those of India: an awkward situation, however irregular, however illegal can be regularised, legalised in a trice without one's honour ruffled or tainted, and without extravagant cost. In China it is altogether a very different matter : Chinese pragmatics at borders do not allow haggling ; negotiating terms belong exclusively to the Chinese, and of course the premium is very high. The Chinese only negotiate when they hold all the cards; a Chinese compromise means they get the better of you without, however, you losing face...and the Chinese can be very convincing in making you believe that you haven't lost face; that you haven't lost at all for that matter. In China no one ever *really* loses...

Would I lose in Laos, however intact my honour? Not only did the river police at Hoçay object energetically to this irregular entry into their country, they also ordered me to return to the Chinese border, via Udomçay, at Mohan, in order to obtain a 'proper' entry stamp. Mohan is located some 250 kilometres overland via a pot-holed and beaten track: two days of lorry-jolting back up North. I refused categorically. The Chinese border authorities had stamped me out in Jinhong, knowing perfectly well that their Lao comrades (Laos is Communist ruled!) at the other end of the river would stamp me in. (This was a lie: the Chinese stamped me out at a high fee. No foreigner should travel on those transport boats. But the Lao police were obviously unaware of this.)

Confused because they had never come across a foreigner entering the country from China via the Mekong, the police, kindly but sternly, reiterated their request ; I stood my ground, which in India meant pushing back your passport that the authorities attempt to return, meant not budging an inch until some 'higher' authority -the chief- is called to resolve the discrepancy. The tactic worked. A hour or so later I was summoned into an office where a mustached 'chief' sat behind an imposing hackney bureau. And like many of the Indian 'chiefs', he too wore dark glasses which prevented the requester to examine his beady eyes...

Through a translator, my solitary adventure from China to Hoçay was told. I did so in the most obsequious manner, fully aware that my situation be a dodgy one, and being as such, one must cringe and smile...It goes without saying that as I spun my tale, I found myself getting carried away, inventing here, lying there; epically stentorinous, elliptically racy: at one point my story got rather entangled, like the intricate overgrown bracken running along the Mekong banks, quite involuntarily of course, embroiled in the Tubular roots of those steep, rooty banks, entwined in those thick clusters of *fougères*. The 'chief' appeared rather concentrated on the story, although how all my rambling on was translated I had not the faintest idea ! Yet what was he really thinking of me: a petty *bourlingueur* who spins farangoes of garish grotesqueries? A cynic who derides coloured people as he stomps his merry way over newly conquered hunting grounds ? He suddenly threw his right arm up in the air and made a sweeping gesture...Enough is enough? Get him out of my sight? The translator stuck an entry application form under my nose to be filled out, which I did for a small fee, regulations requiring. Honour and integrity intact, pride unruffled, the 'chief', wreathed in golden-capped smiles, nodded to the door. All's well that ends well. I joined my hands in *anjali* whilst nodding my head in slavish obsequity.... I exited before he had any misgivings...

After two boring days in Hoçay, I paid my fare on one of those colourful box-boats that I had seen moored at several of the villages down river from China ; and for two days travelled at close quarters amongst a horde of Western tourists en route to Vietnam. Two days of noise and Lonely Planet jargon.

After a welcome respite at the Pak Ou Cave Sanctuary, we arrived at the former mediaeval capital of the Lao kingdom, Luang Pra Bang...

Mediaeval Laos, like all mediaeval lands, is that fascinating centuries-old process of symbiotic forces, allied or antagonistic, that vied for supremacy or survival. Their commingling, willy-nilly, created a novel force : Lao under the victorious and wise auspices of the first Lao king Fa Ngum ! From the South, Khmer Theravada Buddhism penetrated, already bearing certain traits of a Cholan South Indian heritage. From the North, Mongol lamism and Chinese confucianism, subtly entwined since the XIII^o century Yuan Dynasty. Aristocratic and nomadic strata converged in this nascent kingdom, fashioning a Newness out of those assimilated forces of the invading old. This osmotic Newness debunks the concept of harmony and grace : its spirit rather lies in the tension of extremities that seek reconciliation without compromise !

Luang Pra Bang : a town forged on a patchwork of historical monuments, many restored quite nicely, joined by muddy roads, patches of jungle and small bazaars. Costly hotels for tourists can be found in finely kept residential areas. I stayed in a small house whose easy-going owner, attired in an impeccably white *dhoti*, rented out three or four rooms for a small fee. He was in his late fifties and spoke French very well. I remember him possessing many valuable antics in his home, one of which was a musical instrument, a wooden xylophone, methinks. His house was not too far from the Royal Palace Museum, and very near to some outdoor tables and benches where workers ate their breakfast and drank tea. I joined them every morning for breakfast during my eight-day stay in the mediaeval capital.

