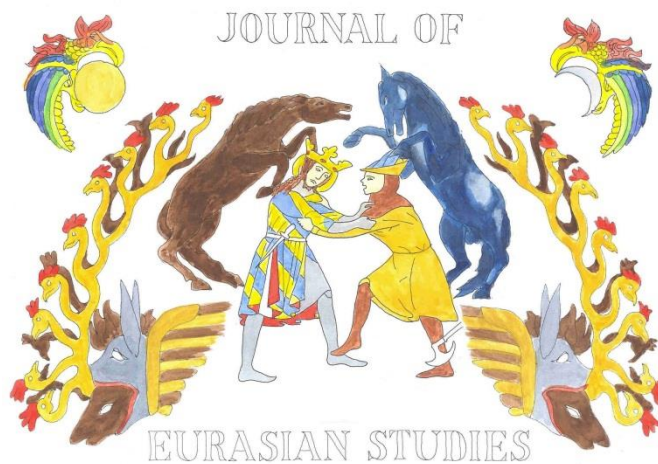


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DEAR READER,

A BRILLIANT CLASSIC FROM SARDINIA

The great Paraguayan composer Agustín Barrios Mangoré (1885-1944) has been for many years one of my favorite classical guitar composers. John Williams' CD from 1995 *'The Great Paraguayan'* containing 17 major pieces and David Russel's CD also from 1995 *'Music of Barrios'* containing 21 major pieces have been a constant companion at home or in the car. Although these recordings were fully dedicated to Barrios, and despite their great artistic value, they represent only a limited selection of Barrios' rich musical output. NAXOS produced three CDs in the first decade of the current century, featuring Antigoni Goni on volume 1 (2001), Enno Voorhorst on volume 2 (2003) and Jeffrey McFadden on volume 3 (2007). These three CDs together cover approximately half of Barrios' oeuvre.

As I took up classical guitar playing as an amateur musician some time ago, my interest in Barrios grew accordingly and I was thrilled to find an updated and definitive edition of Barrios' classical guitar output, published by MelBay in 2003 and entitled *'The Complete Works of Agustín Barrios Mangoré'*, in two volumes. Its author is Richard "Rico" Stover, who spent several decades researching Barrios' oeuvre and legacy, being now a leading authority on the life and work of this great composer (his other book, entitled *'Six Silver Moonbeams'* published by Guitar Solo Publications in 1992 is an invaluable source of information on the guitarist composer's life and work). Next to the scores of all works currently known, this edition is richly illustrated with period photographs, concert programs and Barrios' own drawings. Volume 2 contains also a CD on which 21 historical recordings from Barrios himself are compiled, constituting a real treasure. As John Williams rightly put it: *"With the recordings you are 100% certain that you are getting the real thing—Barrios."*

I was then wondering if it were possible to acquire the recordings of Barrios' complete oeuvre. And behold, it is possible! By searching I came across the name of Cristiano Porqueddu, who recorded in 2009 and 2010, in two churches in Nuoro, Sardinia, every solo guitar piece of Barrios. The work was released in 2010 on 6 CDs by Brilliant Classics, a record company located in Leeuwarden, the Netherlands; the notes to every piece were written by Richard "Rico" Stover. After listening to these CDs I was thrilled not only by the fact that now every guitar solo piece of Barrios is available on CD (in several cases the recording is a world première) but also by the style of the artist. The way Cristiano Porqueddu plays I can generally describe as 'Ur'-mode, with extreme power, but also with great thoughtfulness. My immediate impression was that at last I have found a classical guitarist who takes his role seriously. Many other guitar performers record CDs with 'Top Ten' pieces from multiple composers, definitely all of them recorded a zillion times before, in order to secure success and a guaranteed amount of sales. Cristiano Porqueddu proves that there exists another way. With humility and much labor, the empty spots of classical recordings can be filled in. As a reviewer rightly put it: *"A true milestone in the history of guitar recordings!"*

According to his biography he was born in 1975 in Nuoro, Sardinia, and began studying classical guitar at the age of seven under the tutelage of his father. Having obtained his diploma at the

conservatoire of music, he attended different Master and specialist courses all over Europe to study the technique and interpretation of Baroque and 18th and 19th century music in more depth. He also went on to win numerous awards and international competitions and eventually came to know the guitarist-composer Angelo Gilardino. Having struck a working relationship with the composer from Vercelli, between 1997 and 2002 and under his guidance he attended the Accademia Superiore di Musica "L. Perosi" in Biella where he obtained the Academic Diploma with Excellence and where he completed his additional 'virtuosity' year in 2003. He gives concerts around Europe and the US at important international festivals, as a soloist and in performances of chamber music and orchestral pieces. He sits on International Juries for Guitar contests and often holds his own specialization courses. Since 2008, the major Dutch label, Brilliant Classics, has distributed his recordings in over 40 countries. He lives in Nuoro, holds a professorship in classical guitar at the city's Scuola Civica, and is the Artistic Director of the Agustín Barrios International Guitar Competition as well as the Associazione Musicare, which has been staging festivals and events dedicated to the guitar since 1993.

Enchanted by the complete Barrios CD set, I have looked at the other CD recordings of Cristiano Porqueddu released by Brilliant Classics. My appreciation grew with every CD I listened to.

In 2010 the CD *'Ferdinando SOR – 20 studies for guitar'* was released. This again shows the great humility and artistic devotion of Cristiano Porqueddu because the great popularity of Sor's studies notwithstanding, its commercial feasibility is still risky. Ferdinando Sor (1778-1839) was one of the greatest guitarists of the 19th century and also a brilliant composer and pedagogue. His *'Method for the Spanish Guitar'* is still a basic book for guitar students. Next to that he composed a large amount of studies for guitar students, for all levels. In fact these studies, without exception, are gems, because in them a great pedagogical spirit is combined with equally great aesthetic value. To this day Sor's studies form an integral part of a guitarist's education. Their popularity is shown by the numerous edited publications, e.g. David Grimes (MelBay – 1994) or Brian Jeffery (Tecla – 1996). However, their great value was revealed in a much earlier period, by the greatest guitarist of the 20th century, Andrés Segovia. He selected 20 studies that he liked most, altered them and published them in 1945. From that date on the Segovia version was for guitarists the canonic version. Nevertheless, not too many recordings were made of them. In a later edition of Segovia's version Paul Henry is performing the pieces on a bonus CD. And David Tanenbaum recorded the studies as well on his *Estudios* double CD released in 2000 (he wrote also a commentary booklet to these 20 studies published by Guitar Solo Publications in 1991). But the need for an Urtext still was looming. Thanks to Angelo Gilardino, that work has been performed and a magnificent publication was released in 2007 by Edizioni Curci in which an Urtext was painstakingly created and published together with Segovia's version, complemented by an introduction by Angelo Gilardino in which the historical context of Segovia's revision is presented. Cristiano Porqueddu used this Urtext version when recording Sor's 20 studies. The result is breathtaking. To this day I am listening to this CD at least twice a week.

Three other recordings are related to Angelo Gilardino (b. 1941), mentor and friend of Cristiano Porqueddu. First to be mentioned is the 5 CD set: *'TRASCENDENTIA – Complete studies for guitar'* released in 2009. This box covers Angelo Gilardino's five volumes of studies (12 studies in each volume). Written between 1981 and 1988, officially called *'Studi di virtuosità e di trascendenza'*, the studies form a continuous chain of experimentation of musical ideas. The liner notes are extraordinary; they offer on 30

pages a detailed dissection of the historical and musical significance of each of the 60 pieces. Recorded in the Chiesa della Solitudine in Nuoro, these 5 CDs are an ideal companion when the listener is ready to embark on a transcendental journey.

The next CD recording related to Angelo Gilardino is the '*Concerto di Oliena*'; released in 2010 it is the third concert written by Angelo Gilardino for guitar and orchestra and in this case dedicated to Cristiano Porqueddu. Accompanied by the Sardinia Chamber Orchestra, it is a world première recording. It is a piece of work that reflects the latest artistic development of the composer, inspired by a gaze on the town and surroundings of Oliena, Sardinia. It is a good idea to get accustomed to the transcendent studies first, before listening to this concert.

The third recording related to Angelo Gilardino is the complete '*20 Studi Facili*' ('*20 Easy Studies*'), released in 2012. The liner notes are written by the composer himself; first the general framework of these studies is given, those areas in which these studies differ from those of the 19th century and next they provide a short introduction to every individual study. The scores are available from Edizioni Curci; hence these studies form a great source for every aspiring guitar student and supporting teacher.

Last but not least to be mentioned is the 3 CD set '*Novecento Guitar Preludes*', released in 2012. Again, Cristiano Porqueddu proves to be a guitarist, who is devoted to the creation of recordings that require much devotion and humility. This CD set contains preludes of Boris Asafyev (1884-1949), Manuel María Ponce (1882-1948), Henk Badings (1907-1987), Henri Sauguet (1901-1987), and Ferenc Farkas (1905-2000). On these CDs we find a wide variety of music pieces that are disparate in form, duration, and character. In case of Asafyev, Badings and Sauguet this CD set is a world première recording. Taken all these pieces together the preludes present a clear concentration of musical ideas.

According to the website of Cristiano Porqueddu two other CDs of him will be released by Brilliant Classics in 2014: '*Novecento Guitar Sonatas*' (4-5 CD set) and '*Angelo Gilardino – Guitar Concertos*'. The critics related to him as "... a point of reference for the new generation of guitarists...". I can only fully agree with this assessment. I have already marked Cristiano Porqueddu as a point of reference and I can hardly wait to listen to his new recordings next year, next to the existing ones. It is a real enrichment for all of us that the Dutch label Brilliant Classics has teamed up with such a brilliant classic from Sardinia.

Flórián Farkas

Editor-in-Chief

The Hague, December 31, 2013

HISTORY

VERMAN, Sanghamitra Rai

Women and Their Role in Ancient Indian Textile Craft

Abstract

Textiles constitute a unique chapter in the history of human endeavor. In the historical perspective, Indian textiles cover a period of about five thousand years with rich and almost unbroken continuity. The Indian textile industry has been more or less prosperous, and it had also contributed substantially to the country's economy. Textile craft mainly existed as cottage industry where weavers weaved clothes and women assisted them in various capacities, mainly spinning. It would therefore be interesting to study as to what extent ancient Indian women contributed to the prosperity of this craft.

In order to trace the role of women in ancient Indian textile craft, a thorough study of the primary literary sources, mainly Vedic and later Vedic literature, the *Brahmanas*, the *Sutra* literatures, the Epics, the Buddhist literature, *Arthashastra* and other miscellaneous literature has been made. Ajanta paintings have been also studied for this purpose.

In this paper, the role of women in ancient Indian textile craft has been traced from the Indus valley civilization up to the Gupta period. I have also tried to analyze the social position of the weavers as a community as well. The socio-economic condition of women participating in the weaving craft and their overall implications in the ancient Indian society has been also looked upon.

Key Words: Women, Textiles, Weaving, Spinning, Cotton.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

Five thousand years ago the people of the Indus Valley knew how to grow cotton and how to spin and weave. The Indus Valley people made the garments of dyed and patterned cotton as it is evident from the discovery of a microscopic fragment of a madder dyed fabric sticking to a silver vase at Mohenjo-Daro. It is considered to be the earliest datable evidence of a true cotton fabric with ornamentation. The chemical test revealed that the particular cotton stuff bears affinity to the variety of coarse cotton still grown in the Sind region. The handicraft was followed in the form of cottage industry and hence it is presumed that women assisted in various capacities in preparing the textile goods. The fact that the volume of textile production was not insignificant suggests that the textile goods were not only meant for home consumption, but were also produced with a commercial purpose. It can be also conjectured that it was export-oriented as the Indus civilization was commercially connected with other civilizations. The tri-foiled and indigo coloured cotton coverings of the Egyptian mummies resembling the Indian stuff strengthened the above view. It therefore suggests that the trade of textile goods may be

certainly carried out in large scale. Thus it would not be surprising if the volume of production necessitated the employment of outside labour which may be consisted of women workers, wage earners or slaves.

Role of Women during the Vedic Period

The portrait of the women weavers in the Vedic age is encouragingly clear and expressively informative. Women during the Vedic period were such a predominating figure in the textile handicraft that the female class could not be conceived without the trait of weaving. *Rig Veda* (6.9.3) refers to Lord Vishnu as *Tantuardhan* or weaver because he has said to have woven the rays of the Sun into a garment for himself. *Rig Veda* refers to weaving and probably the task of spinning was entrusted to the special care of the women.¹ Weaving of cloth for family members appears to be a duty primarily entrusted to the women of the house. Mothers prepared clothes for their children,² girls wove bridal wears for their marriage,³ and the housewives, even if there were interruptions, managed to complete the work which had been left incomplete on the loom.⁴ Spinning was mainly done at home and preferably by women; the mother, housewives or by servant women.⁵ Vedic women were efficient in weaving and spinning the yarn and they used to do these works during their spare times.⁶ A garment woven at home was considered purer than the one woven somewhere else. *Satapatha Brahmana* mentions that maidens were trained in various vocational works along with dancing and singing, among them spinning of threads was mention worthy. It suggests that weaving was an art to be learnt by women compulsorily. The women participated in weaving were called *vayitri*.

|| *tad va etat strinam karma yad urnasutram karma* ||*Satapatha Brahmana* 12.7.2.11.

The weavers were known as *vasovaya*.

|| *vasovayo vinam a* || *Rig Veda* 10.26.6.

The *Atharva Veda* personifies night and day as two sisters weaving the web, the nights as serving the warp and the days as woof.⁷ *Atharva Veda* also refers to weaving as an important occupation where women helped in various processes of weaving along with the men.⁸ A close scrutiny of the Vedic literature shows that there were female weavers who were known as *vayanti*,⁹ *vayitris*¹⁰ and *siris*.¹¹

¹ *Rig Veda* (RV) 2.3.6, 2.38.4; A V 10.7.42, 14.2.51; *Taittiriya Samhita* 2.5.5.3.

² R V . V. 47.6.

³ *Atharva Veda* (AV), I. 51.

⁴ R V, II, 38, 4.

⁵ R V 5, 47 (401), 60; A V , 14, 2, 51.

⁶ Bhargava P. L, *India in the Vedic Times*, Lucknow, 1971, p. 253.

⁷ AV. X.7, 42.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XIX. 1.

⁹ RV 2.3.6; 2.38.4; *Vajasaneyi Samhita* 20.41; R V 2, 38 (229). Vide Wilhelm Rau, Weaving in Vedic India, in Jasleen Dhamija & Jyotindra Jain ed., *Handwoven Fabrics of India*, Ahmedabad, 1989, p.23.

¹⁰ *Pancavimsa Brahmana*. 7, 8, 9; *Satapatha . Brahmana*. III. 1, 2. 13.

Atharva Veda also refers to various activities related to weaving, like weaving competition among women,¹² weaving of the ornamental border of the bridal attire by the bride herself,¹³ etc. We also find mention of female embroiderer known as *pesakari*,¹⁴ female dyer or *rajayitri* and *vasahpalpuli* or female washer of clothes and yarn, suggesting specialization in various branches of the industry perhaps to cope up with the increasing demand for such goods. The *pesakari* class of women embroiderers appears to have been in such a large number that *Yayurveda* includes them in the list of victims at the time of *Purushamedha yagna* or human sacrifice.

Rig Veda refers to term *Pesas*¹⁵ which means gold embroidered cloth with intricate designs. *Pesamsi*¹⁶ means gold ornamented pleated skirt. Female embroiderer or *pesakari* were generally entrusted with the duty of manufacturing those skirts. *Pesakari* were mentioned in the list of victims in the *Yajurveda*.¹⁷

Dr. Subimal Chandra Sarkar in his book, '*Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India*' has wonderfully showed the etymology of the eastern Indian vernacular words, like *siri*, *sili*, *silai* and that of the Tamil word, *silai*, denoting woven materials from the original Vedic term *siris*.¹⁸ The Tamil *sarighai* meaning embroidered fringe is probably connected with the vernacular *sari*, an essential female attire.

Panini mentioned that weavers were known as *tantuwaya*.¹⁹ *Maitrayani Samhita* I, 9, 4 (78, 14)²⁰ states that a priest, who has received a garment as recompense, takes it with the following words: Women have spun you, industrious ones have stretched you (on the loom) and weaving women have woven you. Women participated in different activities related to weaving during the Vedic period, like, they separated the seed (*karpasthi*) from cotton, ginned it and then spun yarn (*sutra-tantu*) and wove it into cloth of cotton, silk, linen and wool.²¹

Weaving continued to be the chief occupation of women in the *Sutra* period. The *paraskara Grhyasutra*²² mentions that divine ladies were engaged in weaving of clothes for the bride. It further mentions that 'the goddesses who spun and wove, who stretched the warp, and who crossed the woof, may clothe you for old age. Blessed with long life, you, put on this garment.' The mention of goddesses of weavers suggests that the women of higher classes may have pursued the profession or rather extolled the women experts in the field to the position of divine spirits. *Katyana Srauta Sutra*²³ even

¹¹ RV. 10. 71, 9. *Ibid.* 2.3.6.

¹² AV. 10. 7. 42. Also see, B. P Roy, *The Later Vedic Economy*, Delhi, 1984, p. 288.

¹³ AV. 14.1.45. Also see, P. C Jain, *Labour in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1971, p.273.

¹⁴ *Vajasaneyi Samhita*, XXX. 9; *Taittiriya Brahmana*, III, 4.5.1.

¹⁵ RV. IV.36.7.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* I.92, 4-5.

¹⁷ *Vajasaneya Samhita* XXX.9; *Taittiriya Brahmana*, III.4, 5.1.

¹⁸ S. C Sarkar, *Some Aspects of the earliest Social History of India*, London, 1928, p.61, fn. 9.

¹⁹ V. S Agarvala: *India as Known to Panini*. Varanasi, 1963, P. 232.

²⁰ *Maitrayani Samhita* I, 9, 4 (78, 14)

²¹ Vide Wilhelm Rau, Weaving in Vedic India, in Jasleen Dhamija & Jyotindra Jain, *Handwoven Fabrics of India*, Ahmedabad, 1989.

²² *Vajasaneya Samhita*, 23, 19.1.

²³ *Katyana Srauta Sutra*, XV. 5. 6-9.

mentions that women weavers were clever enough to invent a process to prepare a special and costly kind of cloth by soaking yarns thrice in water or rubbing them in ghee. With deftness, they could prepare dresses of different kinds, upper and lower garments, turbans, etc. and also weave light and heavy clothes.²⁴

In the epic, the *Ramayana*, we find mention of *Sutra karma visarada*,²⁵ probably applied to female weavers. In *Mahabharata*, it is stated that Yudhisthira was presented with slave girls clad with cotton garments and other fine clothes. The girls belonged to Broach, they appear to have been experts in the knowledge of preparing cloth of mixed cotton and wool, as well as silk as the word *akarapasama*²⁶ would suggest.

Role of Women during the Post Vedic Period

Buddhist literature suggests that spinning was exclusively the work of women. The commentator of *Majjhima Nikaya* praises the efficiency of women spinners who were intelligent enough to spin the finest quality of threads. The women in a *Jataka* story, spun (*kantitva*) fine thread (*sukhumasuttani*) and made a ball (*gulam*) of it.²⁷ *Tundila Jataka* mentions the cotton fields near Kashi.²⁸ Interestingly, *Mahajananka Jataka* mentions that women looked after these fields and they were known as *kappasarakkhika*.²⁹

We also find references of women participation in weaving and spinning in the *Jatakas*.³⁰ In *Suttavibhanga Jataka*, the profession of weaving was considered low in social hierarchy. In the *Bhimasena Jataka*, the *brahmana* archer mentions that the weaving work of the weavers or *tantuvaya* was a miserably low work (*lamakamma*). In some of the *Jatakas*, the weaving craft begun to be looked down as a low craft or *hina-sippa*. Probably this had an adverse effect on the participation of women from the higher castes in the weaving work. This notion grew stronger in later times and later on we find references where weavers and dyers had to settle in colonies away from the habitation of higher castes.³¹

However, the centralized government of the Mauryas opened up workshops and made arrangements for providing jobs even to the women from respectable families. But later on, the Kushanas and the imperial Guptas did not take any interest in such enterprises. They preferred to allow the guilds or local agencies a free hand in dealing with these problems. *Dhammapada's* commentary refers to a story where a maiden efficiently re-wove a new robe for her monk brother out of his shabby, coarse cloth.³²

²⁴ *Ibid.* 11-12.

²⁵ *Ramayana*, 11, 80.1.

²⁶ *Mahabharata*, II, 27.

²⁷ *Jatakas*, VI, p.336

²⁸ *Kappasakhetta Jataka*, III, 286.

²⁹ *Jatakas*, VI, p. 336.

³⁰ *Ibid.* VI. No.106.

³¹ Al Beruni while enumerating eight classes of low occupations, mentions weaving as one of them.

³² Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, Vol. 30. Part, 3, p. 120. Also see P. C Jain, *op.cit.* p. 95.

*Milindapanho*³³ refers to spinners (cotton spinners) as *sutrakara*. In *Milindapanho*, we find vivid description of the efficiency of women in textile manufacturing: ‘*sakaya matucchaya sayampinjitam sayamluncitam sayampothitam sayamkantitam sayamvayitam vassikasatikam*’.³⁴

Nagasena’s aunt, Mahapajapati, gave him a cloth for his use during the rainy season; it states that the women on their own could do carding (*pinjitam*), pressing (*kanchitam*), beating (*pattitam*), cutting (*kantitam*) and weaving (*vayitam*) of a wrapper.³⁵

The *Divyavadana*³⁶ tells us an interesting story of a Brahmin woman who wanted to earn money by spinning yarn. This story gives us a clear indication that spinning of cotton threads was quite common among those women folk who wanted to earn money from home.

In the *Bhikshuni Vinaya*³⁷ of the Buddhist *Mahasamghika* School, we find that nuns were allowed to prepare and spin cotton: ‘*tayo dani talakam abhiruhitva karpasam grhitva anyahi cikitsitam, anyahi vilopitam, anyahi pinjitam, anyahi vihatam, anyahi kartitam, tao sutrapindakam grhniya upasikam upasamkrantah: upasike upakarah krtah. aha: naisa mama upakaro yam mamaryamisrika pinjeyur va lodheyur va vikaddheyur va karteyur va*’. This particular passage refers to some of the root words: *cit* (to investigate); *pij* (to bat); *ludh* (to gin); *vikr* (to pluck asunder); *sphut* (to strike) ... all these words refer to the first step in cotton spinning, i.e. investigation and cleaning of the cotton seeds by picking out dirty and immature cotton.

The reference in the *Bhikshuni Vinaya* of the *Mahasamghika - Lokottarayadins* is as follows: “These (nuns) went up to the terrace (of the house) and took up cotton: by one it was cleaned, by another, batted; by another one loosened, by another one carded, by the other one it was spun. (Then) they took up a ball of yarn and went to the householder lady: ‘Householder sister, (we have done you) a favour!, (she) said: This is not an obligation to me that you venerable ones have loosened or carded or spun the cotton.’”

Thus it seems that during the time of Buddha, clothes were prepared in the house of the weavers with the assistance of their womenfolk. They took orders from their customers and prepared the goods in their homes or on their looms. Replenishing the shuttle and spinning appears to have been the work mostly performed by the womenfolk of the community. One of the Buddhist legends states that a weaver’s daughter, in spite of her eagerness to attend the discourse of the Master, could not find time as she was instructed by her father to replenish the shuttle to complete an unwoven garment on the loom.³⁸ *Anguttara Nikaya* mentions that a considerable number of women must have been engaged in spinning and weaving. It mentions a story wherein a woman is assuring her dying husband to rest in peace as she could support the family by spinning and weaving.³⁹

³³ Sacred Books of the East, Max Müller, Vol. 36, 201; *Milindapanho*, 331.

³⁴ *Milindapanho*, ed. V. Trenckner, London, 1880, p. 240.

³⁵ Max Müller, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 35, Pt. II.

³⁶ *Divyavadana*, ed. Cowell-Neil, Cambridge, 1886, p.276.

³⁷ *Bhikshuni Vinaya*, ed. G. Roth, Patna, 1970, p. 222.

³⁸ Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, Vol. XXIX, pt., 3, p. 15.

³⁹ *Anguttara Nikaya*, Vol. III, p. 293.

Role of Women during the Mauryan Period

Economic activities of women pertaining to textile manufacturing during the Mauryan period have been well articulated in the *Arthashastra*. It is important to note that the textile manufacturing was a decentralized industry, like today. Weaving was an artisanal work engaging specialized weavers. Interestingly, in the Mauryan period weavers were generally male and women were helping the male weavers in various ancillary works, like spinning, ginning, carding, etc. (Spinning is part of the textile manufacturing process, which involves twisting together of drawn out strands of fibres to form a yarn). Women were mainly engaged in spinning activities and it was one of the few openings for women. There is ample number of references in *Arthashastra* to women who could earn their livelihood by spinning. These references also reveal the social relationship between men and women in the Mauryan society.