It was my visit to the Royal Palace, or the 'Haw Kham', built in 1904 by the French for the Royal family -today a musuem since the Communist take-over in 1975-, that piqued my curiosity and led me to discover Alix Aymé's or Hava's wonderful works of art in guise of mural paintings in the king's former reception hall. Her depictions of so many stilted homes along the Mekong not only display a material reality of the Mekong valley dwelling conditions, but also symbolically refer to the Lao nation : did not king Fa Ngum declare that all people living in homes on stilts are to be identified as Lao, demarcating them from the Vietnamese and the Khmer ? So states the documents which I had perused many months after my voyage when returning, rather downheartedly to China.

Besides Alix Aymé's mural paintings, the palace held little interest for me, although something should be said about the gifts that presidents, kings and other diplomates offered to the Lao kings on their official visits to them. In a series of showcases, one can observe a lunar rock that president Nixon had offered to his royal host, and in another case, a French president whose name I no longer recall, offered the king fine procelain from Limoge. A lunar rock ! What a lovely gift, much more lofty-spirited than the napalm and agent orange that rained down upon that same host offered by that same visitor...

Down to the river I trudged on my eighth day at Luang Pra Bang, negotiated the fee and left, the only passenger on a small vessel whose wooden armature above protected me and the captain from the heavy rains which never stopped until Nong Kiaw...The Nam Ou would snake me up to U-Thai, then into China, or so I believed ! Did U-Thai really exist ? China certainly existed ; it was there on my Chinese map ! And when I inquired about U-Thai the Lao would nod their heads. But a nod in Asia does not necessarily mean acquiescence. The Indians are champions of the ambiguous nod...Southeast Asians are too, perhaps...After all, they were invaded and conquered for a century or so by the Cholan Tamils ! And

so I set out for the North on the affluent Nam Ou in search of my mediaeval river town on the Sino-Laotian border...

The Voyager adheres to the rhythm of the river, as he does to that of the deserts and the mountains, and in doing so, penetrates Time that is in tune with his, not the mechanical, artificial, technological time of the modern city and town. And where the urban denizen's Time speeds by in a wink of an eye, the Voyager's lingers on for centuries, like that of the desert's, mountain's and river's...because it is Space that measures Time, real Time; and not the workings of man's, his, set on production for production...Adhere to the river's meandering Time dear wayfarer, for you will then desert the obsession of Time, and your Self will traverse the world's treasured Spaces for centuries...

Swallowed up by the winding, timeless river, I grew tinier and tinier before the gigantic splendour of its primeval Poetry:

'...L'art de ne pas paraître...'

Art, forsake me not to rootlessness; Rhythm, provide me the strength to measure my steps :

*'Make the Experience of the World
And walk amongst Humans,
See yourself
Rest upon the summits lofty.
Terraces and pavillions -mountains and forests-
There was never any reason to distinguish them.'*

Su Shi's life of plenitude: Poetry-Vagabondage-Solitude, the Chinese trinity! The echoes off the matted jungle walls are, when all is well and said, simply ours...Echoes screaming back from the Past, hollowed nights listening to the murmurs of one's own terror; the river widened and narrowed, folded and spread like the tempo of some phantasmagoric ritual. This prehistoric world would surely get the better of me...Boschian figures began to crowd my memory, but they soon disappeared, leaving the spaces clear for those of the Buddhist Hells, be they Mahayana or Hinayana.

The dimness of light as the mountains rose and the river narrowed, circumscribed my destination. The rushing waters: appeasing or inebriating? Moored to a metal stanchion a metre or two from a sandy beachhead, I was suddenly seized with an urgent urge to defecate. I jumped into the ankle-deep water, ran into some clusters of reeds, made my hole and relieved myself. A page from *La Voie Royale* served to wipe: did not the noble pages from *The Hobbit* serve the same sanitary purpose in Africa? Mercenary indeed, yet better than polluted water or urine-stained sands...

Barefoot on the beach. Dugouts ferried women from bank to bank: the Hmongs, dressed in black, mercenary fodder of the C.I.A., and the slandered scapegoats of the American Forces when the rout in Vietnam and Laos began! Ahead the river sliced through two canyons. The tiny wavecrests glistened in

the sun's rays. Glistened and exploded as they battered the boulders and banks. Such peace. Such tranquility. Then the bark was poled into the current and began anew her impassive upstream ascent: two hours later Nong Kiaw...

Nong Kiaw: ensconced amongst lofty mountains and thick forests : what a glorious spectacle! No one stood high on the shores observing either my arrival or struggle up the slippery slope. In a clearing just above the frail barks and dugouts, surrounded by wooden shops, not a creature stirred. I trudged up an earth-beaten road which led to a wider dirt road, aligned with shops, stilt-homes and little vegetable and flower gardens. A small signpost tied to a tree indicated a guesthouse, a name which has long since escaped my memory. No one took heed of the foreign presence; an odd sensation indeed, nothing unfriendly mind you, nor belligerent, simply an indifferent attitude or poise. Children did smile when the foreigner smiled, but nothing more. To my left quite suddenly, a magnificent Bodhi Tree cast the road in cool shadows with her razor-sharp Elephansear leaves. Under her serenity I experienced a soothing sensation, like after having bathed in a stream during the hot summer months. And there, out of the coolness of the expressive shadow, to the right, the ochre-yellows of the guesthouse. Bouncing off the tiny windows of the second storey, reddish-orange rays of the sinking sun; they filtered back through the huge leaves of the Bodhi, blending into the blackness of the tree's rhizomatous vortex.

I strolled out into the soft, dusky light, then into a small front courtyard in which a family, busy slicing, chopping, peeling and tearing all sorts of vegetables on a long, wooden table stood up graciously to greet me. The older boy spoke excellent English. He immediately took my bag and showed me to a room on the second floor from whose diminutive window the orange rays of the setting sun softly mantled two or three stilt-homes and a distant meadow, peppered with Palm Trees that umbrellaed *fougères*, Royal Crown ferns and a myriad plant stranglers in an alleviating mellow sheen. Women strolled out on their verandas to hang clothes on the banister, one or two of them picking stems of flaxen straw from the low-hanging roof to chew them. Far out at the end of the meadow I noted a hill upon whose brow a gold-tipped watermelon stûpa, or *Mak Mo* had been built: the hemispherical-shaped shrine suggested the presence of a monastery or *vat*. I liked my little window to the world: through it bathed in the poetry of this MOMENT...I left the window open in order to clear out the stuffiness of the room then climbed down the ladder which led directly into the courtyard, where the toilet and a basin of well water were at my disposal. I swung round to the front of the guesthouse and joined the family. Dinner would be at seven, hour in which the electricity would faintly light some homes, shops and the main road until ten o'clock.

After a dinner of soup and vegetables, and being the only guest that day, the English-speaking son proposed that we go for a walk in the village. Scantily supplied shops, dimly lit with a candle or two, began to close as darkness crept in. People mingled about the street or in the flower gardens out of which appeared the silhouettes of the sturdy stilt-homes: no one here was barefoot! Very few men wore *dhotis* and fewer were shirtless. A path to the right led off into an open meadow, in the middle of which wooden stalls and planks had been installed for the morning mart; it would open at four thirty or five. Fruit, vegetables, meat and some clothes items were sold, carried in from the surrounding fields and hamlets by the toiling peasants, some of whom walked about seven or eight kilometres over jungled paths infested with mines.

A peculiar flaxen-coloured light bathed the village and her surrounding mountainous vegetation; yellowing orange or orangy yellow. The boy turned to me:

« My father told me stories about this light. He calls it Agent Orange or Yellow Rain. American light from the black-spotted sky. Sprayed over villages and temples and fields and people and trees and mountains. It burned holes in children's bodies. Their hysterical tears were never seen or heard in the West. A misty, burning light whose smell stung the holes of noses, whose weight smothered crops, whose taste poisoned water. The airborne cowboys burned down temples and hospitals and homes. Did anyone see our yellow tears, our orange skin in the West? Did anyone pray for us, lay flowers on the rubble of our civilisation, of our crushed bodies, sing our national anthem for us? »

« No. » I answered.

Ghastly grim: 'nameless here and nothing more...'

Two days later I strolled down to the river, negotiated my fare and set out on bark number 010 for Muang Khouna.