Weaving, whether carried out privately or by the state, was considered as taxable income. The *Arthashastra* states that clothing, cotton yarns and fibers were taxed at the rate of one-twentieth or one-twenty-fifth of their toll dues. One-tenth or one-fifteenth part of toll dues were extracted from the textiles like linen, cotton, silk, curtains, carpets and woolen goods.⁴⁰ The Superintendent of weaving or *sutradhayaksa* used to employ efficient weavers for manufacturing of threads (*sutra*), coats (*varna*), clothes (*vastra*) and ropes.⁴¹

Arthashastra even refers to textiles as valuable enough to be stored in national treasury and has put textiles in the category along with precious stones and gems in sections of Book II. Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, (Book II, Section 80 and 81) under chapter XI, 'Examination of Gems that are to be Entered into the Treasury,' gives vivid description of different types of textiles. Spinning was a de-centralized cottage industry in which women participated actively. The duties of government Superintendent (*adhyaksa*) include distributing of raw materials to efficient weavers and others he thought suitable and supervising the work in government weaving house. *Arthashastra* states that women in certain condition were allowed to take part in textile manufacturing activities. Female workers mainly consisted of those women who were not respectably married, who were regarded with some kind of suspicion, had no other opening except for employment in the palace as servants of the King, old servants, prostitutes, women in flower and perfume trade or women performers in theatrical troupes.⁴²

These categories of women also included widows, women whose husbands had died, as well as whose husbands were living in or traveling to some distant location. In fact, women weavers also constituted of wives of traders who were away from their home periodically. It also comes out from the study that owing to uncertainty involved in economic activities of that period, it was necessary to have an additional source of income such as weaving for livelihood of these women. Crippled women could also join weaving. Women ascetics (*parivrajika*) and nuns were also allowed to carry out weaving because it was difficult, if not impossible, for a woman ascetic to wander through the country, begging for alms. Women who had committed offence (*dandapratikarini*) and had to pay fines, could earn the money for fine by working as a weaver. Mothers of the prostitutes, retired women servants of the King, retired

⁴⁰ *Arthashastra* (trans. R. Shamasastry, Mysore), Book II, p. 22.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, Book II, Chapter XXIII. Mysore, 1909.

⁴² *Ibid*, Book II, 23.

temple prostitutes (*devadasi*) were also permitted to perform this profession. But women who had decided to remain unmarried were not permitted in the weaving industry.

The Superintendent of weaving used to employ these women in various weaving activities like processing and spinning wool, fiber, cotton, hemp and flax. Women were given only that type of work which could be carried out from home. Required equipments which were not available to the women in their homes were prepared by men in the state weaving house, under the supervision of the Superintendent of weaving.⁴³ Those women who used to work from their home were called *anishkasinyah*. They were mainly engaged in spinning of threads. Maid servants of the weaving establishments were sent to provide them with threads. Those women who could be present at the weaving house would come at dawn for exchange of their spinning for wages (*dhandavetanavinimayam*). The author adds that the light of the room should be subdued and only sufficient for the Superintendent to examine the threads. Presumably, the subdued lighting prevented the Superintendent from recognizing the face of the women concerned. On no account, the Superintendent can look at the face or talk about other work with such women. Otherwise, he shall be severely punished. This implies rigid segregation between the two sexes, which is in contrast with the social life as described in other parts of the same work.⁴⁴

During the Mauryan period the wages of the weavers and spinners were paid according to the quality and quantity of the yarns weaved and spun by them. Spinning work was entrusted to only those spinners who could complete the specific task within a stipulated period. The Superintendent was punished for delay in making payments of the spinners and weavers. At the same time, payments were made only after completion of the work. Wages were fixed according to the quality of the threads spun, like fine, coarse (*sthula*) or middle quality. Wages were also given on the basis of greater or less quantity manufactured. Natural loss of weight or length through processing was also noted. It was also mentioned that in woolen threads, there is a loss of one-twentieth of the total weight because of the hair fall in the process of threshing.⁴⁵ Those who produced more used to get oil and dried cakes of myrobalan or cherry plum fruits (*tailamalakod-vartanaih*) as incentive. There was also provision for extra wages. Special rewards (*prativapadanamanaih*) were paid if the weavers worked on holidays (*tithishu*).⁴⁶ According to Battaswami's commentary, the poor weavers were also sometimes given *uchchhishta-danena* i.e., giving them leftover food. Sometimes, their wages were also cut short if they failed to give back the required amount of threads or they manufactured poor quality threads. Weaving was also entrusted on those artisans who were capable of producing threads in a given time and for fixed amounts of wages. Weaving was carried out with great care and the Superintendent used to keep a close watch on activities.

According to Battaswami's commentary, the Superintendent used to employ several means to detect stealing of cloth and material. It is also mentioned that those who manufactured fibrous clothes, silk clothes, woolen clothes and cotton fabrics were rewarded by presenting scents, garlands of flower,

⁴³ *Ibid.* Book III, 2, 3, 4, 5, 5, 6. For example, the rights and duties of a married woman, laws of inheritance, etc.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Book II, 23.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Book IV, 1.

⁴⁶ The calendar of a working year (from the month of *Asadha* to *Asadha*) omitting the intercalary months, was 354 days.

edibles or by giving any other prizes for encouragement. *Arthashastra* also mentions a balm to keep the head and eyes cool and as an inducement to others to work in their earnest.⁴⁷

At the same time, if somebody misappropriated, stole or run away with raw materials supplied to him or her, it was punished according to his or her degree of offence. Fraudulent practices of various kinds were well known to the Mauryan society and weavers were listed as among the most unreliable folk.⁴⁸ Various methods of cheating existed, which were tactfully applied by the weavers. For example, by soaking yarn in rice-gruel, a weaver could increase the weight of the threads by ten percent.⁴⁹ In this way, the weight of finished linen or silk cloth would be increased by fifty percent and woolen garments by hundred percent. Such practices were punishable by a fine equivalent to twice the total value of the yarn provided in addition to forfeiture of any advance payment.

The *Kamasutra* of Vatsayana⁵⁰ refers to the sixty-four arts in which a woman could specialize for getting employment in order to support herself, and the list includes spinning, textile designing, printing, dyeing and tailoring. It further mentions that peasant women had to perform several kinds of unpaid work for village headman, which included spinning of yarn, cotton, wool, flax or hemp.⁵¹

In weaving linen or silk clothes (*kshaumakauseyanam*), the increase in weight was usually 1 to 1.5 times. In weaving fibrous or woolen garments (*Patrorna kambala dukulanam*)⁵² the increase in weight was 1 or 2 times. In case of loss in length, the value of loss was deducted from the wages and a fine equal to twice the loss was imposed.⁵³ Loss in weight (*tulahine*) was punished with a fine equal to four times the loss. Substitution of other kind of yarn was punished with a fine equal to twice the value of the original. The same rule was applied to the weaving of broad clothes, known as *dvipatavanam*. The loss in weight in woolen threads of 100 *palas* due to threshing or falling of hair was usually 5 *palas*, according to the *Arthashastra*. *Arthashastra* mentions that the highest degree of punishment was the cutting off the thumb of the weavers.

Arthashastra also mentions the guild of weavers and points out how the artisans' rights can be protected and how they can deliver their work efficiently. The Guild system or *sreni* of that period became a regular feature of urban life. The Guild system started with large scale development of commerce during the Buddhist period (circa 6th century B.C.). *Arthashastra* states that skilled workers generally preferred to work in guilds, since this system had commercial advantages. In certain other trades, however, it was equally lucrative to work as a private individual.⁵⁴ Kautilya advises that wherever possible, work should be commissioned through a guild, as the responsibility then lay with a recognized group and not with a single person.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Book II, 23.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Book IV, 1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Kamasutra of Vatsayana*, Pt I, Ch. 2.

⁵¹ *Arthashastra.*, V. 55.

⁵² The Munich Manuscript reads *kambala tulanam* for blankets and cotton clothes.

⁵³ *Manu* 8, 397; *Yagnavalkya* 2, 179, 180

⁵⁴ *Arthashastra.*, Book II, 23; Book IV,1.

But, as attested by *Jambudvipakathakosa* and *Prabandhacintamani*, though the weavers' guilds existed but they were totally at the mercy of the king's whims.⁵⁵ The King of Bhoja is said to have ordered the removal of a whole colony of weavers in order to make the place available for the settlement of *brahmana* scholars. Several inscriptions of the time of the Satavahanas and Western Ksatrapas allude to the weavers' guilds functioning in a very flourishing condition. A Mandasore inscription at the time of Kumaragupta I furnishes an interesting account of the accomplishments of the various members of the silk weaver's guilds, which migrated from the Latadesa to Mandasore.⁵⁶

Bana's *Harsacarita* also mentions textile designing, dyeing and printing being done by women. Women specialized in the above fields were invited to the palace on the occasion of the marriage of King Harsha's sister, Rajyasri. Woven fabrics, however, appear to have been supplied by the weavers. Dyeing was a ceremony to be performed by women on such occasions.

In ancient times, women played an important role in the preparation of cotton, like carding, ginning and spinning and these activities are clearly illustrated in an Ajanta painting. On the left wall of the main hall of cave I, to the left of the second cell door, a small genre-picture is painted which is described by Yazdani.⁵⁷ Yazdani notices that below the royal pavilion, there is a shed supported on four wooden posts. The roof of this shed is of small rectangle wooden plank, which resembles brick work in the painting. Three women with exquisite features are depicted in the painting who appear to be busy in 'domestic works'.



fig. 3. Cotton-preparation in an Ajanta-painting

Ajanta Mural Depicting Active Participation of Women in Cotton Preparation
(Picture Courtesy: G. Yazdani: *Ajanta, The Colour and Monochrome Reproductions of the Ajanta Frescoes based on Photography*, part I, p. 17.)

⁵⁵ Vide, D. C Sarkar (ed.), *Early Indian Trade and Industry*, University of Calcutta, 1972. P. 20.

⁵⁶ *Epigraphy Indica*, Vol. VIII.

⁵⁷ G. Yazdani: *Ajanta, The Colour and Monochrome Reproductions of the Ajanta Frescoes based on Photography*, part I, p. 17.

However, according to D. Schlingloff,⁵⁸ the domestic work depicted in the painting is actually representing the preparation of cotton. Schlingloff has studied the picture minutely and according to him the lady to the left is engaged in ginning. The gin consists of a cylindrical roller worked on a rectangular board. The lady depicted to the right of the picture is working with the bow. This bow consists of a rectangular frame, the upper part of which is formed by a double string.

The base and the two uprights resting in the base are rather thin; they probably were made of iron. A tray containing heaps of cotton is placed on the lap of the lady. With her left thumb she is twanging the two strings, whereas with her right hand she puts a flock of cotton in connection with the vibrating strings. The third working woman, sitting in the centre, is clapping with her right hand the lump of cotton in her left hand, thus 'smoothing the *ruta* or cotton with both hands with frequent repetition', as mentioned in the *Jaina* texts. Thus, we can say that this particular painting in the Ajanta cave represents some of the major steps of cotton preparation, in accordance with the description found in the Buddhist and *Jaina* texts and in all probability in conformity with the everyday's life in ancient India.

Social Position of the Weavers

Ancient Indians were fascinated by the variety of textiles and had luxurious taste as far as good dressing was concerned. Textile manufacturing was considered as highly profitable industry in those days. It reaped huge profit and was considered a lucrative article of trade. It was a rare industry which employed both men and women. But from the study of literary sources, it is quite evident that the weavers did not enjoy a considerable position in the society. Spinning and weaving were considered to be low and impure work.⁵⁹

Jatakas mentions that weavers along with woodworkers, painters, smiths and others craftsmen were organized under eighteen guilds or *srenis*. *Jatakas* further mentions that the work of weavers, embroiderers or *pesakarasippa* and that of basket makers or *nalakara*⁶⁰ were considered low because these works were carried out by the people from despised castes. In the *Bhimasena Jataka*⁶¹ the *brahmana* archer calls the work of a weaver or *tantuwaya* as a miserably low work (*lamakakamma*). In the *Suttavibhanga Jataka* the profession of basket maker, potter, weaver, and cobbler are considered low. On the other hand Kautilya prescribes that those who injured royal craftsmen were to be given capital punishment. Patronage and protection was given to craftsmen, as they held hereditary position.

An analysis of the Buddhist literature shows that *Silpa* (craft) or *sippa* were of two types: low craft and high craft. *Diggha Nikaya* (I.51) included weaving in the list of low craft. According to *Shilpasastra*, 'that any other than a *silpin* should build temples, town, seaports, tanks or well is comparable to the sin of murder'. We are told that honest and skillful craftsmen will be born in noble families while those works amiss will fall in to hell and shall return to future lives of poverty and hardship.

⁵⁸ D. Schlingloff: Cotton-Manufacture in Ancient India. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. XVII, Part 1, p. 88.

⁵⁹ *Taittiriya Samhita*, II, 5, 1, 7; *Satapatha Brahmana* III, 1,2,19.

⁶⁰ *Taittiriya Jatakas*, IV, 251.

⁶¹ *Jatakas*, I. 356.

Later when the society started to be organized under caste lines, craftsmen, artisans were placed in the *Sudra* caste. The *Amarakosa* and the *Smritis* testifies to this fact. Manu in chapter 10, does not permit the higher two castes, *brahmins* and *kshatriyas*, even under strained circumstances, to deal with cloth dyeing, they were even forbidden to touch lac and indigo, which were widely used in dyeing of cloth. Weaving operation was regarded unclean which required the use of starch, lac, indigo, etc. Some sort of putrefaction or fermentation was needed for the extraction of these materials. Thus the *brahmins* were allowed to wear only white.

The profession of the needle or *suchika* worker was of sufficient importance to necessitate the establishment of a separate tribe and a mixed caste. According to the ancient law book of *us'anas*, *sauchika* or *suchika* or needle men bore the distinctive name and they were destined to live by it and other menial arts. By the time the laws of Manu were codified, however, the profession of weaving had fallen so much into disrepute that the *brahmins* were forbidden from this.

Analyzing the change in the economic rights of ancient Indian women we find several reasons. According to one of the most probable theories⁶² after the Aryan had conquered the major portions of northern Indian land tracts, they had a large supply of inexpensive slaves. Before, women of the family used to assist their menfolk in outdoor economic activities and were thus a recognized part of the productive system. They enjoyed the modicum of human dignity as breadwinner's assistants. But gradually with the influx of large number of slaves at the Aryan's beck and call, women did not have to participate in the strenuous outdoor work.



⁶² Sukumari Bhattacharji: 'Economic Rights of Ancient Indian Women', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, (Vol. 26 no. 9 / 10, March, 1991).

PHILOSOPHY

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**The Traditional Mongolian Doctrine Arga Bilig:
Its Sense and Application to Culture Studies**

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Abstract

This article is devoted to one of the unstudied topics in modern culture science – philosophical and world view system of Mongolians. The doctrine arga bilig represents the unique structure of nomadic world view which was established in the Middle Ages and has been conserved until now. Arga bilig (translated from Mongolian as “action” and “wisdom”) means collaboration of two polar categories which finally form harmony in the world. Arga bilig has some common features with the Chinese Dao doctrine, as well as European dialectics but it also has many peculiarities connected with traditional culture and way of life of Mongolians. Arga bilig is widely used as a working method in different spheres of peoples’ life: education, medicine, arts, etc. Nowadays it is also used as a method of scientific research. The authors make an effort to reveal the potential of arga bilig by analyzing the main points of Mongolian culture reflected in the heroic epics.

Keywords: story-telling, narrator, heroic epics, doctrine arga bilig, Western Mongolians

Introduction

The problem of interpreting different cultural phenomena is one of the most complicated topics in cultural studies and philosophy of culture. It concerns especially the cultural phenomena of nomadic peoples, for example, Mongolians. The traditional culture of Mongolia, brightly reflected in epic, applied arts, rituals, has its own restrictions and means which are different from the European culture. The heroic epic of the Western Mongols (Oirads) is a unique spiritual and cultural heritage of the Mongols, and many Russian scientists such as G.N. Potanin, B.Ya. Vladimirtsov, S.Yu. Neklyudov, as well as modern Mongolian authors such as B. Katu, M. Ganbold, who published a number of large studies were involved in collecting, interpreting, and translating it. They found that the epics not only reflect the real and sacred history of the people, but elements of hierophany and theophany, anthropomorphogenesis and cosmogenesis are reflected in them, as well as ethno-ethic submissions. However, in spite of a rich empirical material on folklore and culture of the western Mongols, important semantic layers of texts

remain open; these can be researched within philosophical reflection and interpretation. The problem is in choosing the appropriate methods of research. In our opinion the most effective of them is the original Mongolian doctrine *arga bilig*, used as a pattern for analysis of nomadic culture.

The doctrine of *arga bilig*

The essence of *Arga bilig* is as follows. The literal translation from Mongolian sounds like "way" and "talent" or "action" and "wisdom", i.e. two opposite categories. At the heart of *Arga bilig* is an understanding that Harmony in the world is determined by the struggle and the unity of two opposites. Outside of this law the world can not exist, just as there can be no night without day and vice versa.

In terms of the doctrine all the relationships in the world are classified on the basis of *Arga bilig*. This also applies to such things as the structure of the human body, the nature of various diseases, a person's birth, and astrological calculations, literature, and many other objects, phenomena, and science. "*Arga*" defines the external influence of a phenomenon, "*bilig*" – internal, which ultimately form a complete system of the universe. The scheme of the *Arga bilig* ratio is as follows. "*Bilig*" always exists and develops in "*Arga*", while "*Arga*", being a form, protects "*bilig*", hence the "*Arga*" contains "*arga*" and "*bilig*" and "*bilig*" again contains "*Arga*" and "*bilig*." Thus, the whole world, sharing in two (opposite) poles to infinity, retains its pairing shape. All phenomena in the world, one way or another, can be divided into two categories according to the degree of gravity to one or another pole.

Most often is *Arga bilig* fully associated with the Chinese Yin and Yang. However, according to E. Munch-Ochir, this is not entirely appropriate. Categorical correlation of *Arga* with the male and *bilig* with the female leads to the so-called "Strengthening vices." For example, *bilig*, one way or another, relates to women's nature: symbolizes softness and flexibility, focuses on inward rather than outward, sensitivity, and absolutization of these qualities leads to selfishness, isolation, authoritativeness. In turn, absolutization of *arga* leads to the activation of the destructive qualities of the male entity¹.

On the other hand, despite the similarity between *Arga bilig* and the European dialectics, according to researcher J. Buren-Olzii, dialectical principle focuses mainly on the fight, and *Arga bilig* on the unity of opposites².

It is also wrong to say that the *arga* and *bilig* – are good and bad; in fact they are two ways to spread the energy in the world, two related variables. Collaboration of *Arga* and *bilig* is not just a mechanism, but an explanation of the inner essence of the world through a very precise pattern. Mongols, operating on the basis of *Arga bilig* explain not only the essence of the universe, nature, world of man and animals, the relationship between man and nature, but in general any law. In this regard, the principle of *Arga bilig* becomes the foundation for the formation of the ideological basis for the different areas of human life: medicine, pedagogy, etc. We suppose that it can be used to analyze heroic epics, too.

¹ Munh-Ochir, D. *Tradition of Mongolian zurhai (zodiac)* [in Mongolian], Ulaan-Baatar, 1997, p.17

² Buren-Olzii, J. *Mongolian proverbs and their world-view sense* [in Mongolian], Ulaan-Baatar, 2009, p.158

Mongolian epic as a special form of philosophizing

The heroic epic may be seen as a special form of philosophizing. The philosophy of culture determined such approach, when some of the phenomena of the national culture can act as form-making for all cultures, maintain and recreate national culture after severe shocks. The text of epic stories in the Oirad culture plays a key role in this life-giving spring of nomadic culture. They are akin to the Vedas, and Kalevala epic, which have a high philosophical capacity. Furthermore, the Russian philosopher E.N. Trubetsky had convincingly shown that the icon can be viewed as a special kind of meditation — meditation in paints³. And if meditation in color is possible, meditation in sound is also possible.

We emphasize here the fundamental difference between such kind of "philosophizing" and real philosophy. They are distinguished not only by the fact that the artistic philosophizing reflects a syncretism of archaic culture, its language and methods, but the fact that the classical myth and symbol are just a means to a better presentation of ideas for classical philosophy (for example, the "Myth of the Cave" by Plato), and storytellers have nothing but myth. Plato argued that the poet is not a "wise man". Being in ecstasy, with the help of intuition he receives knowledge, better said super-knowledge, but he cannot interpret it rationally⁴.

Common features and differences between these two forms of philosophizing were noted by the Russian philosopher P.A. Florensky. He wrote: "The difference is just in the fact that philosopher is more abstract than ordinary people. If the magic world-view refers to the straight facts and experiences, the philosopher wants to argue logically"⁵.

Singing of the heroic epic by Mongolian narrators — *tuulchi* — is not just an element of folklore. In the artistic form the fundamental concepts of the universe are reflected. It can be argued that from the ontological point of view, a narrator is in the act of speculation (a special form of a cognitive act), having a mystical intuition, "captures" and passes in the artistic form the phenomena of unreal world, extremely common and objectively real for him. This is a kind of eidetic reality that requires a deep research, and from all sides scientists, thinkers and artists rush to it. We do not intend to give further consideration to this issue in the article, only state that for the narrator the true reality is what he speculates and this fact should be considered in rational reconstructions.

Analysis of the Mongolian epic stories, comments given by story-tellers show that during the performance the narrator begins to see another legendary, eidetic reality. The intuition enables him to achieve a high level of creativity, but also endows him with special cognitive abilities, which can be shown in everyday life. Storytellers often act as healers and very accurately predicted many events in the real world. Epic legend reflects the basic spiritual values of the people, and we can say that the narrator and the stories themselves are the actual embodiment of these values.

³ Trubetsky, E. N. *The essence of life* [in Russian], Moscow, 1994, p. 225

⁴ Plato, *Apology of Socrates* [in Russian], Collected works of 4 volumes, Vol.1, Moscow, 1994, p.75

⁵ Florenskiy, P.A. *Universal foundations of idealism* [in Russian], Collected works of 4 volumes, Vol. 3(2), Moscow, 2000, pp.145-169

Arga bilig as method of interpretation of the heroic epic

Firstly, based on the principles of Arga bilig given above, we can analyze the role of the narrator. A narrator is a transmitter, the person connecting the ideal and the real world. The problem of mediation is very significant in traditional cultures. The heroes of the epics are endowed with mediating functions; they are capable of transformations (so-called trickster). Taking a different look, the hero gets into a different world. This is a very simple understanding of the mediation. A more complex subsistence is related to the personalities of mediators. They are, above all, shamans and storytellers. In contrast to the shamans, who can be "white" and "black", the *tuulchi* always works with the "plus" sign, because he contacts not so much with the spirit world, but with an axial text, reflecting the higher eidetic reality. The *tuulchi* during the singing of the epic reproduces the events of true, "sacred" history of the people and makes others witness these events. However, if the epic is a creative act, the audience is present not only during playing, but also during creating the eidetic reality and this is the act of creation — the main plot of cosmogonic mythology. The main feature of the *tuulchi*-mediator (and his counterparts in other traditional cultures) is that he is a representative of the syncretic art. His work involves the word (the text of the epic), the music (support by *tovshuure*), vocal (throat singing), and a kind of theatrical performance (well-defined structure of listeners, night-time performance). Syncretism is a necessary condition for the sacralization of the *tuulchi* individually, that is empowering him by highest value categories, on the one hand, and the perception of *tuulchi* as a translator of the most important philosophical foundations, on the other. From this position it is appropriate to appeal to the leading position of the Mongolian philosophy for the analysis of the narrator as a phenomenon of traditional Mongolian culture.

The analysis shows that the figure of the storyteller has a few image-incarnations, which correlate well with the concept of Arga bilig. The narrator during the performance of the epic is immanent to the profane world (i.e. a world where the audience sits, the space-time coordinates are determined, and where the performance takes place), and the ideal world, which he sees in the act of creativity and translates it to the audience. From another point of view the image of the narrator is also very complicated. Equally regarding to stories the *tuulchi* is both a creator and a direct participant of the plot. On the one hand, he acts as a narrator. On the other hand, being a master of the syncretic art of traditional culture, he is an actor; he appears to the audience in the role of a hero, then — his enemies, or friends. Such a disclosure of the narrator's functions — outside and inside — allows us to say that they are disclosed in accordance with the principles of Arga bilig.