A small vessel as could be expected, but I must admit more sophisticated than the one that got me up to Hong Kiaw. True, there was no padding on the two-row, little wooden chairs nailed to the hull. However, both the passengers and the helmsman were protected by a sturdy roof. The pilot, in fact, sat comfortable in a petit cabin with sliding windows at the front in order to prevent monsoon rains from disrupting his manoeuvres. The passengers climbed in and out behind the pilot-cabin, where a roofless space allowed everyone to stand. There was no bow so to speak, only a short 'beak' where heaps of cordage had been stowed for mooring. The stern, much wider, provided space for the motor, a water-pump and the second-in-hand who remained behind them for the entire journey. Two red-coloured pails at the front and the stern provided ample volume to bail out the bilge-water if the pump failed...which it did!

Three-hundred kilometres upriver without any respite from the driving rains. The two red-coloured pails were indeed not enough! The pump never worked at all. The helmsman must have stopped the bark twenty or thirty times for passengers to descend or mount in order to bail her out of bilge-water, then wait for the motor to dry. The hull lay submerged in water not so much due to the stinging rains, but mostly because the level of the river and that of the lees was well-nigh the same! Whenever we hit a rapid or ploughed into a cross-current, foam and spray would drench us all, especially those Lao who were seated directly behind the pilot-cabin, where they received the brunt of the impact. In spite of the pounding rains, the captain kept to his course, zig-zagging from bank to bank, steering clear of dangerous shoals, avoiding the dappled greys of sunken rocks. At one point the rapids jolted the vessel to such an extent that the wooden roof rattled: would it get worse upriver? It certainly would...and for the first time the river began to frighten me.

And there to the left: a few rafts drifted dreamily through the drooping branches of willows along the banks; calmly drifting without pole or paddle. The motor of our bark suddenly stopped. Everything grew so calm, so tranquil. Only a rainy breeze from the East blew in, lightly touching the stalwart reeds

of tiny isles of the root-infested banks. The mountains towered around us here where the Nam Ou narrowed considerably. The Lao rafts, large, long, smooth and green, floated adjacent to our now motionless craft. Now I discerned two or three men soaping themselves on one of the rafts, whilst on another, further down stream, a solitary villager had just cast his fishing net into the choppy waves. And there, almost in the middle of the river, still another raft on which three boys had stretched out ; it floated listlessly amongst uprooted trees, reed-woven isles and clumps of stationary debris. Wonderful rafts called *maipei* which means 'bound wood', similar in construction and function to those *catamaran* of Dravidian stamp in South India, and to those Chinese rafts of Guangxi, glided and slipped into the small inlets, moving in and out of willow tunnels, leafy bowers and viny vaults with such ease and grace. Little by little, they would disappear into the supine inlets, snaking deeper into the heart of the mountain jungle, girt everywhere by tremendous jagged cliffs and copses of palm and *fougère*.

The scene hypnotised me : there, two dugouts poled by ten or eleven people, dressed in gay colours, along the banks, behind whom lay a vast stretch of green jungle, but whose swaying ferns and branches were easily counted because separated from each other. And further on, a path of ochre cut through the swaying vegetation in front of which the ochre colours of the Mekong were mirrored. But what am I beholding ? Yes, it is Alix Hava's *On the Mekong River in Upper Laos* ! Incredible ! A perfect resemblance. A perfect fit ; a reminiscent of a painting I had seen only once ! Yet, I'm sure both the painting and the scene that hypnotized me belonged to a shared identical Time and Space ; one of that very Instant...the Artist's...Nature's...and the spectator's...

Nine hours later, hungry, tired and drenched, the pilot hauled in his vessel on a cement landing at Muang Khwa: four passengers alighted. It had been a long day...

Perched upon the brow of a small hill which overlooked the river was nestled the delightful terrace of a guesthouse, recommended to me by one of the passengers on the bark, and whose owner -so this passenger explained- spoke excellent French.

It was a rather large house whose second storey had been fitted out to accommodate the trickle of foreigners who ventured into North-East Laos. The large terrace, bedecked with colourful flowers and vine-bowers, overlooked the fast flow of the Nam Ou, here in spate. To the East, Viet-nam, and more precisely, Dien Bien Phu: the symbol of Viêt-minh, of Giap over de Castries, of French humiliation and defeat. The prelude to Algeria, and to the final curtain-dropping of the Colonial Theatre: remember this boisterous phrase?

«Ce qu'on donne pendant la guerre à l'humanité est volé à la patrie »

dixit some umbrageous French officer whose war crimes have yet to be judged....

Alix Hava, alias Aymé, might have never existed without the French colonial empire. She died in Brazzaville in 1989, long after the fall of the empire, long after the independance of those former French colonies and protectorates, long after the blood had dried...but not the insult and the humiliation...