However, the doctrine of Arga bilig is applicable for the treatment of the heroic epic. As an example we can take an image of a warrior in the Oirad epics. As a rule, he has a miraculous birth, he is endowed with magical qualities and leaves home to defeat the monsters and earn a bride. And in either case, his actions are predetermined, and the hero acts according to a predetermined trajectory. He has a mentor, who defines the trajectory (parent, uncle); he chooses the horse for the hero and equips it for the war. It is interesting that, when the hero is sent to carry out his deeds, there is no any immediate threat to his country. The enemy is the enemy just because he belongs to another world — not sacralized, chaos. The hero himself is not a self-sufficient figure: making his way, he moves out by inertia. In the context of Arga bilig we can regard the warrior as a direct incarnation of Arga: it is the embodiment of strength, action, steadfastness. But this explains its lack of independence. He is constantly in need of helpers. At

the early stage it is the herdsman — Ak-Sakhal, then the horse and the second hero. They give advice to the hero, they help him to overcome his way, and accomplish feats.

We analyzed six epic tales ("Boom-Erdene, the best of heroes, the son of Burhan Khan and Buram-Hansha," "Dine-Kyuryul", "Kigiyn-Kiytyun-Keke-Temyur-Zeve", "Egil- Mergen" "Ergil-Tyurgyul", "Shara-Bodon")⁶, there is no one where the hero was completely independent and alone, where he makes his decisions by himself. In other words, the "helpers" provide the hero with a necessary part — bilig for the implementation of complete harmony of the image. They make up for that lack of wisdom, emotional warmth, emotion and internal flexibility, which the main character lacks. A striking example of this is a fragment from the epic "Boom-Erdene", amazing for its artistic strength, which tells that during the fight of two knights, the horse of the main character asks him to spare the vanquished and threatens to withdraw from his master, if he kills the enemy⁷. Another interesting image is the second hero (heroes) — brother of the protagonist. B.Ya. Vladimirtsov notes that "this particular figure of an epic — a friend of the protagonist — appears just to set off all the inflexibility of the protagonist, to emphasize great will to achieve his own purposes. These "second heroes" have ... greater mental flexibility, greater sophistication of nature"⁸. "Imperfection" of the hero, the need to complement his image can be solved in terms of the doctrine of Arga bilig. Firstly, the imperfection of the image, which has all the basic features of this warrior-defender of the homeland, has also a kind of dynamics: it is with such qualities heroic deeds can be performed and the award can be received. This means that the plot of a legend will not be violated, and will not go in a different direction. Secondly, the appearance of the assistants on the way of a hero represents another side of the soul — bilig, demonstrating how much more perfect, more correct, will be any decision of the hero, if he considers the advice of the "assistant," or whether he will work with him. The fact that each of the Oirad epics has a happy ending is a symbol of the absolute and the harmonious unity of all sides of life.

Conclusion

We can determine that the doctrine of Arga bilig has undeniable advantages in interpreting the heroic epic. Both the epic construction (main images, story lines) and the figure of tuulchi itself, are fully disclosing the principle of relationship and unity between two opposites.



⁶ Vladimirtsov, B.Ya. *Works on the literature of Mongolians* [in Russian], Moscow, 2003, 607p.

⁷ Ibid, p.380

⁸ Ibid, p.362

LINGUISTICS

KISAMOV, Norm

Türkic Substrate in English

Turkism (or Turkizm) is a word in any language that comes from Türkic languages, directly or indirectly. The adjective Turkic/Türkic applies to the whole linguistic family, not to an individual language. The complementary terms Türkic and Türk are used as collective designations.

A concept was formulated and substantiated that the non-Indo-European substrate of the Germanic branch was rooted in the Türkic (Proto-Türkic) linguistic field. Archeological and genetic works demonstrated migrations, amalgamations, and replacement of populations in the Western Europe, where the Germanic branch of the Indo-European (IE) languages occupies a prominent place. Linguistic works demonstrated that Germanic branch contains a substantial layer of non-Indo-European substrate. The English language is a prominent member of the Germanic branch. The sources of the Germanic substrate remain debatable, with numerous candidates explored and rejected. Archeology and genetic provided insights, and their converging contention is that until the middle of the 1st millennium BC, the Türkic (Proto-Türkic) linguistic field dominated the whole Eurasia reaching the Atlantic Ocean on one end and Pacific Ocean on another end. The groundwork for the linguistic concept has already been established, the concept is a necessary corollary of the positively proved migratory flows. The concept explores the Türkic-English morphological and lexical correspondences, and finds substantial traces of the Türkic substrate in English, potentially exceeding 30% of the English words used in the daily life. Of the English suffixes, 63% descend from the Türkic origin and remain morphologically active in forming English words. The concept touches on the substantial trace of the Türkic-Latin-English correspondences, linguistically corroborating the thesis that the Kurgans' circum-Mediterranean path via the Pyrenees to the Continental Europe brought about the Beaker Culture, ancestral to the Pra-Celts and Pra-Italics.

The Türkic substrate concept is based on the accumulated knowledge on the movement of the Kurgan people in the pre-historical and historical times, it is consistent with the findings of the archeology, genetics, and historical records. Moreover, it corroborates their findings, adding linguistic aspect to the body of the multi-discipline evidence. The linguistic survey, on the example of the English and Latin languages, provides a salient amount of linguistic evidence in their favor. The substrate-derived English lexis is consistent with the migrations outlined by the archeology and genetics, it carries the marks of the migrations, and in some cases allows to draw suggestions about location and time of their earlier presence. Within the framework of the "Indo-European homeland", such cases allow to corroborate postulations of the "Circumpontic" hypothesis (Merpert, 1974, 1976) and "Kurgan theory" (Gimbutas, 1964, 1974, 1977, 1980) about the importance of the Eastern Europe in the evolution of the Indo-European languages, with evolutionary perspective on the migratory processes that had the Eastern Europe as one of the staging stations on the way from Asia to the Atlantic. The horse was domesticated in the Northern Kazakhstan, the wave that brought domesticated horse to the Eastern Europe created conditions underlying the Gimbutas' "Kurgan theory" and the "Anatolian" (or Neolithic Gap") theory

(Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, 1980, Renfrew, 1987, Safronov, 1989, Gray and Atkinson, 2003) as specific episodes of the parallel paths from the Eastern Europe, the overland path to the Central Europe, and circum-Mediterranean path traversing Anatolia to reach the Balkans and Iberia

At their core, the leading hypotheses on the substrate of the English language, and by extension of the Germanic languages as a group, turned out to lead nowhere. They were not able to demonstrate continuity in the morphological and lexical aspects, they were not able to attest continuity in the phonological aspect, and they were not able to present instances where the English and suggested substrate language use the same word in the same grammatical function and the same semantics. The concept of the Türkic substrate does all of the above. In addition, it supports the existence of genetic connection between the Futhark alphabet and the Türkic alphabets, although its mechanism is yet to be analyzed, it demonstrates the common Türkic origin of the Latin and English linguistic building blocks, and it reflects the known development of the English language.

Morphologically, the review of the modern English suffixes demonstrated a trend consistent with the known development of the English language, from the Old English to the Modern English that proportion had fell from 69% to 63% of the suffixes inherited from the Türkic substrate; it confirms that the Modern English is a product of perpetual creolization, pidginization, and blending of linguistically incompatible mother languages, which in turn were products of perpetual creolization, pidginization, and blending. The loss of the substrate morphological structure is expressed in the reduction and contraction of the morphological elements, and in concomitant increase in the number of lexemes required to fill in the semantical void created by the morphological contraction.

The review of the word usage frequency in modern English demonstrated that about 1/3 of the passage spoken or written in modern English ascends to the Türkic substrate; counting the Türkic-derived morphological units in the same text would quite significantly boost that rough estimate.

The review of the modern English lexical units versus the Latin and the Türkic demonstrated that the Türkic substrate is present in both the Latin and English, while the phonetic differences point to separate and independent paths leading to the Latin and English. The Latin cultural influence brought over for absorption or reawakened Turkisms of the English substrate, adding to the body of active Turkisms in the modern English. Numerous Turkisms in English are attributed to the Latin borrowings from the Germanic languages. their origin is usually denoted as Late Latin. The Norman cultural influence brought over some Turkisms that entered French In English, the Latin Turkisms conflated and superimposed on the English Turkisms, in the end producing modern English words with roots in Old English, Latin, Latin via French, and ultimately in Türkic.

The unabridged version, including photos and tables is published as a supplement to this issue. — Ed.



POLITICS

MAKHDUMI, M. Rafiuddin & BASU, Suraya Amin**Sino-Mongolian Relations: New Scenario and Impending Concerns****Introduction**

Urge for hegemony is commonly regarded as irrational and unprincipled. Political leaders of powerful states, who in private life and in domestic politics may be sane, intelligent, peaceable and morally earnest are seen to use their power abroad in a violent and ruthless manner for reasons which can appear ludicrous to posterity and even to many of their contemporaries. They are also obsessed with improbable dangers. They itch to control the destinies of weak states. They may even commit thousands of their countrymen to shoot stab, blast and burn other human beings and to risk the same fate in their turn. The spectacle fascinates some observers and repels others. It is the current fashion to be repelled. From this point, the celebrated rivalry between the Chinese and the Mongols in the Asian continent from the sixteenth century onwards would seem to be a classic case of futility, mutual misunderstanding and the arrogance of power.

Few hundred years ago most people in China or in Mongolia regarded the other with fear and mistrust. Political rivalry seemed to be in progress and the prize was the political ascendancy over the other; and the losing empire was destined to go into a permanent decline. Therefore, armies fought, deployed and engaged against one another, intimidated those whose interests were directly involved. Thus, the most exciting feature of Sino-Mongolian relations was a zigzag that manoeuvred their intercourse, alliance and adversary. One can easily conclude that adversary between the two was a coordinial feature and both looked for ways and means to take over the other. In fact, Chinese as well as Mongols displayed remarkable capability to enjoy superiority / hegemony over the other. Initially the balance of power tipped in favour of the Mongols but with the passage of time it gradually tilted in favour of China and for a long period it enjoyed domination and ascendancy. With the passage of time, particularly in the present economic world order the sentient cordiality between China and Mongolia can best be epitomized as major and minor power relationship. The aspiration is a distraction from the line towed since ages with extreme animosity on account of China's desire to enjoy hegemony over the Mongols.

Objective

The attempt herein is to explore the outcome of the crucial shift in the distribution of power and influences on the regional power structure after the disintegration of the erstwhile Soviet state system. Again, presently how Mongols respond to the emerging trends of the radical world economic order in presence of inherited preliterate economic strategy in its governance. Is it now opting for market economy similar to that of China or chooses its own specific economic and political model? Besides, the analysis explores the interactions between major and minor power i.e. China and Mongolia in absence of a formidable power like the Soviet Union in the regional power structure that had a capacity to extract

all advantages in the transactions taking place in its neighbourhood. A discussion on US-Mongolian ties sheds light on US efforts to undermine China's position in her vicinity and enhance US role and image in the regional power structure by supporting Mongolia's march towards democracy with the option of open market economy. Further, is Mongolia still aficionado to its traditional mindset against Chinese? The paper is concluded with the concerns and impending scenario that do exist between China and Mongolia in the contemporary era.

Strategy

The strategy followed in the analysis is purely analytical and based on fact findings in the conduct of foreign relations in the present day global order. The basic intention is to verify the postulate that "Specific Mindset, Perceived Threats and Perceived Rewards" change the course of events or behaviour of the actors in the conduct of relations in international phenomena.

A Brief Survey of Sino-Mongolian Relations

Perceptibly three phrases are historically vital in elaborating the urge for ascendancy in the Sino-Mongolian contacts. The impulse played a significant role in shaping the traditional mindset particularly of Mongols. The Mongols once established an empire comprising the largest territories presently under the territorial occupation of Russia and China.¹ The Mongol Empire collapsed at the end of the 14th century and the Ming Dynasty of China attacked Mongolia several times until it converted it into a vassal state in 1691².

From 1691 to 1911, i.e. Chinese suzerainty over Mongolia was mainly a forced colonization particularly over Outer Mongolia (*now called Mongolia and Inner Mongolia and continues to be a part of China*) China's imperial methodologies in Mongolia intensified Mongol resistance against Chinese imperial yoke³. However, the most pernicious effect of Chinese sway in Mongolia was that it exhibited great ability for Han expansionism. A large influx of Chinese merchants and landless peasants was sponsored into Mongolia⁴ and the Hans succeeded in nurturing a fracture in the demographic structure of the area for durable trouble-free stay. The tendency day by day instigated local habitants to organise themselves potently against the foreign domination. Resentment ultimately manifested in a vibrant anti-China movement under *All Mongolian National Liberation Movement*. The resistance in fact was greatly influenced by the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. All Mongolian National Liberation Movement finally attained independence from Chinese yoke and formed *World's First State of Workers and Peasants*⁵ in Mongolia in 1911. The overthrow of Chinese rule proved temporary

¹ Sharad K. Soni, *Mongolia-Russia Relations: Kiakhta to Vladivostok*, Kolkata, 2002, p.171.

² Charles Dawson, *The History of Mongolia*, New York, 1989, p.79.

³ Morris Rossabi, *Modern Mongolia from khans to Commissars to Capitalists*, California, 2004, p.20.

⁴ Alan Sanders, "Early History of Mongolia", *Europa Yearbook*, London, 2002, p.18.

⁵ Academy of Sciences MPR, *Information Mongolia*, Oxford, 1992, p.120.

because the Chinese military regained its control over Mongolia in 1915⁶. However, with the potent help of Lenin and Russian Red Army Chinese rule was again overthrown and the Mongolian People's Republic was founded in 1924⁷.

Sino-Mongolian Relations and Soviet Triumph

The Treaty of Friendship and Alliance concluded between China and USSR in 1945 accorded the independence of Mongolia. China formally recognized the Mongolian People's Republic in 1945 as a separate sovereign State and in 1950 *Ulaanbaatar* established ambassadorial ties with Beijing. The wedlock was intensified on realistic calculations and mutual concurrences. China abundantly offered Labour Loans and Technical Expertise for the construction of projects that Mongolia required. Trade between the two states flourished and the geographical proximity facilitated greater intensification and multiplicity. From 1950 to 1964, the two extended contacts on numerous fields with an inclination to help promote each other. Nonetheless, the ideological variance between China and USSR during the '*Cultural Revolution*' considerably caused a rupture in the Sino-Mongolian wedlock.

A rim state situated between two colossal giants had no other choice but to enter under a protective umbrella and Mongolia opted for USSR in pursuance of its traditional mindset and national interest to liberate itself from Chinese phobia. It promptly exported the Soviet model of *Socialism* and the principles of proletarian dictatorship, Ideology of class struggle together with non-capitalist development of Mongol society was enshrined in the New Constitution of Mongolia⁸. Under Soviet obstinate encouragement Mongolia expelled all Chinese professionals and labours on the pretexts of espionage and other crimes. The intension was to enhance surveillance over Chinese migrants and to rectify the demographic configuration of Mongolia which the Chinese damaged since long. The upshots severed the diplomatic and commercial links with China.⁹ China responded with a proclamation that Mongolia was a '*Soviet satellite*' and consequently for the next twenty years Mongolia-China relations remained hostile.¹⁰ The rupture inevitably resulted in a greater dependence of Mongolia on the USSR during the twentieth century and Sino-Mongolian relations mainly remained of secondary importance or Soviet replicate.¹¹ All in all the deployment of Soviet troops on Mongolian territory was a focal point of antagonism between China, Mongolia, and the Soviet Union.

⁶ Ram Rahul, "Mongolia between China and U.S.S.R", *Asian Survey*, New Delhi, 189, p.40.

⁷ M.T Haggard, *Mongolia, The first Communist State in Asia*, Washington, 1986, p.32.

⁸ Statement made by His Excellency .P.Orchirbat, "Path of Mongolia on the occasion of the 79th anniversary of the foundation of the Mongolian State and the 75th Anniversary of Peoples Revolution", Ulaanbaatar, July 1, 1996, file: \\ A :\ Mongolia.htm

⁹ Morris Rossabi, "Mongolia in the 1990's; from Commissars to Capitalists?" www.eurasisnet.org/resource/mongolia/links/rossabi.html

¹⁰ Morris Rossabi, "Between the Bear and the Dragon: Mongolia's relations with China and Russia" \\ A: Fathom The Source for Online learning.htm.

¹¹ Elizabeth E. Green, "China and Mongolia; Recurring Trends and prospects for change", *Asian survey*, (Berkeley) , Vol.26, no.12, Dec 1986,p.1361.

China's Concerns

Since 1977, i.e. much earlier to *Perestroika* Beijing unremittingly necessitated Moscow to demilitarize Mongolia and embark upon a mutual dialogue for normalization¹². In 1985 President Gorbachev's initiative to withdraw Soviet troops from Mongolia recovered relations between the two. The act exceptionally stimulated Mongolia to establish relations with European nations and in 1987 diplomatic relations with U.S were established¹³. The steps in fact, ward off the seal on Mongolia as being the Soviet replica. The resumption of relations with US helped Mongolia to convey its independent character to the international community and proliferated with a great zeal an autonomous character between China and USSR after a long replication¹⁴. Again, with the Signing of *Consular Treaty* with China encouraged free flow of scholarly delegations, trade union leaders and members of friendship communities who visited each other's country after a long freeze¹⁵. This characterized the beginning of high level interaction and mutual exchange that stabilized the relation between the two. The *Tiananmen* occurrence in 1989 amazingly could not impinge upon Chinese-Mongolia relations. In fact interactions underwent dramatic transformations from adversary to partnership since 1990.

Chinese Propinquity and Mongolia

In the late 1980s Mongolia could not escape from the democratization wave. The disintegration of USSR paved the way and Mongolia switched over to democratic governance and free market economy. Mongolia's democratic reforms were hailed by the Chinese leadership. Throughout the 1990s Beijing made constant efforts to develop relations with Mongolia. The decade brought unprecedented growth in bilateral trade and relations conceded new stages of cooperation and development. Remarkable collaboration and proximity was witnessed in various fields as contacts grew and prospered in political, economic and other areas. High level visits and extensive exchange on bilateral as well as on international issues day by day disseminated close proximity. Gradually China raised its profile in Mongolia in the past sixteen years. Currently China's post-Cold War policy toward Mongolia differs much that of the Mao's era which openly had invalidated Mongolia's sovereignty. In view of internal and external pressures of new economic regime in an era of globalization and consequential growth of information technology, China felt obligated to cancel the traditional policy postures towards Mongolia. President Yang Shangun visited Ulaanbaatar in August 1991 and expressed China's profound respect for the "*Independence and Sovereignty of Mongolia*." This first visit of the Head of Peoples' Republic of China to Mongolia was an important political event contributing future extension of Mongol-Chinese cooperation and friendship. During this period a number of important agreements on transit through the territory of the Peoples' Republic on China (PRC) were signed and an accord was also reached on the opening of

12 P. Stobdan " , *Mongolia in a Strategic Vacuum*", K. Santhanam (Ed) *Ethnicity and Politics in Central Asia*, New Delhi, 1992, p.225.

13 Kenneth Jarrett, " Mongolia in 1987: Out From the Cold?", *Asian Survey* (Stobdan, *Mongolia in a Strategic Vacuum*, K. Santhanam (Ed) *ethnicity and Politics in Central Asia*, New Delhi, 1992, p.225.

14 William R. Heaton, *Mongolia in 1986: "New plan , New situation"*, *Asian Survey*(Berkeley), vol.27, no1, January 1988,p.79.

15 Alan Sanders," *Mongolia's Foreign Policy in the 1980- 1990's*", *Asian Survey*, Jan- March 1996, p.57.

new border passes through the frontiers of the two countries¹⁶. On 22 October 1993 the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of China accentuated that China hail and support Mongolia as a Nuclear-Weapon-Free-State and compliment its option for it¹⁷.

More specifically Chinese Premier Li Peng's 1994 visit to Mongolia outlined China's five point policy options towards Mongolia which are the following:

1. Adherence to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence;
2. Respect for Mongolia's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and choice for development;
3. Development of trade and economic cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit;
4. Support for Mongolia's Nuclear-Weapon-Free Status;
5. Compliance to Mongolian efforts to develop relations with other countries of the world.

The superficial glance at these principles signals substantive import and signifies a major shift in the Chinese policy preferences in the area. China seems to operate on a strategy of non-application of threats or of violent expression of physical force against Mongolia; it now prefers to adhere fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable solution to all bi-lateral issues on equal footings with its neighbours. The guiding mantra seems to be the five principles of peaceful co-existence (*Panchsheel*). It was a whiff of fresh air indeed coming as it did in the midst of the murky going on in the domestic sphere. China intently expressed its compliment to Mongolia's decisions to:

- I. Comprehensive ban on the stationing of foreign troops on Mongolian territory;
- II. Restriction on the transit or movement of foreign troops through its terra firma;
- III. Opposition to the creation or promotion of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

Prime Minister Jasrai paid an official visit to China in March 1996 and interacted with Li Peng on bi-lateral and international concerns and reassured Li of Mongolia's commitment to the *One China policy*¹⁸.

Again the visit of Chinese President Jiang Zemin in July 1999 to Mongolia was an important event. The trip was the premier accomplishment of Beijing to the independence and sovereignty of Mongolia. It also demonstrated a determinate proficient neighbourly relation based on peaceful co-existence. The two governments signed agreements on Economic and Technical Cooperation and exchanged the letters assuring Chinese government's free technical assistance. China's share in Mongolian export and import increased steadily and earnestly boosts in through border trade arrangements. China is emerging as the

¹⁶ Kh. Bayasakh, "Mongolia Russia and China on the eve of new Millennium", *Mongolica*, Ulaanbaatar, vol.9, 1999, p.32.

¹⁷ J Enkh Saikhan, "Nuclear weapon Free Status; Concept and practice", *Asian Survey*, March 2000, p.120.

¹⁸ Tom Ginsberg, "Mongolia in 1996 Fighting Fire and Ice", *Asian Survey*, Jan 7, p.60.

largest trading partner and the biggest investor in Mongolian Republic since 1990. Proximity and corresponding economic ventures make the two countries natural partners for increased economic interaction in trade. China requires Mongolian resources like timber, minerals and animal products. At the same time it offers farm produce, light manufacturers and capital goods that fit Mongolia's level of development and spending power. Traditional items of Mongolian export to China consist mostly animal husbandry, copper concentrate raw material that almost account 80-90% of Mongolia's total export. Cross border trade with China is also prospering¹⁹. According to Lincoln Kaye of Far Eastern Economic Review, "*China enjoys advantages in Mongolia that no other potential supplier or inventor can match*"²⁰. Today shipping costs from Chinese heartland are a fraction of any other partners and overseas trade through rail links from China's Tianjin port are five times shorter in contrast to Russian Far Eastern ports. Owing to impending energy demand of China, neutral and stable Mongolia is imperative as it serves as a transit link plus a transportation corridor between resource rich Russian Siberia and resource deprived coastal and central China. Beijing's policy option seems to strengthen its relationship with neighbouring countries and to create a peaceful external environment for its own development; it is only possible when it could build a positive image of being a responsible power adhering to international norms in the present political scenario both at domestic and international level. This approach would definitely signal a trust and help in fostering a lasting Sino-Mongolian wedlock.

China Mongolia : Joint Undertakings

Mongolia's foreign policy continues to be determined by its delicate geopolitical position. The Mongolian multi-pillar open door foreign policy provides a great opportunity to all nations of the world to develop comprehensive cooperation based on mutual existence. During the past several years Mongolian strategy towards China focused remarkable aspiration of setting up a legal basis to her relations with China²¹. In this background Mongolia attempted to settle the entire border issue with China. Its President N. Bagabandi visited China in December 1991 and the major highlight of this visit marked the description of fundamental principles in the operation of future bilateral interaction with all nations of the world in the years yet to come. The joint statement outlined the principles of long term, stable healthy and mutually trustful cooperation as fundamental for bilateral contacts in the next century.

Further, with a desire to meet the impending pressures from the challenges of the change in a modern era Mongolia wishes to substitute the USSR model of preliterate economic dictatorship. It presupposes adherence to national and international plans that satisfy its large-scale domestic and other needs in the changed international scenario. It accumulates effective guidelines to determine the future course of economic programme, as China despite being a communist state has embarked upon a plan of

¹⁹ D, Chulundorj, "New Emphasis in Mongolian Foreign Policy", *Warikoo and Norbu, (Ed) Ethnicity and Politics in Central Asia*, New Delhi, 1992, p.223.

²⁰ Tsedendamba Batbayar, "Mongolian Chinese Bilateral Relations" in K.. Santhanam and Srikanth (Ed) *Asian Security and China 2000-2010*, New Delhi, 2003, p. 226

²¹ Severtinghaus Sheldon R, "Mongolia in 1998 and 1999: Past, Present and future at the new millennium", *Asian Survey*, Jan-Feb, 2000.

market economy. It is encouraging huge foreign investors and joint multinational collaborations to counter challenges of the change from the market economy globalization and information technology. During the transition phase Mongolian trade patterns were not oriented towards free markets in Europe, Central Asia or Japan. Prior to 1990, 80% of Mongolia's trade was with the USSR and now China emerged as the second largest trading partner since 1999. With the growing trade ties with China, Mongolia is keen to be a part of groupings like the *Shanghai Cooperation Organization*²². Mongolia is trying to seek full membership in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). During the SCO meeting at St. Petersburg in June 2007 China's Vice-Premier Wu Yi specifically spoke on the great magnitude of extending increasing cross border trade with Mongolia²³ and in this direction the first international passenger bus service between Altay, China and Bulgan started since November 1, 2007.