True, if the French had never colonised Indochina, there might have never existed a Alix Aymé ! And yet, her existence confirmed the victory of the Vietnamese at Dien Bien Phuh, the Pathet Lao over the American Ravens...

...nameless here and never more...

The Road made Alix Aymé exist; and this Road was one of ontological and existential independance...of existential integrity and ontological identity. The Road that paves and paved the way for the independant spirit that Art requires. The Road of Art liberates nations, saves many a pilgrim who treads the dark recesses of History's abominable truths...

There were only six of us who left Muang Khwa to Hatsa one rainy dismal morning. A six or seven-hour voyage over treacherous rapids and snags: six of us tucked into a frail bark whose only shelter shook and jolted at each and every violent wave, current or rapid encountered. The six of us, tossed, bounced, convulsed as she banged into swift cross-currents, caromed off to the left or right at such a speed that I truly believed the steerman had lost control of his vessel. All six of us gripped the flimsy sides of the boat, straining at every rough passage. After an hour upriver I was so tense that my muscles stiffened; I could hardly pivot my neck. Seated on planks nailed into the hull, we found ourselves ankle-deep in bilge-water. It poured in from the breaking foam. Worse, a storm broke over us, filling the vessel with so much more water. Yet the pilot, without any shelter, nor his wife who governed the motor at the stern, never once rested: they fought on and on when smashing over the thunderous rapids, bailing out bilge-water with the hand pump and pails. At one moment, when the rains had abated, I caught a glimpse of a light-green bark, hardly visible due to its extraordinary flatness, being poled down river, very near to the root-entangled bank. Besides the poler, a saffron yellow-robed man sat cross-legged, the brightness of his robe, a monk's, contrasted in an esthetic sort of way with the dense greenness of both the bamboo raft and the stretches of matted jungle behind him. The image mesmerised me for a moment, for indeed the whole scene had already appeared before my eyes at the monastery of Polisai at Luang Pra Bang, inframed in an outer wall fresco...The bamboo raft moved further away, drifting dreamily amongst this fantastic scenery...fading away in this strange, prehistoric world: was it Conrad's or Alix Hava's? Or a fresco in which I had been painted and framed?..

We made a halt on a beachhead peppered with thick gaggles of reed and thistle : Around me, awe-inspiring and complicated configurations formed vaults of root, vine and leaf; festooning ramifications intertwined with *fougères*, whose flaming red flowers hung limply over our diminutive craft. Here and there bamboo rafts transported Hmong tribesmen up and down the river from bank to bank...

A savage, pristine world: Tabular roots of the enormous Vatica and Gurja crept out of the humid soil and spread wide like the giant steps of prehistoric animals. Was this the world of green-sparrow boats and vermilion gates? A world *en abyme*?

'..I am like the willow tree following the wind. I am like sand in the water. The marrow of rocks...'

So sang Ming Liao Ze in the lands of erring... The more I reveled in these primitive, explosive scenes, the more Alix Aymé became an heroic reality to me ; a serious rival to the illustrious Alexandre David-Néel ! My thoughts throbbed under the weight of such oily depictions which pressed in on me which from all quarters. I felt her companionship on many a lonely and delicious excursion into the emerald green curtains of the jungle, within the moist dark browns of the stilted homes, amongst the indigo and light blues of village markets. I erred between canvas depictions and Reality, from the macroscopic to the microscopic worlds: regions barely visible to the naked eye, where insects grovel over veiny leaves and sinewy bark. Millions of red ants marched in terrifying discipline over and under soggy leafage. Plunging downwards, floating, eddied to the depths of despair...into an infinite chasm of the womb of the Beingless...into the pure Subject ?..

Hours and hours and hours sweeping by stûpa-islands, briny-scented shoals, huge cakes of debris. Villages were scarce: passengers would descend and vanish into the jungle; others would climb aboard, black-clothed women fingering their heavy, silver jewelery; others would squat on the strand or scramble across it, carrying baskets of fruit which dangled from the ends of their shoulder poles. Screaming, naked children would leap into the river, waving in joy, riding atop rosy buffaloes. From their stationary rafts fishermen would toss finely woven nets into the rushing waters, eyes hidden under their large hats of osier. The monsoons had ravaged the area: Willows and Hardwood Trees, swallowed up in the rising flow, flapped and floundered in the swirling cross-currents. The final hour of one's existence contains every hour of existence, every hour of an ontological epic...Not a résumé, but a containment...the Whole of many fragments...a phantasmagoria during which time every image-hour sails past the eyes, be it rocky or smooth. This final hour is perhaps the only authentic hour of one's existence on Earth...