Accomplishments and Concerns

The deep-rooted distrust caused by historical experiences of Chinese expansion still persists among Mongols. In the Sino-Mongolian relationship it is important to take into consideration the factors which are causing concern. In fact, China is a huge country and her policies always had a profounder impact on Mongolia than Mongolia's policies on China. In fact, Mongolia's geo-strategic thinking and outlook was secondary as China being a major actor and whose impact was compulsion as the relations had a major and minor power relationship nature. Since the normalisation of bilateral ties, political issues like "*Pan-Mongolism*", *Dalai Lama*, and *Tibet's political profile* were the immediate concerns of Beijing. In the recent years China has also increasingly become apprehensive about Mongolia-US ties.

a) Mongolian Nationalism

Pan Mongolism, a concept prominently popular since the early twentieth century with strong historical connotations and based on common traditional culture, might adversely affect the relationship between Beijing and Ulaanbaatar despite the close congenial cooperation²⁴. Mongolian compliance to conventionality resumed quickly when Mongolia was making a political swivel during the 1990s. The Mongolian Nationalist Movement championed the cause of integration and unity of the Mongol nation. Presently it vigorously operates in Inner Mongolia and *Buryatiya* under *The Movement for National Unity* and popularly known as "*Negeden*" and the *Buryat Mongols Party*²⁵. However, up to now none of those organisations has gained any significant political influence as it is beset with internal contradictions of revival of sacred cult of *Chinghis Khan* or to revive *Lamaism* or *Shamanism*.²⁶ In 1993 the faction convened a "*Global Mongolian Clansman Plenary Session*" in Ulaanbaatar, which became the guiding hymn for the future doctrines of "*Pan Mongolism*". Among Chinese anxiety already persists on the nature of Mongolian democracy which directly affects the anti-China movements in Inner Mongolian

²² China Mongolia to set up partnership of Good- neighbourliness, Mutual Trust, *The Beijing Times*, June 6, 2000.

²³ www.Mongolia-web.com.

²⁴ Sharad K. Soni, p.60.

²⁵ www.idi.org/russia/johnson, Feb 12 2007.

²⁶ David Johnson, "Russia Mongolia; latent Territorial Issues", *Centre for Defence Information* .Jan 17, 2003.

Autonomous region within China. China repeatedly condemned the so called *splittists* in Inner Mongolia for her efforts to affirm Mongol ethnicity of *Pan Mongolism* sentiment. Again the Chinese are against the spread of *Pan-Mongolism* because China has never permitted Mongolian nationalism to consolidate around its borders. This factor has constrained China to expand economic aid to Mongolia and to strengthen Mongolia's degree of economic dependence on China in the garb of bilateral relations. Beijing under the hassle for combating international terrorism after 9\11 entertained the long term political strategies. In it it found a way to oppose political resistances in *Inner Mongolia, Xinxiang, Tibet* and started suppression of the *Doctrine of National Minority Movements*. China is now focussing more on regional security cooperation and expansion of bi-literalism.

b) Dalai Lama and Tibet

One of the issues creating under-currents between the two was the Tibetan issue. On the eve of normalization of Sino-Mongolian relations in the second part of 1980 the Dalai Lama became one of the contending issues in bilateral ties between China and Mongolia. His repeated visits to Mongolia considerably seized influences for the political liberalization of Tibet in the 1990. The event precipitated Chinese anxiety and rail services between the two countries were disrupted for two days as Beijing has conveyed a reminder of its ability to control Mongolia's main trade route²⁷ In order to reaffirm the Mongolian official stand every agreement signed by the two parties has started with Mongolian affirmation of China's jurisdiction over Taiwan²⁸. Many Mongolian officials have repeatedly acknowledged that Taiwan is part of China.²⁹ Beijing also presses Ulaanbaatar for collective views on global and regional issues in order to limit the growing US presence with increasing involvements in Mongolia. President Bush became the first sitting US President to appear publicly with the Dalai Lama in a lavish American ceremony honouring the spiritual leader of Tibet. President Bush urged China to open talks with the Dalai Lama, a move that has alarmed China³⁰ with far reaching consequences.

America's Impact on Sino-Mongolian Relations

During the Cold War era the US was an ideological adversary of Mongolia. But today, in pursuance of its strategies in the countries within Asian peripheries and of global interests, it is almost becoming the future hope of the Mongols. For the first time in Mongolian history its president visited the US in 1991. Given a decade and a half of progress towards democracy, free market economy and active regional and international role Mongolia sought exceptional recognition reflecting outstanding US interest in Mongolia. The United States, after a long freeze, in the vicinity of China has made an important ally in Northern Asia. Economically the United States is now becoming Mongolia's third largest trading partner

²⁷ China Opposes Dalai Lama's Visit to Mongolia, *Reuters*, Beijing, Nov7, 2000.

²⁸ Mongolia China To Continue Friendly Relations, *The World*, Oct 31, 2000

²⁹ Morris Rossabi, "Beijing's Growing Politico-Economic Leverage Over Ulaanbaatar", *China Brief*, Vol.5, May 5 2005, www.Jamestownorg|publications

³⁰ CNN.com | US, Dalai Lama honour stroke US-Chinese tensions, October 7, 2007

after China and Russia³¹ President Bush and Defence Secretary Rumsfeld visited Mongolia in November and October 2005 respectively which indicates the US devotion to expand its political and economic activities in the remote corners of the globe for its zeal to retain its superiority³². Mongolia actively supported and expressed a desire to actively participate in the American master-minded and sponsored Anti-Terrorism Coalitions in Iraq and Afghanistan³³. After the *World Trade Centre* (WTC) event in September 2001 both China and Mongolia assumed vital strategic status for the US in Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia. The United States granted most-favoured nation status to Mongolia and the US Congress passed a special resolution in support of Mongolia's democratisation. The US has also extended financial and economic aid to Mongolia³⁴. Mongolia in turn advanced a regional peacekeeping training centre and quick support to US campaign in Afghanistan and Iraq. In view of impending and intricate challenges to Washington's expanding power bogeys in Iraq and elsewhere, Mongolia quietly facilitated its democratic institutions and procedure of governance that affirms US goals in the region. In the given circumstances Mongolia considered its long borders a predisposed destination to ever expanding US financial assistance and strategic interests in Asia.³⁵ Besides, Mongolia's promising place for the United States, an independent democratic Mongolia also occupies a strategic position between Beijing and Moscow. Today US is concerned about China's growing penetration into the Mongolian economy and is vigilant that it should not infiltrate negative military and political implications. The Chinese perceive these actions as part of a new US encirclement strategy for Asia³⁶. Therefore, Beijing cannot afford to overlook the importance of US-Mongolian ties. In fact, it is willing to counter the US encirclement strategy in order to provide safeguards to its interests. Today Mongolia instead of balancing China against Russia is now tasked with upholding relations with the US in a desire to exploit its politico-economic intrusion among the geopolitical competitors of the region in the new global order.

Assessment: Prospects and the Future

Mongolia's relations with China were governed by geo-political, economic and unpredictable strategic environment. Mongolia and China share a long history of relationship and have a strong legacy of rapport with crisscross intervals, hard experiences filled with an aspiration of subjugation or counteractions. Though, in the new impending political atmosphere, re-establishing ties in all fields i.e. technical, economic and political, symbolizes afresh zeal for the re-approachment, appeasement and understanding in the new regional power configuration. All this signifies perceived national interests and an urge to foster its implementation. Thus, consequent upon the perceived strategies in less than a decade Mongolian-Chinese bond in the region of unequal power distribution saw a dramatic

³¹ Byarkhuu. D, Mongolia and its Third neighbors, *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies*, Jan- March 2001

³² Stephen E. Noerper, "Mongolia at 800: Towards Enhanced U.S and International Support" [www. Nztilus.org\ index.html](http://www.Nztilus.org/index.html)

³³ Migheddorj Batchimeg, " Future Challenges for the PRC and Mongolia: A Mongolian Perspective", *China Brief*, [www.jamestown.org\ \publications](http://www.jamestown.org/publications)

³⁴ D. Chulundorj, p. 202.

³⁵ A Shift in Asia as Mongolia Stirs, *Asia Times* , May 20, 2007.

³⁶ Migheddorj Batchimeg, "Future Challenges for the PRC and Mongolia: A Mongolian Perspective", *China Brief*, 7\3\ 2005.

transformation from adversity to partnership and understanding since 1990. The reason behind this is the realisation that the regional and international strategic environment is replaced with a new world politico-economic order where all the powers on the spot are in search of new strategies to fit themselves in the fixture. Simultaneously China and Mongolia prefer to compose durable relations based on sound political and economic partnership. In fact, relations between the two have passed through three different phases.

Phase I, i.e. 1987-1991, is marked by the bilateral proximity and economic synchronization giving an impression that both were natural partners for increased economic interaction and trade. Over the years there has been a striking continuum in the upgrading of relations, especially in the political spheres which has procured a high degree of affinity, dependence and interdependence between the two. Both shared identical views on many problems on global and regional issues and jointly stood for peace and development. This contributed to the strengthening of bilateral relations by signing the important treaties and agreements in contemporary times in accordance with international conventions. Presently both are busy in articulating trade and mutually beneficial economic cooperation. As Chinese energy demand rises, a stable and neutral Mongolia is important for China as a transit link and a transportation corridor between resource rich Russian Siberia and resource deprived coastal and central China.

Phase II can be counted from 2002 onwards when bilateral relations consolidated further and the Mongolian Prime Minister Enkhbayar requested Chinese economic assistance in the construction of the railway link between the Eastern Province of Mongolia and North Eastern Province of China via Choibalsan Arshant. China and Mongolia jointly vowed to enhance cooperation on international issues extending over UN reform to regional political dialogue and the nuclear issues of the Korean Peninsula. Both sides expressed support for each others efforts to promote political dialogue and mutual trust in the region and welcome each other's initiatives enhancing dialogue and cooperation in Northeast Asia. The Chinese have improved their relations with Mongolia from "*Constructive Cooperative Relation*" to one of "*Strategic Partnership*" which has only been entered into by Chinese with a few countries including Russia, France and Brazil. The growing warmth witnessed rapid development with notable achievements in a number of fields. The views in each capital have dovetailed with those in the other providing many opportunities from *Enhanced Political Cooperation* to most *Preferred Nation*. In the 1990s one clear indication of the increasing close political relations between Mongolia and China were a number of high level visits. Mongolia and China have signed important treaties and agreements which provide a legal framework to promote bilateral relations. Both nations procure acquiescent benefits of peaceful coexistence. The changing climate in the international arena has made them to realize the benefits of sustaining the peaceful atmosphere. The last sixteen years have been productive and eventful; much has been enacted and contributed jointly in terms of political and economic exchange. The cultural interaction has also been intensified. Chinese loans and technical aid to Mongolia have increased throughout the 1990s and the pace of investment has actually accelerated over the past few years.

Phase III is of corresponding enthusiasm for dependent and interdependent activities in the economic sphere as China has voracious appetite for oil and gas from Mongolian deposits and Mongolia is attempting hard to make China more dependent on its energy resources and at the same endeavour to

develop this sector by seeking cooperation from other quarters too³⁷. China's is exploring petroleum through Dongsheng Jinggong in five blocks of Mongol territory. In 2006, it produced about 889,000 thousand barrels of crude and most of it went to China. For Mongolia the challenge is how to gain and sustain China's rapid oil demands for its own national development. Up to now with the Chinese purchases Mongolia anticipates bright future. The ongoing relations between the two generate a much scope for further expansion and concretization of Mongolia-China cooperation in various sectors. Both countries stand together for peace and development and prefer to build a strong relationship based on good political and economic collaboration. The recurring political aspiration to resolve territorial differences by peaceful means augurs well for the future development of their bilateral relationship. Both sides put bilateral ties in an important position in their foreign relations. China and Mongolia respect the others independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, respect the others path of development, properly handle the others concern, and exert joint efforts in reciprocal and common development.³⁸ It is a key factor in assessing how the future of the bilateral relationship will develop. This endeavour of Mongolia to improve and strengthen relations with China is the consequences of a comprehensive foreign policy formulation and on the basis of the transformation which may took or arise out of the impacts of new political and economic reforms in the country. Mongolia's aim is to establish in its immediate surroundings a power equation most attuned to its immediate national interests. Friendly and constructive relations with China constitute the cornerstone of Mongolia's security perceptions and foreign policy perspectives. All these developments have been contributory factors for these two neighbouring countries to strengthen their bilateral relations.

At the end Mongolia will try to benefit from economic linkages with China's booming economy. At the same time, China's rising power will remain a concern both for internal development and historical relations with its neighbours. By way of concluding it can be argued that the prospects for stability and continued collaboration in Sino-Mongolian relationship are indeed bright. Deepening bilateral cooperation in different fields and expanding economic interaction contribute to building a more stable bilateral relationship which will usher a new epoch in the Sino-Mongolian relations, but continued hard work is needed to manage the relationship.



³⁷ "Unlocking Mongolia's Potential", *Foreign Affairs*, New York, May-June 2005, p.3.

³⁸ China Mongolia good Neighbourly relations enter new Phase: Chinese President, *Xinhua* News Agency June 2006.

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Silk Route in Kashmir: Costs of Closure and Opportunities of Revival

Abstract

The paper examines the impact of end of the entry and exit points to Kashmir with the rest of the world with the Partition of 'Greater Kashmir' and opportunities thereof for restoration of these links. With the closure of these links, Kashmir lost its relevance as the hub of socio-economic and cultural activities and caused division of families of common ethno-cultural descent. The Partition gave birth to the Kashmir Conflict, under which Kashmir is groaning since 1947. However, a number of factors facilitated dialogue between India and Pakistan and as a result revival of these links seems to be quite imminent. The restoration of the Silk Road in Kashmir has a great relevance to the changing geo-political and geo-strategic scenario on the Indo-Pak and Sino-Pak borders. The study would be quite significant for building up future relations among these South Asian neighbouring countries on the basis of the rich historical past, in this age of globalization and regional integration.

Key Words: Route, Closure, Cost, Opportunities, Globalization, Confidence Building Measures, Revival.

Introduction

The Partition of the Indian subcontinent into Indian Administered Kashmir called Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) and Pakistan Administered Kashmir (PAK) called Azad Jammu Kashmir (AJK) in 1947 resultantly gave birth to the Line of Control (LoC) between J&K and PAK notwithstanding immense losses to the two states as well as its peoples. Before 1947, Kashmir enjoyed special status in the Indian subcontinent as it offered a direct land access of India to China, Tashkent, Lahore, Amritsar and Rawalpindi, and facilitated the free movement of diverse goods, merchants, explorers, spies and soldiers across different routes criss-crossing Kashmir. However, with the emergence of the LoC, the process of free trade and traffic across hitherto 'Greater Kashmir' or J&K and PAK froze. Thus, emergence of artificial borders and consequent Wars between India and Pakistan in the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and 1990s on J&K caused serious damage to the socio-economic welfare of the people on both sides of the border. The paper is an analytical model on the impact of Partition and consequent end of the Silk Route links connecting Kashmir with Central Asia and the rest of the world and opportunities for revival of these links between India and Pakistan as Confidence Building Measures (CBMs). The revival of these links, besides earning lots of benefits to local peoples, would open new markets for the Valley products in Central Asia and China, re-strengthen Sufi traditions, and restore people-to-people contacts. It has a great deal of scope in view of the significance that the Silk Road has assumed in the Indo-Pak relations over the last few years and that it has been a life-line to the people on the both sides of Indian borders in J&K and AJK.

1). Silk Route

The Silk Road was the oldest and most famous transcontinental trade route antedating several thousand years before present (114 B.C.), stretching over 4,000 miles (6,500 kms) and spanning Europe, China, Central Asia, India, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Syria, etc. The Indian subcontinent was connected to this Grand Highway through a network of sub-routes criss-crossing Kashmir across the Himalayas, Pamirs and the Hindukush Mountains. Through these routes there existed strong cultural, historical and commercial connections between South Asia and Central Asia since ancient times.¹ The most important corridors connecting Kashmir with the outside world in general and Central Asia in particular were the Zojila Pass (11570 ft.) connecting Kashmir with Ladakh and thence with Central Asia, Jhelum Valley route, most convenient axis connecting Srinagar, Muzaffarabad and Rawalpindi², and Gurais-Gilgit route linking Kashmir with Central Asia and Afghanistan.³ All the three had sub-routes including Poonch-Rawalakote and Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit Road. However, these overland connections fractured with the Partition of the Indian-subcontinent and emergence of India and Pakistan on its debris in 1947 followed by the de-facto fragmentation of "Greater Kashmir" into J&K and AJK and the emergence of the LoC in between them. The closure of these routes led to the decline in Kashmir's share in regional trade structure. Entire transportation and communication networks broke down in the process, and with that, ceased the free mobility of men, material, ideas, and cross-cultural and ideological fertilization, division of families of common ethno-cultural descent became a reality.⁴ As a matter of fact, the aforesaid unhealthy developments led to innumerable costs and constraints for the peoples and the nations of India and Pakistan.

2). Costs of Closure

Thus the Partition of the Indian subcontinent, the division of Kashmir, Indo-Pakistan wars and the surfacing of the LoC as an artificial border-line between J&K and PAK was not devoid of acute humanitarian problems, and one was indisputably related to the division of otherwise joint and large families of common historical background. Borders have not just divided land in Kashmir; they have pierced hearts and minds equally.⁵ Out of 17 million of people,⁶ who suffered due to border displacement, 1.5 million were Kashmiris. An estimated six to seven million Muslims moved from India to Pakistan and nearly eight million Hindus and Sikhs moved from Pakistan to India. The migrant population in India has been leading a miserable life for the past three generations in Jammu, Kathua,

¹ *Trade Report of the Jammu and Kashmir State, Samvat year 1989-90*, The Development Department of his Highness Government, Jammu and Kashmir, 1934, p. 20, (Currently available in Allama Iqbal Library, University of Kashmir).

² Rohit Singh, "Operations in Jammu and Kashmir 1947-48," History Division, Ministry of Defence, Govt. of India, Nataraj Publishers, Reprinted 2005, p. 131.

³ Faheem Aslam, "Dardistan: Kashmir's link to Central Asia, Afghanistan," *Greater Kashmir*, Srinagar, 11 September 2011.

⁴ Mushtaq A. Kaw, "Border Politics in South Asia: A Case Study of India, Pakistan and Afghanistan," *Eurasia Border Review*, Hokkaido University, Volume 1 No. 1, Spring 2010, p. 49.

⁵ Dr. Sadia Chisti, "Divided Families," *Greater Kashmir*, 10 March 2012.

⁶ C. N. Vakil, *Economic Consequences of Divided India: A Study of the Economy of India and Pakistan*, Bombay: Vora, 1950, 147.

Rajouri, Poonch and Udhampur districts of J&K.⁷ Paradoxically, the Indo-Pakistan borders in the Ladakh region were redrawn three times due to the wars in 1948, 1965 and 1971, and this eventually made the repeated divisions of families a harsh reality.⁸ Iskardu and Baltistan have roughly around 19 refugee camps housing about 24,574 displaced persons from J&K. The biggest camp in Gilgit as a whole had 2,227 persons and the smaller ones about 10,000 persons, those living with their kith and kin aside.⁹ This kind of displacement of households and families not only affected the social life but also the age-long constructs of economic relations. Around six to seven thousand families got divided between Kargil and Baltistan, which never met after Partition despite their common history and ethnicity.¹⁰ Hundreds of families of the Turtuk region got distanced from their relatives as a result of India-Pakistan war in 1971. The entire region of Turtuk in Nubra Ladakh was a part of Baltistan till such time. The division took place overnight leaving behind painful tale of divided families and communities of the same ethno-historical background.¹¹ Lamenting on the unfortunate development, Muhammad Shafi, an amiable elderly political activist of Drass, reported that his family was split due to emergence of the LoC. Consequently two of his uncles, traders by occupation, are placed on the other side of LoC in Iskardu. The only time that his father Haji Ghulam Rasool saw his remaining brothers, was during a stopover at Karachi airport whence his father was going for *Haj* pilgrimage in the mid-seventies. These painful stories litter the landscape across Kashmir, Ladakh and Gilgit-Baltistan, create a sense of *deja vu* and exactly rhyme with the lamentable narratives associated with the freezed Srinagar-Muzaffarabad road.¹² Unfortunately, no systemic data is forthcoming about the number of such divided families in Kargil and Iskardu. In Kashmir, every family has suffered a lot and each person has his own tale of suffering to tell.

The unpropitious development of Partition and consequent surfacing of rigid borders forged the Kashmir conflict with cascading effects on the people of Kashmir for more than six decades now. Both nations of India and Pakistan confronted each other in the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1990s on J&K on ethno-national and ideological grounds. The inestimable cost was visible in the killing of more than 1,00,000 souls.¹³ Hundreds and thousands were displaced and rendered homeless. Equal number was subjected to psychiatric ailments, and around 45,000 such persons, were treated in Srinagar hospitals during 2000-06 alone. A study by Dr. Abdul Hamid Zargar, former director of Sher-i-Kashmir Institute of Medical Sciences (SKIMS) at Soura, Srinagar, reveals that the stress disorders have reduced the reproductive age of Kashmiri women by almost 10 years. Conflict is one of the major factors for increased prevalence of Poly Cystic Ovarian Syndrome (PCOS) and premature Menopause or premature

⁷ Ajay Kumar, "Impact of Internal Displacement in Jammu and Kashmir: Study of Pakistan occupied Kashmir Refugees", *Indian Streams Research Journal* Vol.2, Issue.III/April; 2012, pp. 1-4.

⁸ Debidatta Aurobinda Mahapatra, the Silk Route in Kashmir: Preliminary Research Findings, *Central Eurasian Studies Review*, Miami University, Volume 8, Number 1, Spring 2009, p. 15.

⁹ Sushobha Barve, "Beyond Borders," *Kashmir Report 2007*, Centre for Dialogue and Reconciliation, Delhi, pp. 13-14.

¹⁰ Martin Van Beek, *Ladakh Studies*, International Association for Ladakh Studies, Bristol University Print Services, 20 March, 2006, p. 9.

¹¹ Dr. Smruti S. Pattanaik and Dr. Arpita Anant, "Cross-LoC Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan: A Giant Leap or a Small Step towards Peace," Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, pp. 16-17.

¹² Martin Van Beek, *Ladakh Studies*, International Association for Ladakh Studies, Bristol University Print Services, 20 March, 2006, p. 9

¹³ Radha Kumar, (ed.), *Negotiating Peace in Deeply Divided Societies*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2009, p. 247.

ovarian failure. PCOS is 2-3 times more prominent in Kashmir than in the rest of the country.¹⁴ The inestimable number of orphanages and destruction of precious infrastructure make yet another case of effects following the Kashmir conflict.

The economic cost of the conflict cannot be confined to a particular sector of industry or investment. It affected the livelihood of local people especially in tourism, horticulture and handicrafts sectors.¹⁵ In sequence, the average annual growth of Net State Domestic Product from 1980-81 to 1999-2000 was 12.45% in J & K whereas the same was as high as 15.01%, 14.28%, 13.83% and 14.3% in Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, West Bengal and Kerala respectively. Similarly, the average annual growth of Per Capita Net State Domestic Product during 1980-2000 was estimated at merely 9.63% in J & K as compared to 12.9%, 11.63%, 11.63%, and 12.86% in Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, West Bengal and Kerala respectively.¹⁶ The conflict stalled private investment and rendered the economic growth stagnant. Above all, the conflict strained the relations of India, Pakistan and China. It fuelled traditional enmity to an extent where the conflicting parties diverted their precious resources to defence at the cost of works of public utility. However, several factors were encouraging to bring together India and Pakistan for resumption of peace talks.

3). Opportunities of Revival

(I). External Factors

(a). Globalization

The dynamics of geo-politics and geo-economics had a great role in promoting thought for conflict resolution through peace process. The growth of international communications and trade and softening of borders and taxation policies contributed to the creation of an unprecedented global economy, which was galvanized by many countries in South and Central Asia for their respective development. Perhaps the most important secret underlying the resolution of territorial disputes between states lies in the incentives offered by economic integration. Indeed globalization pre-empted porous national boundaries through the construction of highways, roadways, railways and pipelines across the Central Asian region.¹⁷ The Indian Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh also realized that "India's foreign policy aims at Global order, in which India's over-riding goals of rapid, sustained and inclusive socio-economic development and poverty alleviation are attained rapidly without any hindrance."¹⁸ It is partially in this background that India and Pakistan thought of re-inventing their relations through honest management of shared geographical resources.¹⁹ It is again for this reason that the new generation in India with rate of

¹⁴ *Kashmir Life*, Srinagar, 26 February-03 March, 2012.

¹⁵ Debidatta Aurobinda Mahapatra and Seema Shekhawat, "The Peace Process and Prospects for Economic Reconstruction in Kashmir," *Peace & Conflict Review*, Volume 3, Issue 1, University of Peace, 2008, pp. 1-2.

¹⁶ Planning Commission of India, *Jammu & Kashmir: Development Scenario, Executive Summary*, 2006, p. 1, http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/stateplan/sdr_jandk/sdr_jkexecutive.pdf (Accessed on 07-05-2008).

¹⁷ Zahid Anwar, "Development of Infrastructural Linkages between Pakistan and Central Asia" *A research Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1, January-June 2011, Centre for South Asian Studies, University of Punjab, Lahore, p. 104.

¹⁸ *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, 2 June 2010.

¹⁹ Bashir Assad, "Resumption of Talks: It is Kashmir through Kabul", *Kashmir Times*, Srinagar, 18 February 2010.

higher literacy, income and access to media seek for peaceful co-existence in South Asia²⁰ through the medium of economic integration, softening of borders, restoration of traditional land routes and people-to-people contacts. The India-Pakistan governments are seriously considering restoration of Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit route for economic integration of J & K with PAK and Central Asia.

(b). International Community/Organization

The role of international community in the Kashmir dispute has been that India and Pakistan should built trust in each other to resolve the dispute with the help of international support whenever required. It is for this reason that Ban Ki Moon, UN Secretary-General, lately asked the leadership of the two countries to peacefully resolve the Kashmir issue. He indicated his willingness to help the troubled neighbours in ironing out the differences over the matter, and called for an immediate end to the violence in Kashmir and appealed for restraint by all parties.²¹ He welcomed the ongoing “constructive” talks between the Indo-Pak Foreign Ministers for peace, development and security of South Asia as a whole. Pertinently, “India and Pakistan are neighbouring countries, important nations in that region - peace and security would have important implications (for them).”²² Like the UN, American strategy mostly aims at reducing the India-Pakistan tension over Kashmir. The successful American facilitation to end the Kargil conflict, ease tensions during the border confrontation, and help initiate an official-level dialogue between the two countries reveals American policy on the Kashmir issue for being a flash point.²³ The Bush administration played an active role in facilitating the dialogue between India and Pakistan in 2003. The Secretary of State, Colin Powell and Deputy Secretary Armitage and later on, Secretary Rice, brokered peace process between the Foreign Ministers and leaders of the two countries.²⁴ In fact, the genesis of ongoing peace process goes back to the Armitage mission²⁵ that was carried out at the height of the military standoff between Pakistan and India in 2002, and resumption of talks was linked with a permanent end to “cross-border terrorism” by Pakistan. Two years later, India and Pakistan signed the Islamabad Declaration, which stipulated the Indian commitment to resume talks in exchange for Pakistan’s pledge to end “cross-border terrorism.” Thus, overtly or covertly, the US was instrumental in getting the peace process started.²⁶ Of late, Barack Obama, US President, recognized that “India is an important partner in the regional security... We want to encourage dialogue between India and Pakistan, that is something we continue to support when there are efforts, because the more confidence and trust that can be built between those two nations, the more able everyone else is to focus on really the challenges of extremism and terrorism that are a threat to all.”²⁷ The need was also

²⁰ Malik Javeed Iqbal, “Cross-Line of Control trade: a Step towards Peace Building and Conflict Resolution,” *Jammu and Kashmir Trade across the Line of Control*, Discussion Papers, December 2010, p. 27.

²¹ *The Hindu*, New Delhi, 23 September 2010.

²² *Greater Kashmir*, Srinagar, 31 July 2011.

²³ Alexander Evans, “Reducing Tension is not Enough,” *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 2, Spring 2001, pp. 81-193.

²⁴ Khalid Mahmood, “Improving Indo-Pak Relations” *South Asian Journal*, South Asian Free Media Association (SAFMA), Issue 32, April-June 2011, p. 35.

²⁵ US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage was engaged in normalizing the relations between the South Asian neighbours.

²⁶ Ijaz Hussain, “Obama and Kashmir,” *Daily Times*, Islamabad, 3 December 2008,.

²⁷ *Greater Kashmir*, 14 January 2011.

underscored in view of the economic implications as Hillary Clinton said, "Promoting trade links in violence hit South Asia will bring prosperity and peace not only to India, but also to countries like Pakistan and Afghanistan."²⁸ She further said that "inter-state trade would bring stability to the region. The path to long-term peace in South Asia lies in resolving the Kashmir issue and America held discussions in this regard with leaders in both India and Pakistan, solving Kashmir issue unlock the path for long-term solution."²⁹ This kind of international feeling was a factor that contributed to the sitting of the leaders of two countries on table for resolution of long pending disputes including Kashmir.

The *Organization of Islamic Cooperation* (OIC) also called for peaceful resolution of the Kashmir issue. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, OIC general secretary reported in September 2011 in a meeting of OIC nations, "As on the previous occasions, we continue to reaffirm our strong and principled position that the J & K dispute has one inevitable path to ride, which is the path of negotiations towards a peaceful solution of this long-lasting conflict. A peaceful settlement of the dispute would certainly serve the people of both India and Pakistan and the overall interests of South Asia as well. We are therefore hopeful for constructive and successful bilateral negotiations between India and Pakistan through which a final solution aiming at respecting the will and rights of the people in J & K could be achieved."³⁰ The OIC expressed full faith in the United Nations policy towards the Kashmir issue and its resolution through just and durable peace. The United Nations General Assembly President, Nassir Abdul-Aziz Al-Nasser of the State of Qatar said, "History has shown that peaceful settlements, including those brokered through mediation efforts, provide the most cost-effective and long-lasting solution for disputes."³¹ Dr. Mirwaiz Umar Farooq, during the OIC meeting in 2011, also supported peaceful resolution of the Kashmir dispute in accordance with the aspirations of the people of J & K.³²

(II). Internal Factors

(a). Civil Society

Civil society had also a certain role in the restoration of peace talks between the two countries. The Indian civil activists recognized Kashmir as an issue and emphasized its solution through dialogue for the larger interests of India.³³ They made it clear that, "if the government of India continues to get carried away by the elections, the day is not far off when you will see another uprising on the streets of Kashmir."³⁴ Thus, they underscored the need of a meaningful, time-bound and result-oriented dialogue,

²⁸ *Greater Kashmir*, 15 July 2011.

²⁹ *Greater Kashmir*, 23 September 2011.

³⁰ *Greater Kashmir*, Srinagar, 23 September 2011.

³¹ Kashmir issue discussed during the OIC Annual Meeting at the United Nations, OIC Contact Group Meeting on Kashmir, United Nations, New York, 21 September 2011. http://www.kashmir.com/index.php?option=com_acymailing&view=lists&Itemid=3 (Accessed on 11-11-2011).

³² Dr. Mirwaiz Umar Farooq, Chairman, All Parties Hurriyet Conference, Srinagar, Kashmir, Kashmir issue discussed during the OIC Annual Meeting at the United Nations, OIC Contact Group Meeting on Kashmir, United Nations, New York, 21 September 2011.

³³ *Greater Kashmir*, 14 October 2011.

³⁴ *Kashmir News*, February 16, 2009, <http://www.esinislam.com/> (Accessed on 16-01-2011).

between India and Pakistan so as to usher in a new era of peace, prosperity and stability in the region.³⁵ To quote noted Indian writer, Arundhati Roy, "I think that the people of Kashmir have the right to self-determination, they have the right to choose who they want to be and how they want to be."³⁶ To this effect, the Indian civil society associations organized *dharnas*³⁷ at different place in India and across the globe to voice their opinion about the issue. The members of the *Kashmir Centre for Social and Development Studies* (KCSDS), in 2010, suggested for the resolution of Kashmir issue through peace process.³⁸ Tibetan spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, stated that talks were, "the best way out to resolve the dispute over Jammu & Kashmir. The Kashmir dispute can be resolved only through talks and understanding."³⁹ The women groups on both sides of the LoC⁴⁰ urged for regional peace, security, and economic stability through amicable solution of the protracted conflict. Pugwash brought people together across the LoC during 2004-09, provided the first peoples forum which united together political leaders of J & K and Pakistan for laying emphasis on resolution of Kashmir dispute through dialogue and Confidence Building Measures (CBMs). It is indeed because of it that Chief Minister of J&K, Omar Abdullah, visited Pakistan to reinforce the idea of peaceful resolution through dialogue. During the post Mumbai Attack, when the dialogue process between the two countries was frozen, Pugwash in 2009 endeavoured to build great deal of pressure on the two countries to resume dialogue and shun war path.⁴¹ The media also played a very significant role in building bilateral trust: Pakistan's *Jang* group and India's *Times of India* group started a TV show, *Aman ki Asha* (a hope for peace) in January 2010, to periodically feature programmes essential to facilitate people-to-people contacts and promote peace on both sides of the Radcliff line. The enormous publications of *Jung Group* in Pakistan facilitated the beginning of parliamentary dialogue and the foundation lying of the *South Asian Free Media Association* (SAFMA).⁴² Another leading Indian newspaper, the *Indian Express*, supported the dialogue process by publishing summaries of articles from Pakistani Press.⁴³

³⁵ Qazi Hussain Ahmad, Member of *Jamat-e-Islami* Pakistan & head of *Muthida Majlis-e-Amal* reported the same: *Greater Kashmir*, 19 February 2009.

³⁶ *Greater Kashmir*, 13 November 2011.

³⁷ Civil Society protested on Kashmir killings on 10 July 2010 in New Delhi at Jantar Mantar. Representatives from various civil society groups expressed their solidarity for the people of Kashmir. The two-hour *dharna* was organized by a nongovernmental organization, Act Now for Harmony and Democracy (ANHAD).

³⁸ Hilal Ahmad Wani, "The Role of Civil Society in Conflict Prevention in Jammu and Kashmir," *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, Centre for Promoting Ideas, USA, Vol. 2 No. 4; March 2011, pp. 164-66.

³⁹ *Greater Kashmir*, 17 November 2011.

⁴⁰ The dialogue on 'Women's Roles in Society: Issues of Mutual Concern' held at Gulmarg from the 27th to 29th of September, 2011, organized by Centre for Dialogue and Reconciliation (CDR), New Delhi, and Women for Peace, Srinagar, in which forty five women from all regions of J&K, as well as PAK and Gilgit-Baltistan participated.

⁴¹ Moeed Yosuf (Part I), Sandra Butcher (Part II) and Paolo Cotta Ramsino, Composite Report of Pugwash Consultations of Pakistan June-October, 2009, Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, Islamabad, March 2010, pp. 40-41.

⁴² Radha Kumar, p. 272.

⁴³ Dr. Yasin, "India-Pakistan Trade Relations: Problems and Prospects", *Indian Ocean Digest*, Centre for Indian Ocean Studies, Osmania University, Hyderabad, Issue: 48, Vol. 27, July-December, p. 66.

(b). Political Elite in J&K

The pressure of several elite and social groups within J & K State also made the restoration of dialogue process necessary. Though the political elite has no common conceptual framework regarding J&K state yet it favours resolution of the Kashmir issue through peace process. While the hard core Geelani group of Hurriyat conference strongly favours the right to self-determination of the people of J & K under the auspices of United Nations, the Mirvaiz group supports political stability as a key to economic prosperity of the two countries.⁴⁴ The latter welcomed the initiation of dialogue between New Delhi and Islamabad in Bhutan but, at the same time, urged for the inclusion of Kashmiri leadership in the dialogue process for the sake of South Asian peace and security.⁴⁵ However, the mainstream parties of J & K have different concept of the state: the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) is in favour of self rule, which provides for economic self-reliance, restoration of power to the state administration and allowing the state to draw benefits of its geo-political location in the sub-continent. It favours that Srinagar should be connected to Yarkand in China (777 miles) and beyond through a 6-way lane constructed by China. It also seeks re-opening of the Srinagar-Iskardu-Gilgit route which connects J & K to Iran and Afghanistan through the Karakorum Highway.⁴⁶ The PDP maintained that the people of J & K look forward to a broad based and structured dialogue between India and Pakistan which could solve the six decade old problem. "The two countries must try to avoid pitfalls and hiccups which had interrupted the dialogue process in the past as had happened in the wake of Mumbai attacks in 2008,"⁴⁷ is the stand of PDP on the J & K issue. Favouring dialogue with entire leadership of J & K including the Hurriyat, the ruling National Conference demanded restoration of autonomy to the state and re-opening of old trade routes of Kargil-Iskardu, Srinagar-Rawalpindi, Poonch-Balakote and others so that people from both sides of the LoC develop closer contacts and trade.⁴⁸ Even the Governor of J & K State, N. N. Vohra, supported that the stakeholders and people of the State should work towards restoration of lasting peace, communal harmony, amity and brotherhood in J & K and revive and promote the states past glory as an abode of peace and tranquility.⁴⁹

(c). Rising Defence Expenditure

As argued above, due to the unceasing hostility and mistrust and strained relations, both India and Pakistan alarmingly built their defence capacities and earmarked a certain share of their GDP towards defence expenses. A comparative study on the cost of conflict brings out some disturbing facts as large percentage of population in both states remains mired in abject poverty. Pakistan's defence budget since 2000 has been almost 3.9% of its GDP, while India's defence spending has averaged around 2.7% of its GDP. India's social sector development budget has been around 6%, while Pakistan's spending has

⁴⁴ *Greater Kashmir*, 23 December 2011.

⁴⁵ *Greater Kashmir*, 8 February 2011.

⁴⁶ *Greater Kashmir*, 13 February 2011.

⁴⁷ *Rising Kashmir*, 3 March 2010.

⁴⁸ *Greater Kashmir*, 8 June 2010.

⁴⁹ *Greater Kashmir*, 14 October 2011.

barely averaged 4% of its GDP on social sector.⁵⁰ Both countries stand among the 15 major military spenders of the world notwithstanding the fact that over 50 million Pakistanis and 34% of India's population fall below poverty line.⁵¹ The December 2001-October 2002 standoff consumed a total of US\$ 3 billion (1.8 billion for India and 1.2 for Pakistan). While India's spending (cost) amounted to 0.38 percent of its GDP, Pakistan's cost was a whopping 1.79% of its GDP. Military expenditures of both India and Pakistan have continued to increase since then. For the budgetary year 2006/2007, India's defence expenditure increased from 2.7 to 3.1% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and that of Pakistan swelled to 5.5% of its GDP, excluding pensions, during the same period.⁵² Instead of devoting their efforts to poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, crime and the like social problems, they engaged in building their military capabilities and enhancing their respective defence expenditures: lately India hiked it by 34% worth 1.4173 trillion Indian rupees and Pakistan increased its defence budget by 15% in 2009 despite her insignificant growth rate of 3.3% of GDP.⁵³ For the financial year 2011-12, the Government of Pakistan increased the country's military budget by 12%, including the 15% increase in the salaries of the employees. The total amount of the budget was Rs. 495 billion, compared to Rs 442 billion for the year 2010-11. The Finance Minister while justifying the increase in the defence budget said, "We live in a difficult neighbourhood. We are faced with threats to our security. We remain engaged in a struggle for the safety of our citizens. We are the victims of war on terrorism."⁵⁴ However, while analyzing the defence budget, over the last few years, there has been a decline in the defence budget of Pakistan in practical terms. The fact remains that, during the year 2010-11, in term of GDP share, the defence allocation was 2.6% whereas, despite an increase of 12%, the GDP share of defence allocation for the next year (2011-12) would go down to 2.4%, a decrease of 2%. This decline was due to inflation, which at an average was 14.1% and continues to be so over the years.⁵⁵ The union budget of India, 2011-12, increased the defence allocation to Rs 1, 64,415.49 crore (\$36.03 billion), an increase by 11.59% over the previous year's allocation. But its share in the GDP was decreased from 2.12 in 2010-11 to 1.8% in 2011- 2012 implicitly due to the relatively faster growth of the Indian economy and the resultant increase in total central governmental expenditure.⁵⁶ This declining trend in the share of military budget in GDP reveals positivism as both India and Pakistan resolved to go hammer and tongs after 'trust deficit' which they realized had blocked the progress of developing a genuine relationship.⁵⁷ Thus globalization, internal

⁵⁰ Intiaz Gul "the Cost of India-Pakistan Conflict" *the Friday Times*, Islamabad, 24-30 December 2004.

⁵¹ Ingolf Kiesow and Nicklas Norling, *The Rise of India: Problems and Opportunities*, Central Asian-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program, Silk Road paper January 2007, p. 27.

⁵² Ingolf Kiesow and Nicklas Norling, *The Rise of India: Problems and Opportunities*, Central Asian-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program, Silk Road paper January 2007, pp. 27-28.

⁵³ Mushtaq A. Kaw, "Border Politics in South Asia: A Case Study of India, Pakistan and Afghanistan," *Eurasia Border Review*, Hokkaido University, Volume 1 No. 1, Spring 2010, p. 49.

⁵⁴ Dr. Raja Muhammad Khan, "Pakistan: Inside the Military Budget", Pakistan Ka Khuda Hafiz (Leading Policy Institute), 8 June 2011, <http://www.pakistankakhudahafiz.com/> (Accessed on 17-05-2011).

⁵⁵ Dr. Raja Muhammad Khan, "Pakistan: Inside the Military Budget", Pakistan Ka Khuda Hafiz (Leading Policy Institute), 8 June 2011, <http://www.pakistankakhudahafiz.com/> (Accessed on 17-05-2011).

⁵⁶ Laxman K. Behera, "India's Defence Budget 2011-2012", Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, 7 March 2011, <http://www.idsa.in/?q>. (Accessed on 12-10-2011)

⁵⁷ *The Asian Age*, New Delhi, 2 June 2010.

and external pressures and the high mounting costs of defence, pushed the two countries to perceive of peace talks⁵⁸ for conflict resolution through several Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) including the restoration of ancient routes.

(d). Confidence Building Measures (CBMs)

The CBMs characterized softening of borders to allow free movement of people, goods and services:⁵⁹ perhaps the only viable alternative to reconcile the divergent India-Pakistan stand on Kashmir.⁶⁰ True during 1980s and 1990s both sides strived for peace talks but that proved rhetoric in absence of mutual trust. However, in 1996 and onwards, much work was done quietly for resumption of the dialogue process.⁶¹ The advent of Nawaz Sharif and I. K. Gujral governments greatly helped this process. Prime Minister Navaz Shrief was candid on the Kashmir issue, "We cannot take Kashmir by force and you cannot give it peacefully we have to find a way to span the distance."⁶² In 1997, the Indian and Pakistani Prime Ministers engaged in negotiations on the sidelines of the Male SAARC Summit. This said process of composite dialogue was furthered,⁶³ at the Foreign Secretaries level meeting of the two countries on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly Session in September 1998. This was followed by the first substantive round of talks on the issues of composite dialogue, mutual security and CBMs in October 1998.⁶⁴ Though the process galloped with Prime Minister Vajpayee's visit to Pakistan in February 1999, yet it was stalled due to the Kargil war, the military coup in Pakistan, terrorist attacks on the J&K Assembly and the Indian Parliament.⁶⁵ However, June 2004 saw real beginning of the dialogue process. The immediate impulse came from the Vajpayee-Musharraf meeting on the sidelines of the SAARC Summit in Islamabad in January 2004. Both agreed to resume the dialogue within what was billed as the '2+6'⁶⁶ framework.⁶⁷ The Islamabad stressed on regional cooperation and resolution of all pending issues

⁵⁸ Moeed Yusuf, "Promoting Cross-Loc Trade in Kashmir," United States Institute of Peace, *Special Report 230*, August 2009, p. 2.

⁵⁹ P.R. Chari and Hasan Akbar Rizvi, "Making Borders Irrelevant", *Epilogue*, Vol. II, Issue 9, Jammu, October, 2008, p. 24.

⁶⁰ Siddharth Varadaraja, "Building Trust, One Step at Time", *The Hindu*, New Delhi, 23 June 2010.

⁶¹ Satish Chandra, "The Prospects for Indo-Pak Dialogue," *South Asian Journal*, South Asian Free Media Association (SAFMA), Issue 32, April-June 2011, p. 41.

⁶² Gull Wani, "Reconciling different dialogue tracks", *Kashmir Times*, Srinagar, January 5, 2011.

⁶³ Asma-ul-Husna Faiz, *India Pakistan Dialogue: Bringing the Society In*, RCSS Policy Studies 39, Colombo: Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, 2007, p. 93.

⁶⁴ Satish Chandra, "The Prospects for Indo-Pak Dialogue," *South Asian Journal*, South Asian Free Media Association (SAFMA), Issue 32, April-June 2011, p. 42.

⁶⁵ Asma-ul-Husna Faiz, *India Pakistan Dialogue: Bringing the Society In*, RCSS Policy Studies 39, Colombo: Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, 2007, p. 94.

⁶⁶ This meant that two issues were assigned a higher position on the scale of negotiations, while six others were to be dealt with piecemeal. Negotiations on the two major issues of peace and security, including Confidence Building Measures and Kashmir, were to be held at the foreign secretary level. Negotiations on six other issues, Siachen, the Wular Barrage/Tulbul navigation project, Sir Creek, terrorism and drug trafficking, economic and commercial cooperation and promotion of friendly exchanges were to start from July 2004 by the relevant administrative departments.

⁶⁷ Asma-ul-Husna faiz, *India Pakistan Dialogue: Bringing the Society In*, RCSS Policy Studies 39, Colombo: Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, 2007, p. 94.

including Kashmir. At the same time, it reaffirmed not to allow its soil to be used for terrorism.⁶⁸ Between 2004 and 2008, when the two countries were about to resume the fifth round of talks, the 26/11 (2008) Mumbai terror attack occurred, which stalled the above process, as India believed Pak had its hand in it, which the latter out rightly denied. However, for the larger interests and under different compulsions, the two countries again decided to resume talks.⁶⁹ In September 2008, the president of Pakistan and Prime Minister of India met during the 63rd United Nations General Assembly session in New York, resolved to strengthen bilateral relations, open the Wagah-Attari road, Khokrapar-Munnabao rail, and the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad and Poonch-Rawalakot roads for trade and traffic on 21 October 2008.⁷⁰ The inclination of both the countries to resume dialogue⁷¹ brought them together for renewed engagement at Sharm-el-Shaikh in July 2009, and the decision to initiate dialogue at Foreign Ministers level without any precondition was taken at the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) summit at Thimpu, Bhutan. The Pakistani Prime Minister assured that India's 'core concern' of terrorism would be addressed.⁷² Consequently, the Foreign Secretaries of the two countries held talks on the sidelines of the SAARC meeting to hammer out modalities of peace process. The hope for taking this process forward on all issues was expressed by Indian Minister of External Affairs, S. M. Krishna, when he said: "Secretary-level talks on counter-terrorism, (including progress of Mumbai trail); human rights violation, peace, security, resolution of pending issues including J & K and Siachen etc., will be held soon."⁷³ Soon he met his Pakistani counterpart, Ms. Hina Rabbani Khar, at New Delhi on 27 July 2011, to discuss issues related to "Confidence Building Measures including cross-border trade and visa protocols."⁷⁴ The bilateral dialogue has taken over two and a half years to revive and continues successfully regardless of the impact of Mumbai bomb blasts.⁷⁵ With the spirit to carry forward the dialogue process, Pakistan sent its own team to investigate into the Mumbai Attack⁷⁶ and granted the status of Most Favoured Nations (MNF) to India, expedite and upgrade cross-LoC trade and travel in J&K.⁷⁷ She also removed restrictions on the import of 12 items from India, including raw materials and machinery. In fact, both countries agreed to increase the movement of trucks across-LoC from two to

⁶⁸ Ishtiaq Ahmad and Rabia Akhtar Choudhry "India Pakistan Peace Process 2004-2008: A Case Study of Kashmir," *Research Journal of International Studies*, Institute for Interkulturelle Studien, Issue 13 (March, 2010), p. 94.

⁶⁹ Samarjit Ghosh, "Two Decades of Indo-Pak CBMs A Critique from India," IPCS Issue Brief 132, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi, September 2009, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁰ *Epilogue*, Vol. II, Issue 9, Jammu, October, 2008, p. 23.

⁷¹ While talking about resumption of composite dialogue Gilani said, "the suspension of the India-Pakistan composite dialogue in the wake of the 2008 Mumbai attacks allowed non-state actors to succeed in dictating their agenda, Pakistan wants peaceful relations with the neighbouring countries including India, Afghanistan, and Iran. India should sit with us to initiate dialogue to resolve all important issues including Jammu and Kashmir, Water dispute and terrorism:" *Greater Kashmir*, 4 January 2009.

⁷² Dr. Yasin, "India-Pakistan Relations: Problems and Prospects", *Indian Ocean Digest*, Osmania University: Centre for Indian Ocean Studies, Hyderabad, July-December 2010, Issue 48, Vol. 27, p. 64.

⁷³ *Greater Kashmir*, 11 February 2011.

⁷⁴ *Greater Kashmir*, 28 July 2011.