Narrower and narrower twisted the river; twisting round grassy bends out of whose gutted jungle rivulets gushed the long months of monsoon rains. Wisps of some eerie effluvium crossed the waters of the Nam Cu like an evil miasme, hesitant, waiving...a primeval image of another Experience...Aïon. As if that Time, Aïon, our Time, had taken the form of a Space whose rhythm no longer flowed mechanically, but skimmed: immaterially, dreamily along the misty froth of the Nam Cu. A muffled cry of a bird. A languished toss of a fishing net. A spouse yelling to her toiling husband ; the hull of the boat brushing the thick reeds that grew on the many islets or on the edges of the sandy bends.

But what was my Destiny on the river? Indeed, I knew I wouldn't reach China ! Let it be again noted here and now. I have no inclination towards spinning suspense stories. The erring Subject of the *flux flumen*? To merge with the stricken bamboo, ferns, bracken, roots, palms...the arching *fougères* and sagging willows which swept the muddy waters? From out of the descending mists lurched jungle outgrowths, eerie configurations, unsettling to the naïve, to the unsuspecting. Under the mantle of humidity the waters blackened into an oily, moiré Substance whose Form no longer resembled that of the river. Huge swaths of red and orange floated in the wake of the tiny bark. The whole waterway smelt like Byzantium Fire, laden with the swollen corpses of the stricken Ravens and their Oriental side-kicks. Waves were heard lapping the corpse-spewn banks. The world grew petrous, ossified: a stiffening realm of white-wisped brazen greens and slaty greys. The bark appeared to fill with bilge-bodies...Bail them out! Bail them out!..

« Lima Sites! » affrightened voices shouted from the mists. And from the indistinct river banks villagers gesticulated in silent tongues: « Pluck their plumage! Pluck their plumage! » And there, fires spat embers into the hoary, bearded trees, each bole now a charred ghost.. Orange blasts exploded out of the petrified Hardwood forests. Reddish-orange mushroom billows coiled upwards, spread thick o'er the glaucous graveyard. And I can assure my readers that these scenes were not Alix Aymé's! Bodies writhed and wriggled and wiggled, wrenched from their flow of Time, from their flow, *tout court*...An immense humus tomb! These scenes were our nightmares...

'...La nuit est ton séjour...'

I have never felt the pangs of Routine because I navigate upon the rhythm of erratic Time...Known to the few and far between, and to remain unknown for whom the hinges of Time have long since rusted rigid...

From the ominous skies of orange the craven Ravens were plucked of their plumage, no longer croaking projectiles of fire, no longer enflaming the serried ranks of razor-sharp Elephantsear leaves...

'...meant in croaking 'Nevermore'...'

The jungle now lay clean and healthy...

Bound to his circumstances, the Pilgrim ascends the many plains of Reality. He may straddle them all, legs dangling freely over the edges...or jump from one to the other. Ascent and descent. And although the rains may efface this ontological rhythm, its Traces will survive the fading wake, fan out in V-form towards the misted banks. On those corse-strewn banks puffs of bluish fire spat destruction, bursts of raging and uncontrolled orgasms mushroomed out; unrelieved tension, unbridled hate and unprecedented ignorance of the Other convulsively erupted. Victory at Lam Son! Victory of the Other...for the Other...over the Same!

The *Epic of Being* traces the convergences and the divergences with the Other. *L'Autre* as the *Même*, be it mineral, vegetal, animal or human. The transition between cell and plant, plant and animal. The strappy threads of mist of the Mekong pulled me along without any further Destination save the river herself...the Road forever onwards...for ever...

The heat of orange blaze in the Night *-la Nuit Noire-* lifted the screams of village children, like flowers of aromatic wine or sulphur; vomiting out against illicit contrivance, unsound secrets, aborted manufacture of consent, still-born management of opinion. Out of the hoary vaporous flames: blue, orange, red *-fuchsia red-* played within the jungle greens, crept in and out of the acid-yellow nervures of the Hardwood leaves. Strange eruptions lay aglow: the gaunt Ravens..

'...with such name as 'Nevermore'...'

The bark grazed a lattice-work of aerial roots and gossamer vines:

...swish...swish...swish...