⁷⁵ On 13 July 2011, a series of deadly bomb blasts ripped through India's financial capital, killing 23 people and wounding over 130.

⁷⁶ *Dawn*, Karachi, 17 July 2011.

⁷⁷ *Greater Kashmir*, 11 November 2011.

four days, as part of CBMs aimed at normalizing the bilateral trade relations.⁷⁸ The committee of the interlocutors under Padgankar⁷⁹ is also reported to have recommended free flow of people and trade across the LoC and reopening of more routes without “prolonged bureaucratic hassles.” This would end the isolation of J&K and usher in the welfare of people in adjoining parts of Asia.⁸⁰

The Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) characterized softening of borders to allow free movement of people, goods and services:⁸¹ perhaps the only viable alternative to reconcile the divergent India-Pakistan stand on Kashmir.⁸² The two countries resolved to strengthen bilateral relations, opened the Wagah-Attari road, Khokrapar-Munnabao rail, and the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad and Poonch-Rawalakot roads for trade and traffic. The Kargil-Iskardu road was put in proposal but is yet to be revived. Conditioning sustenance of bilateral dialogue between India and Pakistan, the reopening of Kargil-Iskardu-Gilgit road and other links is likely to be as good a reality as that of Srinagar-Muzaffarabad and Poonch-Rawalakote roads. The benefits of the revival would of course out-weigh the cost associated with the revival.

Conclusion:

The Silk Road was the oldest and most famous transcontinental trade route antedating several thousand years before present (114 B.C.), stretching over 4,000 miles (6,500 kms) and spanning Europe, China, Central Asia, India, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Syria, etc. The Indian subcontinent was connected to this Grand Highway through a network of sub-routes criss-crossing Kashmir across the Himalayas, Pamirs and the Hindukush Mountains. However, the Partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947, emergence of India and Pakistan on its debris and the sequential wars between them in the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and 1990s on J&K led to the emergence of artificial borders and obviously the closure of traditional trans-Gilgit and trans-Kashmir land routes. Kashmir lost its relevance as a centre of trade and massive and intermittent displacement led to migration of many people from J&K to Pakistan or its Northern Areas of Gilgit. Out of 17 million people, affected in the process, 1.5 million were Kashmiris who migrated to the other side of the LoC in PAK as a result of India-Pakistan wars. Above all, these unhealthy developments triggered the Kashmir conflict with immense human loss and damage of precious infrastructure.

Consequently, India-Pakistan relations remained strained and each state carried out massive military build-ups with considerable share of defense expenses in their respective GDP. However, due to globalization and its emphasis on regional and economic integration besides immense internal and external pressure, the two countries tread the path of reshaping their relation through the dialogue. The composite dialogue process started in 2004, as a mutual *detente*, and in 2005, both countries pursued

⁷⁸ *Greater Kashmir*, 13 November 2011.

⁷⁹ Padgaonkar was a member of the Panel of the three member interlocutors on Kashmir, appointed by the centre in 2010 to look after and analyze the main causes of the summer unrest in Kashmir in 2010. The Panel was supposed to make recommendations for establishing long term peace in Jammu and Kashmir.

⁸⁰ *Greater Kashmir*, 24 December 2010.

⁸¹ P.R. Chari and Hasan Akbar Rizvi, “Making Borders Irrelevant”, *Epilogue*, Vol. II, Issue 9, Jammu, October 2008, 24.

⁸² Siddharth Varadaraja, “Building Trust, One Step at Time”, *the Hindu*, New Delhi, 23 June 2010.

people-centric policy which led to the re-opening of cross-LoC trade and travel routes. Notwithstanding few stakes, the restoration of Silk Route links have multifarious benefits to all stakeholders: India, Pakistan, Central Asia and China and their peoples at large. It would bolster regional and local economies, re-animate people-to-people contacts, build India-Pakistan mutual trust for strategic cooperation and thereby facilitate resolution of the sixty two year old Kashmir conflict and eventually facilitate re-union of the families of same ethnic-historical and cultural background and provide great opportunity to revive the ancient history and cultural contacts with China and Central Asia. Most importantly the restoration of these links would provide direct connection with the international Karakorum Highway.



ECONOMICS

NAMATOVA, Gulmira**Japanese and South Korean Models of Management in Central Asia
(Kyrgyz Republic, Mongolia, Kazakhstan) – Part I.****Part I – Management in the Republic of Korea****I. The modern model of management in the Republic of Korea, as a synthesis of American and Japanese management styles**

Korean management is studied much less than the Japanese due partly to the relatively late emergence of South Korea on the world stage. Despite the absence of detailed studies we can talk about the impact of the Confucian tradition on modern Korean business. Koreans have inherited the Confucian work ethic and an extraordinary one: in Taiwan the working week is 40 hours, in Japan is 42 hours (however, there is a very good practice to work overtime freely), then the Koreans are working 58 hours a week. They prefer lifetime employment, and perhaps as much as the Japanese corporations are committed to their family, with its atmosphere of consensus, although the Korean company's commitment does not prevent violent labor conflicts. Chaebols themselves to some extent reproduce the regional clan groups, which formed the traditional Korean society. Just as in the old days, the royal court commanded regional clans; modern government maintains strict control over the activities of clan-chaebol and regulates their economic policies down to the smallest detail.

In Korea today there is a great emphasis on kinship and corporations themselves usually keep a family character. Hyundai, for example, is half owned by the same family. In the largest chaebol 30% of the employees are related by family ties with the owner's family. Business is also highly personalized, and the management is authoritarian in nature, so that ordinary workers and even middle managers have virtually no ability to influence decision-making. In this regard, Korea is more like a Chinese society. Full trust between partners is the main condition for the joint management of cases, a written contract – the practice is relatively rare. Traditional forms of politeness are still at a premium¹.

The national characteristics: in the organization of Korean business, we meet a lot of features inherent in the business life of the neighboring countries, especially Japan. However, the prevalence of small family businesses, on which rise vertically structured and closely associated with the state industrial and financial groups, known as chaebol, now known all over the world: Samsung, Hyundai, Daewoo, LG, etc. In the late 90s of the 20th century chaebol accounted for 32% of total sales and 29% of the national

¹ T. Youn-Ja Shim, ed. (2010). *Korean Entrepreneurship: The Foundation of the Korean Economy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

capital. Samsung Corporation in 1997 had about a hundred affiliates and provided 28% of all Korean exports. The Korean chaebol business is significantly inferior to the Japanese keiretsu. For countries with poor labor relations system must choose the path of development, which is closer to their culture. It is necessary to combine the benefits, but select only the ones that can fit into the everyday life of their lives. If they are contrary to that, they can not bring any advantage. In the case of defects, it is necessary to make some changes, if possible, and if not, we have to absorb them into the new model. The Korean experience is a productive combination of models, which at the time of formation of management in the Republic of Korea had already established itself in the international practice and to show not only the advantages but also disadvantages. The management of South Korea changed throughout the second half of the 20th century, and as a result of such experiments, turned out a completely new system of management, which interested scientists from many countries, and termed “the Korean economic miracle”. The management of South Korea is a synthesis of American and Japanese management styles.

II. Chaebol – South Korean economic miracle

In many developing countries, economic development plans are usually not successful. The reason is the lack of administrative mechanisms and skills. Korea, during the period of rapid development, has become an exception to this trend. For the execution of the program of economic development, the Government of the Republic has created a special structure to guide, support and monitor the business activities of private and public sectors.

Most of the ruling elite of that time were former military personnel, in the Ministry of Economy and elsewhere; they used the work of professionals: lawyers, scientists and professors of various sciences. These people were given the power to shape and adjust the economic policy of the state. The situation is only exacerbated the fact that in spite of the scientific merits of workers in this sector, their experience in building a new economic model based on market relations remained at a low level.

However, the Prime Minister and the President also did not stand aloof from organizational problems in the economy. They coordinated all the activities of the agencies working with the various sectors of the economy. At that time, the foreign press has repeatedly called the Korean economy only as “Korea, Inc.” meaning that it is a special organization, in which the President played the role of executive director and the representatives of ministries and heads of public and private organizations played the role of deputy chief operating officer.²

In the 1960s many Americans and Europeans got the idea of South Korea as a poor country, still suffering from the consequences of a war, a country where in overcrowded slums and huts live poorly educated, low-paid, but hard-working people.

This image appeared for the most part based on the memories of Korea after World War II. Many Americans remember that the Koreans were forced to eat the bark of trees to survive in the years 1945-1946. And Seoul was a pile of broken bricks. Already in 1961, GDP per capita was about \$ 93. In the

² Sang Chul Suh (1978). *Growth and Structural Changes in the Korean Economy, 1910-1940*. Harvard East Asian Monographs. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

1980s Korea became the third largest exporter after U.S. and Japan in the production of automobiles, steel, televisions, VCRs, computers and semiconductors.

When Koreans first appeared on the world market, they exported wigs (first made of natural hair, then synthetic), textiles, clothing and a small amount of electrical equipment. Trying to get away from traditional labor-intensive products, they decided to make a breakthrough by concentrating power in the production and technology. In 1957 the Korea Productivity Center was set up and started working — following the example of the Japanese. This was done to improve performance, but also to change the perception of Korean goods like low-quality goods.

They copied, borrowed, bought licenses for the technology and created joint ventures. They founded companies — “observation posts” in the Silicon Valley and established joint ventures with the strongest companies in the United States and Japan. Korea has become the “locomotive” of competition. The U.S. government had no small influence on the management of the new Republic. The U.S. actively subsidized the Korean economy thus has helped remedy the situation by developing the beginnings of the industry, which was destroyed by the Korean War.

In connection with the U.S. government and strict regulation of the domestic economy from their Korean counterparts, there were disturbances in the society, still reeling from the Japanese occupation, caused by fear of another despotic control, which has prevented the taking of more drastic measures.

Also, for the efficient management of the economy, the government needed help. At that time small and weak companies existed that could not create a good basis for a thriving industry. The State was required to cooperate with the most successful and committed organizations, assisting them in getting loans with low interest rates, licenses for imports and exports, favorable tax and acquisition of property belonging to the state at fairly low prices.

As a result of these measures, a group of industrial companies gained opportunities to expand their business and to obtain high profits. The State did not seek to restrict the development of such companies as profits earned by them, to a greater extent was the development of economic activity in general, as well as create jobs and increase exports. Such organizational groups were called *chaebol*, and they are generally governed by the owner and his family. The rapid development of the *chaebol* has not left the yet mendicant population indifferent.

The wave of criticism has fallen on the main organizational groups, and already in 1961 the head of the ten most successful of them have been arrested and were required to return the government the “ill-gotten” gains. Shocked by this turn of events, six of them agreed to voluntarily pay back all or part of the state funding. Having gained control over the *chaebols*, the militaristic government soon weakened anti-entrepreneurial measures, and left most of the legal owners of the property, conditioning *chaebol* that they should proactively assist the government in the process of industrialization of society. These events formed a fairly negative attitude towards *chaebols*. The most successful businesses have been required to publicly admit that they deliberately did not pay taxes, and the wealth accumulated by them was earned dishonestly and illegally. These measures have led to the undermining of the image of the *chaebol*, which has been preserved for decades.

Another development that strengthened the power of the state came through the state regulation of private banks. Moreover, the government has created a number of new state-owned banks, thereby extending its authority in the field of credit and foreign exchange activities. In contrast to the Japanese organizations that controlled commercial banks, which were part of their group, the Korean business activity was completely dependent on the state³.

The second wave of chaebol came 10 years later in the early 70s of the 20th century, when the government actively promoted the development of heavy and chemical industries. For a faster growth of these industries the major holding companies again received stimulation. The income of the 46 major chaebols grew between 1973 and 1978 by an average of 22.8%, while the growth of the national economy was estimated at 9.9%.

The next step in the evolution of this type of organizational groups was related to the interest of Korea's political elite in the development of computer technology and electronics in general. A new direction in development was undertaken by President Park Chung Hee, who was generous with subsidies. However, his murder in October 1979 introduced uncertainty in the political situation of the country. Because of this, chaebols were not only given huge amounts of money for the development of new technologies, but also a certain freedom of action, becoming the main pillars of the state in the economic sphere given the political turmoil in the background.

The result of this situation was the increasing liquidity of funds, which allowed the chaebols to develop the most effective technologies, not only in their main areas, but also in areas that were not previously mastered by them. The number of businesses owned by the 30 major chaebols has increased from 304 in 1974 to 608 in 1980. The uncontrolled growth of the chaebols in this period proves once again the inability to quickly change the government to deal with economic problems.

The energy crises of 1973 and 1979 reduced the import of Korean chaebols, which led to the emergence of problems such as high inflation, low (and in some years negative) economic growth and lower wages in the early 1980s. Such a chain-reaction bowed the authorities in dealing with economic issues in favor of the chaebol.

President Chun Doo-Hwan, who took office in 1979, has made a serious attempt to reduce the influence of big business on the economic situation in the country. Among the actions taken by him in 1980, included:

1. Involuntary loss of 20 major chaebol subsidiaries;
2. Compulsory sale of real property not involved in productive activities;
3. The abolition of trade associations that represented an obstacle for competitiveness;
4. The introduction of strict oversight and restrictions on bank lending;
5. The introduction of more rigorous audits of accounting of securities on foreign trade agreements between large organizations.

³ Sang Chul Suh (1978). *Growth and Structural Changes in the Korean Economy, 1910-1940*. Harvard East Asian Monographs. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

The key point in this program was to force chaebols to sell private property, the proceeds of which went to the recapitalization of major business combinations.⁴

All these reforms were vigorously applied during the first two years of Chona, then taking such drastic measures declined slightly. The reason was the ineffectiveness of such measures. During the first two years, the cost of selling real estate chaebols was 50 billion dollars, while the cost of acquisitions over the same period was estimated at more than \$ 400 billion. So far 140 companies belonging to the main chaebol have been eliminated or were attached to other companies; industrial giants managed to acquire 99 new.

However, the administration Chong did not attempt to limit the growth of the chaebol. In 1984, it adopted a new program which established credit limits for 30 major chaebol, and did prohibit issuing of loans for five of the most successful of them. In certain cases, the loans have been recovered from the low-performing companies. This has led for example to the ruin of the chaebol *Kukje* in 1985. However, these measures did not prevent the chaebol to accumulate sufficient economic resources, in order to become less dependent on the state and subsidies allocated to them. Two South Korean companies, "*Hyundai*" and "*Samsung*" in 1985 were among the 100 largest companies in the world. The share of South Korea in the global shipbuilding industry has increased from 4% in 1980 to 14.4% in 1985; "*Pohang Steel*" is the largest and most efficient steel plant in the world. The world's largest shipyard is located in Busan.

The share of manufactures in South Korean exports rose from 61% in 1965 to 92% in 1984. After only 18 months after the Canadian market has been acquainted with the car "*Pony*", "*Hyundai*" bypassed "*Honda*" and "*Toyota*" and has become a leading exporter of passenger cars to Canada. South Korean companies have collaborated with major corporations in Japan and the United States. The Japanese firms "*Rico*" and "*Seiko Epson*" organized assemblies of integrated circuits in Korea; Japanese firms sold in Korea licenses to produce VCRs; "*General Motors*" has invested \$ 400 million in a joint venture with "*Daewoo*".⁵

South Korean "*KIA Motors*" has released a car "*Ford Festiva*"; South Korean firms are not only producing goods under their brand that became known in America — "*Lucky Goldstar*", "*Hyundai*", "*Samsung*" and "*Daewoo*". They produce goods under U.S. trademark; even the famous yellow diggers "*Caterpillar*" could be made in South Korea. And South Korean companies began shifting production to the United States. "*Goldstar*" had two plants in Huntsville, Alabama. It produced color televisions, microwave ovens, and management in the factories was organized by Koreans. "*Samsung Electronics*" had a similar plant in Roxbury, New Jersey. According to the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, in 1984 the average output per worker in the factories managed by Koreans was 94 thousand dollars, while in purely American companies — 87 thousand dollars. True, in Japanese owned factories in U.S. an American worker produced goods worth of 155 thousand dollars.

⁴ Stephan Haggard, Wonhyuk Lim, and Eusung Kim, ed. (2003). *Economic Crisis and Corporate Restructuring in Korea*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

⁵ Linsu Kim. "Crisis Construction and Organisational Learning: Capability Building in Catching-up at Hyundai Motor". *Organisation Science*, Vol. 9, No. 4, July–August 1998. Korea University, Seoul, Korea. p. 10. Retrieved 6 April 2013.

Several factors contributed to this rise. Chaebols were still the main force of the Korean economy. At a time when the activities of chaebol satisfy the economic interests of the government, there is no obstacle to growth, which again led to a hold of more economic resources. The second was related to the good state of the global economy. After a prolonged recession caused by the energy crisis of the 70s, falling dollar, lower oil prices and low interest rates have made it possible to focus on exports. As a result, South Korea's exports rose from 17.2 billion dollars in 1980 to 71.8 billion in 1990. Another factor leading to the stable prosperity of the chaebol was its permanent leadership. Having lived through many political leaders who sought to undermine their rights, family groups running these organizations remained loyal to the general ideology.

At the turning of the century the Korean economy was in decline. The main reasons for this decline were primarily the global financial crisis. However, a sharp decline was to be expected even in the 90s of the 20th century. The Southeast Asian currency crisis, which started in 1997, confused Korean entrepreneurs, and it shook the confidence of foreign investors in the economy of Southeast Asia as a whole.

Another unfavorable factor for companies of South Korea in this period was the fact that some of them have made considerable investments in the countries of Southeast Asia. As a result, 1997 proved to be fatal for the Korean chaebol. Earlier that year, the chaebol "Khanbo" became bankrupt. "Khanbo" was followed by a sudden collapse of "Kia" — the largest automotive corporations in Korea, whose factories were resold to Hyundai.

The Korean economy could not withstand such a blow. The Government of the Republic could support a concern, but such a rampant devastation exacerbated the crisis situation. Following the bankruptcy of the giants of the industry, the chain-reaction spread to small and medium-sized firms. The number of bankruptcies, previously not exceeding 800-1,000, in 1997 reached the figure of 3,500. The result of such indicators has become a powerful devaluation of the Korean won: its rate dropped by half relative to the U.S. dollar. The timely assistance of the IMF (\$ 57 billion) quickly stabilized the crisis, and by 1999 the GDP growth was 10.2%, which was at that time very high in comparison with other countries, and in 2000 it was 8.8%.⁶

However, the rapid recovery of the economy has shown to be effective only in the early stages of the post-crisis. "Daewoo" became bankrupt in 2000 and financial problems at "Hyundai" undermined the political influence of the chaebol as a whole. The reputation of the old economic policies, the basis of which has been and remains the chaebol, was shattered; irreparable damage was caused, not so much financially as psychologically. The chaebol was no longer a guarantor of security and stability of the economy. This, in turn, required a rapid reform of the chaebol. Moreover, Kim Dae-Jung came to power in 1998, who was widely known for his negative attitude toward the chaebol as such.⁷

But the adopted reforms, as before, did not affect the very essence of the chaebol. The aim of the reform was undertaken to westernise the chaebol. Reformers primarily sought to abolish the specific features of the chaebol, such as versatility, the transfer of government inheritance and others. All these

⁶ Byung-Nak Song (2003). *The Rise of the Korean Economy* (3rd ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

⁷ Kim Dae-jung". *The Economist*. 27 August 2009.

features of South Korean organizations from the point of view of modern economic orthodoxy were associated with corruption, underdevelopment and inefficiency. Under government pressure, the chaebol had to prioritize directions of development.

As a result, "*Hyundai*" and "*Hyundai Motors*" became separate independent companies, despite the fact that the director of the new car company was *Chong On Gu*, the son of *Chong Ju-Young* — Director of the chaebol "*Hyundai*". To increase and create more effective management of chaebols senior managers were appointment based only on professionalism, not on family ties with the owner families. So, in 2001, it was announced that the next head of "*Samsung*" would be *Lee Jae-Yong*, who was the grandson of the founder of the concern, but had an MBA diploma from the Harvard Business School.

However, some of the reforms still had an impact on multinational corporations of Korea. For example, the limit of chaebol investment in new companies has become a quarter of the price of the concern, and the maximum amount of credit limit was twice the cost of the corporation. Under pressure from the government, some organizations passed rule to professional managers, but this measure was actively contested by lobbyists for the industry giants.⁸

Korean chaebols most resemble American and European corporations of the early 20th century. In contrast to the Japanese *keiretsu*, their composition does not include a bank. The central part of *chaebol* — the parent company is owned by the family. The chaebol has a centralized control system, the central office, while some of the *keiretsus* do not have it at all. Therefore, if the Japanese conglomerates often operate only on the basis of informal communications, chaebols act as a single entity and that as a group.⁹

Such a structure gives rise to a conflict of interest between the controlling owners of the *chaebol* companies and individual shareholders of the companies included in the chaebol. For example, an unprofitable investment project that would be rejected at the level of the firm gets green light due to its effects for the group as a whole (the controlling shareholders).

South Korea is also characterized by a high degree of concentration of production and capital, the largest chaebols, whose assets are estimated at approximately \$ 600 billion are "*Samsung*", "*Daewoo*", "*Lucky Goldstar*", "*Hyundai*", "*Honda*", "*Sanyo*", "*Kia*", "*Lotte*", etc.¹⁰

Korean groups are organized according to the principle of holding corporations under family control. Therefore, control of the companies belonging to the chaebol, can take the following forms:¹¹

⁸ Akaba, Yuji; Budde, Florian and Jungkiu Choi (1). "Restructuring South Korea's Chaebol". McKinsey Quarterly (4): 68–79. Retrieved 13 February 2013.

⁹ Moskalev, Sviatoslav;; Park, Seung Chan (2010). "South Korean Chaebols and Value-Based Management". Journal of Business Ethics .

¹⁰ Mass Production Officially Launched at the New Hyundai Plant in the Czech Republic". Automobiles Review. 2008-11-15. Retrieved 2009-12-12.

Kalab, Vladimir (2008-11-04). "First Czech-made Hyundai Cars Leaving Nošovice Plant". Prague Daily Monitor. Retrieved 2009-12-12.

¹¹ Park, Seung-Rok; Yuhn, Ky-hyang (2012). "Has the Korean Model of Chaebol Succeeded?". Journal of Economic Studies 39 (2) Retrieved 13 February 2013.

1. Founder of the group (clan or family) is directly involved in the management of all companies in the conglomerate.
2. Family clan directly controls only the head (parent) company, and they, in turn, control the subsidiaries.
3. Family clan owns the parent company of the group and the trust fund, the management of which is shared with other chaebol participants (combined version).

South Korean *chaebols* have a highly diversified macrostructure of a distinct dominant element; a landmark in their activities to central planning, the authoritarian style of leadership, an aggressive investment policy. Companies in each of the chaebols are all in leading industries, which undoubtedly leads to high levels of inter-group competition.

From the point of view of organizational structure, the *chaebol* has a streamlined operation of information management, which allows for timely monitoring of competitors and partners, changes in equity, and so forth. The diversification of the associated type is carried out, most of the time, by the addition of new product lines in the current firm. Vertical integration and diversification of unrelated type is carried out through the acquisition of companies or the creation of new firm affiliates¹².

The internationalization of business activities of many of them is shaped by the features of globalization. By the mid-90s the share of the 50 largest South Korean conglomerates accounted for 70% of South Korean investments abroad. The chaebols increased sharply their presence in the Asia-Pacific region (Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia) as well as in Eastern Europe (Turkey, Czech Republic).¹³

The present financial crisis has also dealt a severe blow to the Korean chaebol. The most serious consequences of the crisis were felt by the construction and automotive industries, which led to an increase in unemployment in the country. In these areas production decreased by 30% or more. The other sector hit very hard was shipbuilding. Along with the drop in production and a reduction in domestic sales export volumes fell drastically. Total exports in November 2008 decreased by 18.3% compared with 2007, while imports — by 14.6%. But the current government is taking steps to invest at all levels of business in the country. Such investments are planned for priority groups of six areas in which South Korea intends to take a competitive position:

1. Energy and the environment.
2. The transport system.
3. New information technology (IT).
4. New developments in the integration industry.
5. Bio-industry.
6. Research.

¹² Akaba, Yuji; Budde, Florian and Jungkiu Choi (1). "Restructuring South Korea's Chaebol". McKinsey Quarterly Retrieved 13 February 2013.

¹³ Agence France-Presse (2006-01-25). "Hyundai Considers Czech Auto Plant".

IndustryWeek. Hyundai Türkiye fabrikası 500 bininci aracını üretti". Hyundai Assan Otomotiv. 21 August 2009. Retrieved 7 April 2013.

It should be noted that the shipbuilding and automotive industry are given the most attention, unnecessarily; they are considered the most effective branches of the economy of Korea. For their support government plans to spend more than a billion dollars during 2013. The 20th century was the era of flourishing economy for the Republic of Korea, which has risen to the top position in the world by economic factors.