Was there any end to this snaking river? a Voyage up North towards a Chinese border that does not exist...that probably never existed, nor will ever exist for that matter...Tinier and tinier it all became, like a microscopic amoeba swallowed up in a large-mouthed fish...

Truly, Exposure renders us brittle, vulnerable to the treble movement of verticality, transversality and circularity, from whose implacable triad the kernel of Self bursts asunder. A violent separation that reminisces the penetration of the Other's otherness, that ambit of one's feeble grip on the little self...

A crystallising *modus operandi* settled in, bathed the petrified region in a filtered, somewhat troubling luminosity; a fierce twilight, flaming fiery from the doomed Ravens yet dulcet, mellow...thawing, which peeped through the leafy eyes of boles like rays penetrating stained-glass windows: fiery orange and blood-red...The charred and sorrowful ghosts of yore...

...like those Daisey Cutters:

*A shaft of cheerless light
Cleft the Way...*

Back I tossed my head, listlessly, like the river. Then I overheard, like a fey whispered intimacy, this familiar voice, which awakened my dormant memory ; abrupt it awakened it, in so many subterranean jolts:

*'Les houles, en roulant les images des cieux,
mêlaient d'une façon solennelle et mystique
Les tout-puissants accords de leur riche musique
Aux couleurs du couchant reflète par mes yeux.'*

...Wounded wings borne away into the jungle hollows, wide and cavernous; into the black sun, that ravenous Night:

'...Shall be lifted-nevermore!...'

Afterword

No, I never reached the Chinese border upriver. The Authorities turned me back, as could be expected, as I had expected : but hope is what keeps the Road ever-winding, *n'est-pas* ? Perhaps it was all an illuminated dream. Crestfallen, *j'ai rebroussé chemin*. Crestfallen, I say, yet without regret...I was struck, rather, by a odd thought, or better put, by a revelation : I had no future. Or if future it could be called, it was behind me ; I had only the Present to contend with, to confide myself in, to live without regret or sorrow...

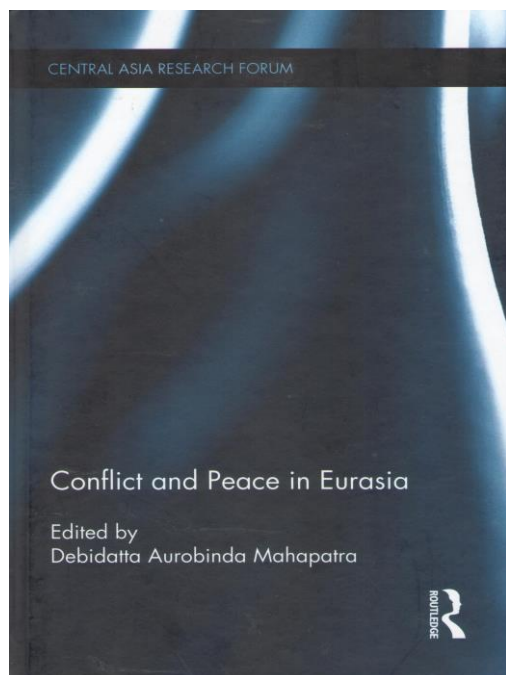
*'Les fleurs de pêcher s'en vont
au loin,
emportées par le courant.
Là où se cache une autre terre et
un autre ciel,
qui ne sont pas ceux des hommes...'*

Li Bo

En hommage à Alix Aymé



NEW BOOKS

FARKAS, Flórián**Conflict and Peace in Eurasia****Editor:** Debidatta Aurobinda Mahapatra0**Title:** Conflict and Peace in Eurasia**Publisher:** Routledge**Year of publishing:** 2013**Language:** English**Number of pages:**216**ISBN:** 978-0-415-63278-2 (hbk)
978-0-203-08103-7 (ebk)

A significant number of edited volumes in the field of politics, economics and related sciences are born due to publication “pressure”; a phenomenon known both for editors and especially for authors in order to accommodate the prescriptions of their academic institutions. Volumes falling into this category are in the best case read by a certain number of peers and are totally dry and uninteresting for the general public.

Luckily there are exceptions and the volume ‘*Conflict and Peace in Eurasia*’, edited by Debidatta Aurobinda Mahapatra and released by Routledge at the beginning of this year is a clear example for this. The reader finds in it 11 articles that deal with carefully selected conflicts in the post-Soviet and adjacent regions. As such it brings a new perspective, since no single volume deals with these conflicts using a contemporary view and approach.