For 50 years, the economy of South Korea, as well as its political system, has repeatedly changed, and with it has the management system adopted in the country changed, too. This flexibility and high adaptation capability of the system allowed the Republic of Korea to survive in crises in which other economies have suffered dizzying fiascos. Experiments with the introduction of a new management model and changing some elements of the old expanded opportunities for Korean companies that have become huge multinational corporations, able to compete with the world leaders in their fields.

A fundamentally new type of private property, the Korean *chaebol*, has become a powerful regulator of the economy of the whole country, which has repeatedly over the southern part of the modern history of the Korean peninsula represents both danger and the chief savior for the economic situation in the country. Such a "powder keg" is often not allowed by the government to make decisions that ultimately have a decisive effect on the overall development of the economy. The unfavorable situation forced the state to take measures to limit the powerful private owners.¹⁴ But Korean conglomerates have garnered enough power for more independent activity; they eventually managed to bring all actions of the government to nothing, giving more stability to the country in economic terms, and the system of labor relations that evolved in such corporations not without pressure from the state, has become one of the most effective in the world.

III. Impact of the American and Japanese management models for corporate business development in the Republic of Korea

Manifestations management features of South Korea have the same roots as the management model in other countries. Similarly to Japan, South Korea's business is largely dependent on the quality of labor as a basic resource. Like Japan, South Korea is quite severely limited in natural and territorial resources, despite the fact that the population of this small country (the area of the Republic of Korea is only 99,646 km²) in 2007 was estimated at 48.5 million.

Due to this fact, the term *insamansa* (personnel matters) got used to the everyday life of many generations of Korea. Many Koreans associate the economic growth experienced in the Republic of Korea from 1960 to 1980 with the efficient use of labor resources. Keeping this in mind, when analyzing management in Korea, we can not avoid focusing on the factors of production such as labor relations and human resources.

Throughout the 20th century, the Korean economy has experienced rises and falls, and in each cycle South Korea faced serious problems whose solution required rapid and informed decisions. During the colonial period, the main problem facing the Korean nation was to achieve independence, so that era

¹⁴ Jung, Dong-Hyeon (1). "Korean Chaebol in Transition". Rowley C. Managing Korean business: organization, culture, human resources and change / C. Rowley, T. W. Sohn, J. Bae. - London: Frank Cass publishers, 2002.

was dominated by patriotism. In 1950, the Korean War brought a change in the public mood. The main enemy of the South Korean people became communism. The Korean government took serious measures against poverty, which later impacted the industrialization of the Republic of Korea. This period (1960-1987) was the most successful in South Korea, in which there was a vigorous foreign investment (especially American).

Along with the industrialization of the Korean society, a prosperous nation stood before the issues of democracy, both in the political and in the manufacturing sectors. By 1987, many of the principles of a democratic society have been implemented, and seemingly nothing could shake the economic situation of South Korea until 1997, the year of the Asian financial crisis. For many Koreans assistance of the *International Monetary Fund* during the difficult period was the humiliation of the nation, but that did not stop the ideology of globalization and neo-liberalism came out victorious.¹⁵

During the 20th century the Korean nation rallied into a single body and put a deep imprint in the minds of the Korean people. But the main factors leading to vibrant economy and phenomenal economic growth are not limited to the internal changes witnessed in the country. U.S. funding of the Korean industry has also made a change in the consciousness of Korean citizens

Management in South Korea until 1987

Along with the political changes in country the overall picture of management has changed, too. Until 1987, in the system of labor relations the State played the major role, applying all of its power. The authoritarian government has taken stringent measures to introduce legislation aimed at economic development and growth. Employers and especially labor were in that period quite weak. The main features of management at the time included the vertical method of decision-making, paternalistic leadership and a high level of bureaucracy.

The most distinctive feature of industrial relations at that time was the suppression of autonomous workers' movements. After the adoption of the plan of economic development in 1962 in which the government's strategy focused on exports, adversely affected the labor market. Low wages, high discipline and limited rights characterized the workers' movement and the employment relationships in that period. Universal unionization of South Korea at that time was very low, compared with other countries. Emerging workers's organizations were completely subordinated to the state.

Korean firms at that time often applied strategies focusing on learning and imitating the counterpart companies in the economically more developed countries. During this period the Koreans chaebols started to form. The main characteristics in the field of personnel management included the *system of promotion by seniority*, a system of lifetime employment, the employment of university graduates, monthly salaries, the focus on the universal worker, chief of staff assessment. It is estimated that in 1987 South Korea's GDP was \$ 120 billion, more than half of the GDP of OECD member countries.

¹⁵ Lee-Jay Cho, Somi Seong, and Sang-Hyop Lee, ed. (2007). *Institutional and Policy Reforms to Enhance Corporate Efficiency in Korea*. Seoul: Korea Development Institute

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, as a rule, does not include the newly industrialized countries of Asia in international comparisons. However, the growing importance of South Korea in the global economy has forced the Bureau to include this country. The development of the economy of Korea in the first phase was made possible mainly due to the cultural characteristics of the country. Koreans are known throughout the world for their hard work.

The average work week in industry in South Korea is 54 hours (in the U.S. - 40, Japan - 41). Many businesses operate a six-day week in two shifts of 12 hours, and with three days of vacation per year. For Koreans work on Sundays is quite common. Even the Japanese complain: "They are working too hard." Korean managers work 70-80 hours per week, the Japanese 60-70, the U.S. about 50.

However, the labor force in Korea is not just cheap and hard. It is quite clever and well-educated. Korea, like every Confucian country, held education in high esteem. Almost all Koreans are literate, and the young Koreans are much harder in learning in high school than their peers in Italy or England. Study, as well as in Japan, takes place at home and at school —love of long-term hard work is instilled everywhere.

Most South Korean leaders have a diploma in electrical or computer engineering; many were educated in the United States. If we believe the Korea Development Institute, in South Korea the percentage of people with a Ph.D. degree is the highest in the world. All these qualities have not suddenly appeared after World War II. The Koreans are an ancient nation with high culture.

The Korean management in the period 1987—1997

With the adoption of democracy in the Republic of Korea, the main activity of the Government refocused to solve the problems that have more political than economic character. This rapid transition, combined with immature labor relations, has led to the emergence of many problems that required fast decisions.

For many decades, autonomous democratic unions existed only on paper, never before workers could dream of such rights as the right to strike or the right to collective bargaining between employers and trade unions on labor conditions. But with the declaration of democracy, these and other rights became real, which plunged the economic relations within the country in a state of near ruin.¹⁶

By mid-1980s, the workers challenged more and more of the old foundations in the industry. Their growing demands for political and human rights led in 1987 to a turning point, resulting in universal autonomous unionism, collective bargaining, and experiments with pluralism. During this period, labor strikes have taken a very tough character. The new government also disagreed with the old foundations in the industry, like the tyrannical use of work resources and authoritarian corporatism. After 1987 collective bargaining became the main regulator on issues such as the definition of wages and working time.

¹⁶ Interlocking Ownership in the Korean Chaebol, by Dong-Woon Kim, April 2003, Corporate governance: an International Review

Another indicator of the rapidly developing democracy has led to numerous attempts to create a second union with the aim of limiting the power of the Federation of Korean Trade Unions. Later, the administration of *Kim Young Sam* has defined its position focusing on globalization. The new government pressed for the increase of workers' salaries, which then forced many corporations to open branches in South-East Asia and Eastern Europe.

These changes have forced Korean corporations to reconsider their approach to personnel management. The new management model adopted in Korea, was named *sininsa*, and made a huge number of quality changes. The *system of promotion by seniority* was replaced by a new system based on the merits of a specific work, and lifetime employment with a more flexible system of employment of the population, thereby replacing the traditional Korean principles to rationalize and fair promotion.

In the newly adopted system of management the following changes were adopted:

1. movement of labor: an interview-based-blind,
2. hiring narrow profile specialists,
3. selective promotion,
4. equal career opportunities for men and women,
5. the pension fund is liquidated within organizations,
6. reward system: the amount of compensation based on the skills of the worker,
7. generic beginning salary of the worker.

Such methods, which were popular outside Korea, very soon became subject to criticism. The most critical was the *system of promotion by seniority*. Confucianism, which is one of the major ideologies of the Korean people, contradicts the more rational system of promotion. In order to smooth the transition, Korean managers were offered several groundbreaking alternatives, which included a blend of both systems of remuneration.

The Management of Korea after the Asian crisis of 1997

The Asian financial crisis and the assistance allocated by the IMF in 1997 led to a regular change in the social order of South Korea. By that time, the country has experienced failures in both the political and organizational areas. Since the recent innovations have changed some of the principles of a market economy, it was necessary to introduce several qualitative changes. The rapidly growing globalization and neo-liberal trends promoted similar transformations. Many companies have undertaken programs of wholesale restructuring and reduction of staff. Many Koreans have lost their jobs, and the most skilled workers have moved to other companies.

As a result of these measures, the unemployment rate stood at 8.6%. The possibility of collective bargaining fell sharply, and the unions have shifted their focus away from the level of wages, and job security. The number of employees working part-time has increased dramatically. The main measure to prevent the effects of the financial crisis was the creation of the Trilateral Commission. Its main task was to incorporate the workers in the decision-making process next to government and management. The

first meeting of the commission was held in January 1998, it bore many fruits and proved to be effective. Its results are felt to this day.¹⁷

During this period, many companies have taken various measures to improve the elasticity of labor exchanges. To reduce the number of cuts, companies resorted to measures such as the reduction of working time, overtime bans, the ban on the recruitment of new staff and the provision of leave without pay. The wage system was also changed. Measures like tariff reductions, delayed salaries, reduced incentives and other benefits, along with sending employees to the company's subsidiaries in lower-paid positions allowed large companies to solve some of their financial problems.

Management adopted a new model, which was based on contract work. The specificity of these contracts was as follows:

1. specific economic conditions (such as tariff rate), as the main incentive for the applicant;
2. reduced employment;
3. limited time frame (for example, seasonal work, contract for 2-3 years);
4. limitations of working in the item;
5. slight motion pictures;
6. use of already acquired knowledge (lack of training at the expense of the company);
7. explicitness.

1. The old principles of *lifetime employment* at one and the same employer were ousted. The State changed the laws giving limited freedom to layoffs. Employers do not miss this opportunity and use it to its full extent. Although the new management model was far from perfect, it still managed to shake the foundations of the basic tenets of the country. For the first time in the history of Korean corporations, managers are seriously thinking about the necessity to retain key personnel in the workplace. The modern model of management in South Korea has adopted many of the features of its predecessors: Japanese and American. The basis of the Korean system is Japanese, but every aspect was largely changed to become culturally relevant to Korean and American experienced managers.

The current Korean *system of lifetime employment*, the basis of which is the Japanese model, has undergone many changes. Unlike Japan, Korean employers do not rely on the fact that the new employee will remain faithful to his company for a lifetime. Thus, the applicant does not confine himself, limiting its potential and freedom of choice. For the Korean employee it is not difficult to change jobs, if the vacancy is most relevant to his material and professional preferences. At first look, such an attitude seems to be a carbon copy of the American mentality, but if you consider the financial side of this issue, the Korean model of management is still closer to the principles of the Japanese wage system.

In other words, the employee is encouraged to be more dependent on the years of service rather than on individual skills and level of professionalism. But in the case of a change of employment, these years are taken into account if the seniority acquired in another organization and the professional qualities can be applied to the new job. Another advantage of Korea's businesses in this aspect is that the organizations were given the right to self-determination in matters of promotion and hiring workers. To

¹⁷ O. Yul Kwon (2010). *The Korean Economy in Transition: An Institutional Perspective*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar

date, there are four different staffing policies used by Korean organizations: a system of rewards based on merit, based on seniority, and various mixtures thereof¹⁸.

2. In hiring, several factors were also copied from the Japanese. The main priority, like in the U.S. or Japan, are university graduates, but unlike in America, Korea paid little attention to the level of prestige of the university. The main criterion for selecting future employees is the result of examinations conducted by the organization. For a Korean student the exam is the most important of his career. Preparing them takes years, and their complexity depends on the degree of prestige of the organization, and are often much more complex than the entrance and final examinations of universities¹⁹.

They include not only the verification of theoretical and practical knowledge, but also the psychological aspect. The system of rigid inspection, copied from the Japanese but also transformed, given the cultural characteristics of another country. For example, when applying for a job also the gender of the applicant is taken into account not only the age and occupational factors.²⁰

The second feature when hiring is the recommendation of employees or friends of employees of the employing organization, but unlike Japan, the responsibility is with the person who made the recommendation. Thus, the system only slightly raises the graduate above other candidates. Often, the guarantor is a former teacher or graduate teachers, thus bringing the system to the U.S. declaration of liability, in which recruitment is carried out through a network of universities and business schools.

A distinctive feature of the recruitment process in Korea is forced immersion in the collective psychological environment, the so-called "white collar". After preliminary examination, the most successful of the graduates are sent to conditions close to the field in which they have an opportunity to get to know each other, learning all the advantages and disadvantages of their future colleagues.

3. Staff development of Korean corporations is on the job and fully paid for by the organization. The Japanese system of horizontal increase, in which the employee gains experience at each stage of production, is altered in Korea toward a more common vertical system increase. This is due to the special courses for workers. Going through such courses, the employee receives a theoretical, not practical, knowledge, thus saving time for training of the personnel, while combining all the advantages of the U.S. and Japanese models.

The employee is highly specialized in practical terms, but his theoretical knowledge shall cover the entire production process. The biggest weakness in the Korean system though, is that senior managers are yet hired through family or friendly relations with senior management. Thus, it appears that the middle-tier management of Korea is more advanced than a colleague, which has a negative impact on the overall policy of the organization, but the diligence of the policy is exemplary.

4. The process of decision-making in Korean organizations is very close to that of the Japanese system of management. On the one hand, an important aspect of Korean culture is respect for elders as implied by Confucianism. Under its pressure, the decision taken by senior management, is indisputable and binding, but in the Korean management system, the emphasis is not only on the length of service and

¹⁸ Kil S. H. *Understanding Korean politics: an introduction* / S. H. Kil, C.I. Moon - Albany: New York Press, 2001.

¹⁹ Kim D. O. *Employment relations and HRM in South Korea* / D. O. Kim. - Wiltshire: Antony Rowe, 2004.

²⁰ Sundfeldt, Björn, ed. (1991-05-02). *Teknikens Värld* (in Swedish) (Stockholm, Sweden: Specialtidningsförlagen).

age of the employee, as it is in Japan, but the personal qualities of the employee are also taken into account, which allows middle managers to listen to the advice of their younger colleagues.

Such a system has absorbed the positive aspects of both management models — Japanese and American. Thus, decision-making is not as slow as in Japanese organizations and its quality — not as low as in the U.S., where the manager is the only person authorized to solve problems in the workplace. However, such a system is not as effective as it might seem at first glance. Confucianism and sycophancy forces managers at various levels to make decisions that would flatter the leadership, which ultimately has a negative impact on quality.

5. *The policy of doing business in international subsidiaries* of large Korean companies is completely copied from the experience of their Japanese counterparts. In contrast to the branches of U.S. corporations, which are fast enough to adapt to the peculiarities of the country in which that branch was opened, Korean corporations seek to preserve the priorities of parent companies. Managers and other senior positions are appointed by the head office. Most high-level positions in foreign branches are occupied by Koreans.²¹

This policy is typical of all Asian countries in which it is considered that a policy can be carried out effectively only on the condition that performing leader is a compatriot. On the one hand, such a policy makes it easier to make decisions as individuals who share the same cultural background and speak the same language can quicker arrive to a compromise solution. On the other hand, it strongly inhibits the production process in many ways. People who take the job in such branches are not always able to share features of the employment relationship, are alien to the country, resulting in increased employee turnover. Also, it reduces the efficiency of all employees, even of those who are able to immerse themselves in this environment. Depending on the status of companies, this is a rigid hierarchy, making the atmosphere similar to the army. Ambitious people have to suppress their inclinations and play a leadership role of a reliable cog in the overall machine. But the head will never require to catch star from the sky, because each employee has clearly defined responsibilities. Koreans do not encourage competition, but do not have the staff to relax. Discipline is very harsh — being late is unacceptable.

6. Koreans made the most efficient synthesis of the two models in the field of sales. Koreans are not as focused on quality as the Japanese, which allows a greater number of products for a certain period of time. The quality of products though inferior to the Japanese, Koreans remain one of the leaders in the world. Regarding their American counterparts, Korean manufacturers have a lot in the field of advertising. Financing campaigns is not at such a high level as in America, but it is sufficient to maintain consumers interested in their products. Moreover, the Koreans took the leading position in many industries such as shipbuilding and production of semiconductors, which are no longer in need of advertising. Thus, the Koreans were able to find a middle ground in price-quality ratio, which is an enviable factor, both for American competitors, and for the Japanese.

7. *The negotiation process.* Unlike Japan and the U.S., the geographical position of the *Korean Peninsula*, which makes the country open to external invasions, led to the formation of the Koreans historical sense of acute vulnerability, national and personal insecurity; they can only rely on themselves in the struggle

²¹ Kim Kyeong-Won; Kim Hwa-Nyeon. "Global Financial Crisis Overview". *SERI Quarterly* (Samsung Economic Research Institute)

for survival in extreme conditions. As a result, the Koreans developed a tendency to maximalism, rigidity, stubbornness, underestimating the importance of tolerance and compromise in negotiations. An example is the mutual intolerance and radicalism of pro- and anti-Communist regimes of North- and South Korea.

8. Another feature of the Korean business is that the employment of women from the urban middle strata is subject of lively debate. Even today, Korea remains a country of housewives, where women of all social groups do not work after marriage. This situation is caused not only by the fact that the tradition requires women to stay at home and take care of her husband and children. To play a major role, various formal and informal restrictions need to be overcome; which is very difficult in many cases. For example, prior to the 1980s, wedding necessarily meant the dismissal of a woman and to date, the salary of women and men in any Korean organizations (including the state) are very different. Women earn on average one-third less than their male counterparts.

9. *The organization of the work environment.* Just as in Japan, the head of the department is always in the same office as his subordinates. However, the general manager is allocated separate space in his private office, which is closer to the American style of management. This allows management to monitor the actions of its employees, and gives more of an atmosphere of community. Dignity, taken from the American model, is that the general manager has the opportunity to work in a less hectic environment. Such an environment gives employees a greater incentive for development than in a Japanese corporation.

10. *The organizational structure of corporations* in South Korea is a special, distinctive from other features of Korean business. *Chaebols*, on the one hand, proved to be effective; at times the state violated them because it was afraid of losing control over the economy of the country. All this leads to a huge number of disadvantages of the system; corporations are lobbying very hard with government officials, which opens up avenues for corruptions. During certain periods, when state policy ran against the interests of the chaebols, they lost most of their political freedom.

11. *The mentality of Korean businessmen.* Writing about the Korean management it is paramount to mention the traditional elements of the mentality of Korean businessmen: the inequality in the system of succession and inheritance in favor of the eldest son. In the Korean family the eldest son inherits the lion's share of the family property, in contrast to the Japanese, where the only heir is selected from potential applicants.

12. *Exceptionality and power structure of the company.* Group decision-making in the company consists of the host company at the center and the members of his family and closest relatives on the paternal side. In accordance with the proximity to the central root of the family tree the subsequent layers of the management structure of the company are assembled.

13. *Submission*, a sense of belonging and a model of thinking for salaried employees. The phenomenon of *filial piety* and obedience in the family is modeled on all structures of society and relationships within the company: loyalty and obedience to superiors in the firm, strong sense of belonging to the firm, as a big family.

14. *Leaders of "authority" ensure "harmony."* Authority of the monarchy and the father-head of the family and the company are not questioned by other family members and subordinates, as a factor of peace and solidarity in the society. At the same time, the leader has the obligation to maintain harmony and fair resolution of conflicts between the members of his family and employees.

15. *The system of seniority in personnel management.* Age clearly defines the role and place of all family members in the firm, which has a decisive influence on the composition of the decision, placement and promotion through the ranks.

Today, however, some Korean chaebols are taking measures to change some of these features. Thus, management of Samsung has the following intentions:

1. Overcoming formalism and greater flexibility of thought leaders at all levels;
2. Delegation of authority and decision-making rights to lower levels;
3. Encouraging personal initiative aimed at achieving the common goals of the company;
4. Creating a new system of values for employees to increase their interest in productive work.

As a result of these combinations of American and Japanese features in the employment relationship, led to a completely new model of management. It is not perfect, as took over from his predecessors not only advantages but also some disadvantages, but has developed tremendously and became a subject for the study²².

Conclusion

The question of the most effective management was relevant throughout modern history. Over time, the effectiveness of individual state enterprises played an important role in the economic life of the country, which is directly proportional affected the world economy as a whole. In the conditions of globalization the economic debacle of one organization may lead to the financial collapse of entire countries, which further updated the topic of management. A great example is the Republic of Korea, which became an "economic miracle", attracting the attention of many economists.

Each management model, e.g. American or Japanese, has its advantages and disadvantages, but the flaws that sometimes are pronounced, are an integral part of any of the models, as they carry the mark of cultural component. The Korean experience is a productive combination of these models. Management of South Korea changed throughout the second half of the 20th century, and, as a result of such experiments, created a completely new system of organization management, which is not without its innovations, based on the characteristics of Korean culture.

One such innovation was the chaebol-large organization with a large number of affiliated firms, with a particular style of internal management. But the chaebol today is not only an example of effective business management, but also subject to the flow of criticism, condemning the corruption process taking place between the owners of such corporations and the authorities.

²² Nahm A. C. Historical dictionary of the Republic of Korea / A. C. Nahm, Hoare J. E. - 2nd edition. - Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2004.

The history of the development of these relations has become a shining example of interaction between government and big business. The South Korean governments have managed to create a delicate, but still acting balance between its influence on the development of the country and the influence of the chaebol, which in difficult times played the role of “savior” of the economy, and in periods of prosperity became a burden for the government.

The control system adopted by these organizations became the property of the Korean people. Adapting to external conditions, it is also an effect of the state, but most of the changes still remained the result of cultural transformations caused by the shifting of American and Japanese management models to a new mentality. They became the basis for such an effective economic development of the Republic of Korea, which remains an “Asian tiger” even in the modern world conditions.

The global financial crisis that hit the entire global financial system plunged the economy of various countries into a state of near-panic. The negative impact of the crisis has caused irreparable damage to the Republic of Korea, the chaebols, which are not only contributors to the developing countries of Asia, but also are actively using investments derived from the more developed countries²³.

While the international community has to come to consolidated solutions, South Korea offers the measures that should lead to global economic stability. The Republic of Korea with its ideas, which was able to resume its status after the 1997 crisis in two years, is a matter of special interest.

On the present crisis, the government of South Korea appeared to be more prepared than the Asian crisis of 1997. At the beginning of 2008, it had a reserve fund of \$ 240 billion which was the 6th greatest in the world. But even this amount is not enough to ensure the country’s survival through such a long recession. To prevent panic, the government was forced to allocate money supply for banks. Such assistance was also extended to foreign bank loans. But soon it became clear that even \$ 100 billion is not enough to mitigate the impact of the crisis, after which the government has pledged another \$ 30 billion, but despite the activity of the state, which allowed lend to small and medium-sized businesses, the damage done to the economy was enormous.

However, the government's plans are still striving for the development of the economy, and not crisis containment. The winner of the 2007 presidential elections, *Lee Myung-Beck* has no plans to deviate from the program, which has become a major factor in his election campaign. He is not going to deviate from the program “747”, developed before his assumption of office by leading Korean scientists. Under this program, the government intends to keep the economic growth of at least 7% increase per capita GNP of \$ 10 thousand a year and take the 7th position among the countries of the world on major macroeconomic indicators.

To resolve these complex issues, which would allow develop Korea, while the world is raging in crisis, the President of the Republic, like many of his predecessors in the hard times, is ready to once again bet on chaebols, returning them privileges for better development by reducing taxes and loosening the limits on their activities. Another interesting move by the Korean government in the current crisis is that this time it has no plans to suspend international agreements entered into prior to September 2008²⁴.

²³ Locke A. Second time around / A. Locke // *The Economist*. - December 25, 2008

²⁴ Lee K. B. Korea and East Asia: the story of a Phoenix / K. B. Lee. -Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1997.

Thus, Korea promotes speedy implementation of the agreement, "Chiang Mai Initiative", concluded between the 13 ASEAN countries on May 4, 2008. According to this agreement the setting up of a special crisis fund within the region is planned in order to reduce the importance of the IMF. It is quite possible that this is also due to the desire of the Korean Government, which remembers very well the "disgrace", when it had to seek assistance from the IMF in 1997.

The Korean Government signed up a free trade agreement with China in 2010, with India and Australia in 2011 and with Japan in 2012. This suggests that the Korea will be able to mitigate the impact of the crisis on its economy. These assumptions are corroborated by historical events. As in previous crises, the Republic of Korea made good progress, and dealt with their consequences in a very short time, thanks to the special structure of its largest corporations and management features used in them. Today, it is impossible not to take into account the fact that the country was prepared to global stress better than many of the countries of the world, suggesting further rapid development of this country in the near future.