In the introduction of the editor, in which he in the first instance presents the major perspectives on Eurasia itself, he also contextualizes the different conflicts with an emphasis on conflict resolution towards a lasting peace. The introduction is then followed by the following papers:

- ✚ Johan Galtung: A perspective on conflict and peace
- ✚ Emanuela C. Del Re: From the Balkans to the Caucasus – Paradoxes of the precedents in a post-Balkan perspective

- ✚ Andrew Foxall: Mapping ethnic relations – Cartography and conflict management in the North Caucasus, Russia
- ✚ Françoise Companjen: Complexities of the peace process in Nagorno-Karabakh
- ✚ Françoise Companjen and Abel Polese: Subtle line between self-defence and war – South Ossetia 2008
- ✚ Dmitry V. Shlapentokh: Chechen conflict viewed through the prism of National Bolshevism
- ✚ Sébastien Peyrouse and Marlène Laruelle: Kyrgyzstan – Conflict and prospects of peace
- ✚ Jason E. Strakes: Southern Kurdistan - From conflict zone to subregional integration in Greater Eurasia
- ✚ Debidatta Aurobinda Mahapatra: Prospects of inclusive peace, perception of players and stakes involved in post-9/11 Afghanistan
- ✚ Henryk Szadziwski: Resolving Uyghur conflict through a participatory rights-based approach to development
- ✚ Seema Shekhawat: Linking peace and development – An imperative for conflict transformation in Kashmir

Commencing the chain of articles with that of veteran peace academics Johan Galtung is a masterstroke; that paper defines the context in which peace and conflict resolution can be achieved in the coming decennia. Then a significant number of examples are taken from the Caucasus, for several reasons: some of the conflicts (e.g. the 2008 war between Russia and Georgia) have far-reaching interlinkages with other conflict zones or geopolitical conflict of interest of great powers, or have a major long-term impact on the Eurasian zone itself (e.g. the Chechen conflict, wherein major players move from an ethnic based standpoint to an international one).

In this group I have found one of my favorite articles, namely that of Dmitry V. Shlapentokh. Not only its topic is of crucial importance, but stylistically it is one of the most enjoyable, too. The editor's own paper on Afghanistan is also a masterpiece in grasping the essence of the conflict and sketching its possible outcomes during the next crucial years in front of us. Stylistically it is also very readable and enjoyable, even for the casual reader.

Jason E. Strakes's research on the sub-national interlinkages among the different actors in the Kurdistan region is a real eye-opener.

I recommend fully this edited volume to everyone who is interested in the major conflicts in the Eurasian zone and to the possibilities of their resolution. The volume is not only informational but is also highly readable and enjoyable not only for the expert but also for the interested layman.



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Physicist-astronomer who made a new synthesis of evolution of matter according to the material hierarchy versus great structure building periods. This model is a part of his Lecture Note Series Book on the Eötvös University. He also organized a research group on evolution of matter in the Geonomy Scientific Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Science (with Béla Lukács). He wrote the first book in Hungary about planetary science *From Crystals to Planetary Bodies* (also he was the first candidate of earth sciences in topics planetology). He built with colleagues on the Eötvös University the Hungarian University Surveyor (Hunveyor) experimental space probe model for teachers for training purposes and development of new constructions in measuring technologies.

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After having travelled and worked for many years in Africa and in Europe, Mr. Mirabile enrolled at the University of Vincennes-Saint-Denis, Paris VIII where he obtained his doctoral thesis in 1986 in mediaeval History, literature and linguistics: *La Genèse de la Chanson de Roland: la Théorie de l'Entonnoir* under the direction of Bernard Cerquiglini. Since then he has taught languages and literature, philology and History either at universities or secondary schools in Turkey, South India, China, Ireland and Russia whilst doing research on the Mediaeval Eurasian

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Historian, orientalist. She completed her studies at the University Eötvös Loránd in Budapest between 1992 and 1997 in history and Mongol civilization. This is followed by a postgradual study at the Mongol State University, where she is awarded a Ph.D. degree in 1999. Between 2000 and 2002 she worked as external consultant of the Asia Center at the University of Pécs, and organized the Mongol programs of the Shambala Tibet Center. During this period she participated in several expeditions in Mongolia and China. Ms. Obrusánszky is member and/or founder of several Hungarian scientific associations and she is author of numerous books and articles, and regularly provides analyses on Central-Asia in the scientific press. Next to that she is the editor-in-chief of a weekly magazine.

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