The social face of the Korean manager also has a lot of American and Japanese traits, partly to mutate under the influence of local conditions. These are people who often have risen from the ranks (selfmade man) and turned the difficulties of their life to their own advantage (as exemplified by Confucius). They represent, or positioning themselves as people who care about the common good and are perfectly lean. At the same time these people are extremely self-confident and are surrounded by a truly universal awe and reverence of their subordinates.

The founder of "Daewoo", *Kim Woo-Jung*, began in 1967 as a small shop owner in tailoring, staffed by just five employees. Working just under a hundred hours a week, he has created an industrial conglomerate with a capital of 60 billion dollars and staff of 100,000 people. Kim became the motto of the corporation *creative approach, a willingness to take on any challenge and boundless dedication*. Kim titled his autobiography, "Every street is paved with gold", which is quite true to his business career until the financial meltdown in 1997 dealt a crushing blow to his empire²⁵.

Head of the "Hyundai", *Chung Ju-Yung* created his company in 1946. At first he was repairing cars, but soon went into the construction business and became one of the main contractors of the U.S. Army during the Korean War. He subsequently expanded its activities to electronics, shipbuilding, chemical industry, automobiles and the financial sector, earning from his subordinates the exotic nickname "sovereign-chairman."²⁶

In Korea even in large corporations the ownership and management remain undivided: the owner of the company personally carries out comprehensive control over its activities. This is achieved thanks to the special form of management, which is known in the western literature as "virtual headquarters". It is a kind of "personnel department" that defines the strategy of certain subsidiaries that delegate in this informal body his top managers. These companies provide funds for the maintenance of their representatives in it. Through a "virtual headquarters", the chaebol chapter provides guidance to all the companies of its industry group, but is not responsible for their failures.

²⁵ South Korea: The death of Daewoo". *The Economist*. 19 August 1999. Retrieved 2008-11-20.

²⁶ Richard M. Steers (1999). *Made In Korea: Chung Ju Yung and the rise of Hyundai*. Routledge.

Of course, the chaebol system also has its drawbacks, mainly related to their excessive centralization and domination of personal relationships. After the devastating 1997 crisis, the Korean government adopted a policy of gradual disintegration of the chaebol²⁷.

Comparing the Korean and Japanese forms of business organization it becomes obvious that the main feature of the Korean business community is to have a comprehensive network of personal relationships, which are primarily based on family relationships, but does not exclude relations with compatriots and collectives — for example graduates of the same school. This network does not have a distinct focus or, more precisely, a limited extent for certain participants. Its structure is similar to that of the Chinese communities; for all their ethnic and cultural diversity of complex and personal relationships among its members, it forms a single information field where any news is immediately known to all.



²⁷ Interlocking Ownership in the Korean Chaebol, by Dong-Woon Kim, April 2003, Corporate governance: an International Review

LITERATURE & ARTS

MURAKEÖZY, Éva Patrícia**Ming. Emperors, Artists and Merchants in Ancient China**

Amsterdam, Nieuwe Kerk, 5 October 2013 — 2 February 2014



Cicada on a leaf. Gold, jade

© Nanjing Museum/Nomad Exhibitions

In the West, Ming China is mostly known for its porcelain vases which have been highly valued for their exquisite beauty and quality for the past five hundred years. The present exhibition of the Amsterdam's Nieuwe Kerk greatly broadens the above view: we are introduced a wide range of Ming art objects; the above jewellery is one among them. This golden cicada of just two centimetres long resting on a finely polished jade leaf illustrates the great skill and gentle spirit of its creator. The altogether 118 objects borrowed from the Nanjing Museum (silk paintings, calligraphy, furniture, jewellery, and everyday utensils), supplemented by loans from Gemeentemuseum of The Hague (20 porcelain objects) and the Bertholet collection (erotic paintings) help us to relive the unique spirit of late imperial China. A further merit of the show is that it places the exhibits in a broad socio-historical context and refers to the emerging global trade which foreshadowed the modern world economy and China's present-day economic dominance.

Historical perspective

Various philosophical historians, such as Vico, Toynbee and Spengler¹ described the cyclicity in the life and death of civilizations. In the case of the (at least) five thousand years old Chinese history

¹ Giambattista Vico (1668 – 1744) is a precursor of systemic thinking and philosophical history. Arnold Joseph Toynbee (1889 – 1975) extensively described in *A Study of History* the rise and fall of 26 civilizations in the course of human history. Oswald

periodical changes can be more easily observed. Lin Yutang, in his engaging book, *My Country and My People* explains how the Chinese civilization survived upon the recurring 'sinolization' of Mongolian peoples who on regular intervals invaded the country and gave an infusion of "new blood". "...For the striking fact is that Chinese history can be conveniently divided into cycles of eight hundred years. Each cycle begins with a short-lived and militarily strong dynasty, which unified China after centuries of internal strife. Then follow four or five hundred years of peace, with one change of dynasty, succeeded by successive waves of wars, resulting soon in the removal of the capital from the North to the South. Then came secession and rivalry between North and South with increasing intensity, followed by subjugation under a foreign rule, which ended the cycle. History then repeats itself and with the unification of China again under Chinese rule there is a new bloom of culture."

In good accordance with the above described cyclicity, the "modern cycle" of China has begun in 1368, with the ascending to the throne of Zhu Yuanzhang, a man of humble peasant origins, who restituted the native rule over all of China. Zhu Yuanzhang and his descendants ruled uninterruptedly for 276 years, until 1644. Their rule is named Ming, meaning 'brilliant' and 'enlightenment'. Indeed, this period is considered one of the three golden ages of China.

Early Ming

The early Ming is characterized by strong central power and a strong army relying on a system of self-supervising rural communities. Enormous construction projects took place, including the completion of the Great Wall and the building of the imperial palace complex (first in Nanking and later in Beijing). In a general sense, there was a return to indigenous cultural heritage and mistrust towards foreigners.

Trade had no place in this social system. The government's policy concerning foreign trade was annulling. Zhu Yuanzhang defeated the Japanese *wako* pirates and anti-Ming forces that threatened the eastern coasts of China and forbade maritime trade (but established a tribute system in an attempt to transform the smuggling trade into a trade nexus controlled by the Ming government – with limited success). The Silk Road, the main trade route which connected different regions of the East with each other and with the West, and had been operating from ca. 500 BC, began to decline. By the 14th century the secrets of silk production were no secrets anymore and the Silk Road produced much less revenue than in previous centuries. Trade along the Silk Road was first restricted and later shut down altogether by the Ming emperors. The Silk Road's lively trading towns gradually disappeared.

However, the idea that China at any moment absolutely isolated was, is a false image. In early Ming times (between 1405 to 1433) *Zheng He* commanded expeditions to as far as Persia, India, East-Africa en Ceylon, voyaging on board of wooden ships which were several times larger than any other wooden ship ever built in history. The purpose of his voyages was not "discovery" since he knew where he was going; he had a map and followed long-established trade routes between China and the Arabian peninsula, which were employed since at least the Han Dynasty^{2,3}. The purpose of these expeditions was

Spengler (1880 – 1936) made a similar proposition in *The Decline of the West*, such as various other authors who contributed to the development of 'social cycle theories'. A considerable number of related mathematical models are presently available (e.g. by Chu, Lee and Malkov).

² Wikipedia 'Zheng He'.

to indicate the Chinese presence in the Indian Ocean basin, impose imperial control over trade, and to extend the empire's tributary system. Whatever grandiose and successful, these voyages were stopped and their memory sank into oblivion for quite a long time.

Yet the change was inevitable. In the second half of the 15th century China switched to a bimetallic system based on copper coins and silver taels since paper money (a Chinese invention from the 8th century) lost its value due to overprinting. It created a silver demand which could not be satisfied with the output of Chinese silver mines. Japan, however, was producing lots of silver; so by bringing copper cash to Japan and changing it for silver, one could attain immense profits. And not just with copper: silk, porcelain, paper and cotton thread sold equally well in Japan⁴. Just by sailing back and forth, one could get rich. It is not surprising, that a massive smuggling took place at the Eastern coasts. In the meantime, the Portuguese arrived to China, and got permission in 1542 to trade with China at one port (Macao, near Hong Kong). The Portuguese soon discovered that the best trade was the carriage way between China and Japan instead of China and Europe and became the main carriers of Japanese silver to China, next to the Chinese pirates.

The Impossible Black Tulip

Portuguese trade was also accompanied by Jesuit missions. Some Jesuits became influential and highly valued advisors to the emperor. *Matteo Ricci*, an Italian Jesuit, was one of the first Western scholars to master the Chinese script and language. Ricci was deeply impressed by Chinese culture and built up an increasingly close connection with the Chinese literati circle⁵. Ricci composed several European-style world-maps in Chinese, the first one appearing in 1584. He wrote about his cartographical work: "This was the most useful work that could be done at that time to dispose China to give credence to the things of our holy Faith. ... Their conception of the greatness of their country and of the insignificance of all other lands made them so proud that the whole world seemed to them savage and barbarous compared with themselves." The refined version of the 1584 map was printed in 1602. It is one of the most celebrated maps in cartography, nicknamed the *Impossible Black Tulip of Cartography*. Only six original copies are known to exist today, one of which changed hands for US\$ 1 million in 2010, making it the second most expensive map purchase in history. The map exhibited in the *Nieuwe kerk* is a slightly different version of the 1602 map, originating from 1608, of which just a dozen re-copied versions are known to exist today.

Standing in front of the map, we are impressed by its size and beauty. We see mountain ranges, rivers, seas, and indications in Chinese: names and descriptions of ethnic groups and main commercial products. In contrast with the *Impossible Black Tulip* decorative elements are added to the 1608 version: images of ships, existent and mythological animals. China is positioned in the middle, allowing the ruler to see the greatness of his realm but also to grasp the dimensions of other powers on the globe.

³ There is a theory, proposed in 2013 by Gavin Menzies, that Zheng He reached the New World some seventy years before Columbus.

⁴ Maddison, 2002.

⁵ Canis, 2008.

Trade and Society in Late Ming

The prohibition on private trade was ended in 1567. Now the way became free to the development of commerce. Since the value of silver was constantly higher in China than in the rest of the world and because the Chinese economy was so huge that it could absorb silver in extraordinary amounts, a silver-based global trade evolved. The Spanish opened fabulously rich silver mines in The Americas whose output was shipped mainly to China. 30 to 40% of the world's silver (some 100.000 kg annually) ended up in China, travelling on boards of Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese and Dutch⁶ ships. Many New World crops such as maize, potato, pepper, sweet potato, peanut and tobacco were also introduced to China at this time. In return to the silver silk, porcelain, and tea⁷ was shipped from China to Europe.

Social change was unfolding, blurring the lines between the traditional classes. Chinese society knew four classes: on top were the *shi* (gentry scholars), below the *nong* (peasant farmers), still below the *gong* (artisans and craftsmen), and on the lowest grade the *shang* (merchants and traders). The merchants, who were traditionally considered to promote luxury goods only (that is, goods that were unnecessary and decadent) and sold for profit, adding nothing of value to society, ranked the lowest on the social scale. However, as they grew increasingly rich, some of them growing wealthier than the emperor self, the gentry scholar and merchant classes started to fuse, and the merchants gained power at the expense of the state.⁸ Merchants could now buy culture and education for their money and they became the patrons of arts and literary men. Merchants could even buy the possibility to take a state exam and become government official. Wealth was rivalling education, and the elite constituted no more of the 'learned' but of 'the richest'. In parallel with the rising of the merchant class, the scholars' distinct social position was fading. Social change affected the farmer class as well which constituted the bulk of the population. Farmers moved gradually from regional self-sufficiency and a system of self-supervising local communities (characterizing the early Ming period), towards market economy. Many farmers got specialized on certain crops which were intended for the market. They had to plan in advance and had a prospect of higher gain at the cost of greater risk. In parallel with money accumulation in the merchant class, there appeared an interest in buying land which meant that land prices went higher and many farmers lost their lands which triggered a downward mobility among farmers.

End of the Ming

As a consequence of the booming economy, a silver-based taxation system was introduced⁹ and became common throughout the empire by the end of 16th century. It allowed the government to budget and understand its expenses in monetary sense. Taxation was in theory based on the number of

⁶ The Dutch joined the Portuguese in the Far East at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. They conquered Taiwan in the 1620s with the aim of creating a base for trade with China. They became the most profitable European traders in Asia for long times.

⁷ By the 18th century tea became the national drink in England and in The Americas. It meant a massive exchange of silver to tea. When the treasury was losing too much of its silver reserves, the English decided to put a tax on tea. Objections to the tax lead to the Boston Tea Party which was the immediate antecedent of the American Revolution – from a certain angle; it was all due to the Chinese demand on silver...

⁸ Wikipedia: The Economy of the Ming Dynasty.

⁹ This was the so-called Single Whip Law.

population and the amount of cultivated land, but, since the government failed to hold a cadaster survey, and the prefectures and individuals were not interested in reporting the correct data, there was no clear administration on either the amount of arable land, or the number of people living in a household. The government administration could not keep up with the dramatic demographic changes that began in the Ming dynasty (and continue to the present). Furthermore, tax rates were extremely low in China, encouraging trade but weakening the government.

The “silverization” of China inevitably had global consequences as well, considering that China contained perhaps one-fourth of the earth’s population by the seventeenth century.¹⁰ Once silver supply started to exceed demand, the purchasing power of silver diminished and inflation set in. The fall of silver price in China seriously affected Spain’s economy¹¹ and the economic and political processes that she was involved in. As a response, the flow of New World silver to China diminished. Simultaneously, the Tokugawa regime of Japan cut off the supply of Japanese silver. Silver became scarce in China and the government officials started stockpiling it creating silver deflation. The problem became acute when a series of natural disasters happened. In 1641 a great epidemic ravaged China and there was a steep decline in temperature in the second half of the 17th century¹². People were starving and could not pay the taxes; various rebellions broke out and the government was too weak to defend itself. Finally, the Manchus, a former tributary of China, took the capital and became the founders of the last imperial dynasty in China.

It is interesting to consider that China is and has been a larger political unit than any other. Already in the tenth century, it was the world’s leading economy in terms of per capita income and this leadership lasted until the fifteenth century¹³. After the economic boom in the Ming and Qing periods, China’s performance declined in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. The 21st century sees a changing trend: China is likely to resume its role as the world’s largest economy by 2015¹⁴.

The Imperial Court and the Scholar Elite

“...it seems to be quite remarkable when we stop to consider it, that in a kingdom of almost limitless expanse and innumerable population and abounding in copious supplies of every description, though they have a well-equipped army and navy that could easily conquer the neighboring nations, neither the King nor his people ever think of waging a war of aggression. They are quite content with what they have and are not ambitious of conquest. In this respect they are much different from the people of Europe, who are frequently discontent with their own governments and covetous of what others enjoy.

¹⁰ Flynn & Giráldez, 1995.

¹¹ The same gold and silver that contributed to the wealth of Spain, also caused its fate: the silver flooding into the country led to serious inflation and did not encourage industrialization; it was rather used to finance endless wars in Europe. By the mid-1600s supply and demand costs equalized and profits diminished. The decline in silver profits meant that Spain ceased to be a serious world power and consequently lowered the amount of silver shipped to China.

¹² Between 1550 and 1850 the Earth experienced a global cooling, the so-called Little Ice Age, with three particularly cold intervals (around 1650, 1770 and 1850), separated by intervals of slight warming.

¹³ Maddison, 2002.

¹⁴ Maddison, 2006.

While the nations of the West seem to be entirely consumed with the idea of supreme domination, they cannot even preserve what their ancestors have bequeathed them, as the Chinese have done through a period of some thousands of years....” with these words expressed Matteo Ricci his astonishment about the way the Chinese emperor ruled his country.¹⁵

The main concern of the Chinese from ancient times has been *harmony*; harmonious relationship with nature, harmony within the (usually extended) family, harmony between the peoples of China and harmony with other nations. Harmony was the key word that China communicated to the world during the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. ‘Harmony with nature’ is the idea that we see reflected in the Chinese architecture.

The three main characteristics of Chinese architecture are: emphasis on horizontality, hierarchy and symbolic nature. Buildings are rather broad than high; the overflowing, highly curved roof receives more emphasis than the vertical walls. Lin Yutang says over the Chinese roof: “unlike the Gothic spires, his spirit does not aspire to heaven but broods over the earth”. The roof, symbolic mediator between the world of the living and the spiritual world, is often decorated with ornaments intended to keep off evil spirits. During the Ming roof tiles and ornaments were extremely popular and their production advanced. Several nice examples of glazed roof ornaments are presented at the exhibition, from the sparse remains of the Nanjing palaces.



The Beijing Forbidden City. Silk, c. 1400-50 (?)

© Nanjing Museum/Nomad Exhibitions

This colourful silk painting of impressive size (184*156 cm) shows the rigorous and highly hierarchical plan of the Beijing Forbidden City. In front of the hall of Supreme Harmony, the largest and the most imposing of all buildings, we see the chief architect, Kuai Xiang, who is likely to be the author of the painting.

¹⁵ Excerpt from the diary of Matteo Ricci

The Forbidden City in Beijing is the world's largest palace complex. It is built according to a strictly geometrical order with all its 980 buildings arranged symmetrically, along a linear axis. The palaces are at the centre of the imperial city which is itself placed at the centrum of the inner city. Each building had a precise place and function. The imperial household was also organized according to a strict hierarchical order, down to the smallest detail.

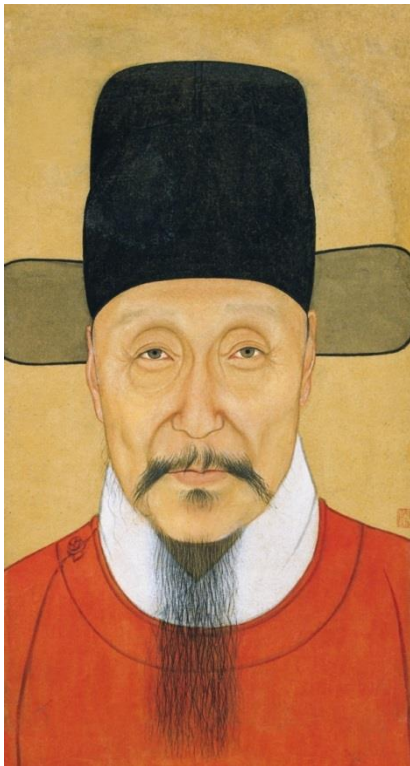
Government administration was carried out by scholar officials selected through a three-stage imperial state exam. The institution of state exams was introduced at the end of the 6th century and got increasingly complicated over the centuries (especially, under the Ming and Qing dynasties). At the exhibition we can see some pages from state exam papers. About 5% of those who attempted the examinations actually passed them and even fewer received titles¹⁶. Nevertheless, the state exam system was a path for upward social mobility and those, who passed it, were the most highly revered class of the society. In the account of Matteo Ricci: "Another remarkable fact and quite worthy of note as marking a difference from the West, is that the entire kingdom is administered by the Order of the Learned, commonly known as The Philosophers. The responsibility for the orderly management of the entire realm is wholly and completely committed to their charge and care. The army, both officers and soldiers, hold them in high respect and show them the promptest obedience and deference, and not infrequently the military are disciplined by them as a schoolboy might be punished by his master."¹⁷

The exhibition shows a collection of life-size portraits of seven members of Ming's educated elite. These portraits served as "passport photographs"; they are surprisingly real and expressive. There is an accompanying text to the portrait describing the name, family origin, date of birth (sometimes, of death) and the level of education of the portrayed. The high quality of the portraits let us think that they were created by a master-painter.

Many scholars, who did not get into the government administration, turned to the arts, the study of which was considered a path to the cultivation of the moral self. Xu Wei, whose portrait is figured below, passed the first grade of the civil examination but was never able to pass the middle grade, even after attempting it eight times. He was, however, mastering all the three artistic perfections (poetry, calligraphy and painting) what is considered the ultimate in artistic achievement and is indeed very rare. He is recognized as the forerunner of modern ink painting in China.

¹⁶ Wikipedia: Imperial examination.

¹⁷ Excerpt from the diary of Matteo Ricci



Portrait of He Bin. Paper, 16th century
© Nanjing Museum/Nomad Exhibitions

The most gripping portrait exhibited is certainly that of *He Bin*. Very little is known about this man whose facial expression exudes intelligence, good humor and rigor.



Portrait of Xu Wei. Paper, 16th century. © Nanjing Museum/Nomad Exhibitions

Arts

"If you do not run away from the raindrops, you will find them most beautiful," said Hsiao Shihwei at the end of the Ming Dynasty. Indeed the Chinese mind is as keen to detect the beauty in a common pebble as it is anxious to squeeze the last ounce of happiness from an insecure and fate-ruled world - states Lin Yutang. "Even in painting and poetry there is a sheer, whole-hearted, instinctive delight in commonplace life, and imagination is used to throw a veil of charm and beauty over this earthly life, rather than to escape from it. There is no doubt that the Chinese are in love with life, in love with this earth, and will not forsake it for an invisible heaven. They are in love with life, which is so sad and yet so beautiful, and in which moments of happiness are so precious because they are so transient."¹⁸

The Ming period roughly coincided with the renaissance in Europe. Similarly to the European renaissance, which brought the revival of classical culture, a restoration of national Chinese culture took place in the Ming era. Confucianism was blooming again, and traditional motives dominated in the arts, ensured by a special court-based Bureau of Design. It established uniform standards of decoration for imperial production in ceramics, textiles, metalwork, and lacquer, part of which was produced in manufacturing industries, particularly in southern China.



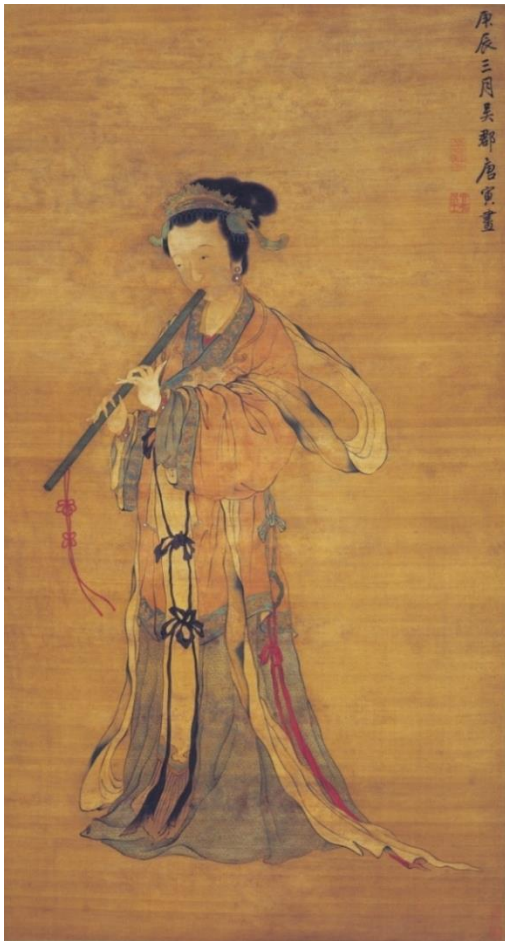
Jar with two handles. Glazed yellow porcelain, 1488-1505

© Nanjing Museum/Nomad Exhibitions

The yellow color, corresponding to the element of earth, and held as the symbolic color of the five legendary emperors of ancient China, was reserved to the emperor and his circle. Yellow porcelain could only be used inside the imperial palace complex. The white color corresponds to the element of metal and symbolizes brightness and purity. From the color combination we can tell that this splendid jar served at court rituals.

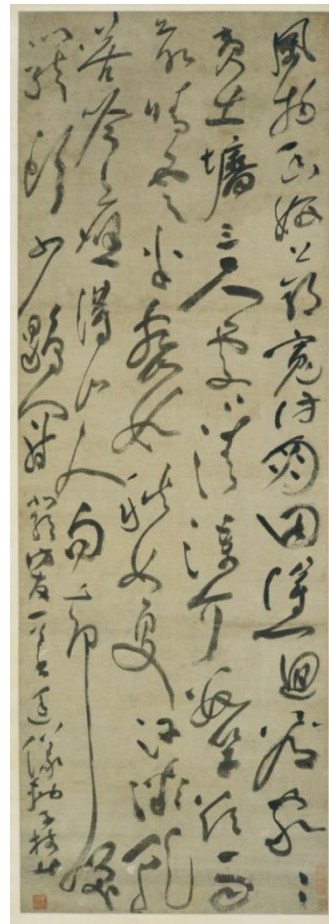
In the Ming era large-scale landscapes, flower-and-bird compositions, and figural narratives were particularly favoured. Narrative painting, with a wider color range and a much busier composition than Song paintings, was immensely popular. The present exhibition presents us with many beautiful examples in either genre.

¹⁸ Lin, 1936



Tang Yin, Lady Playing the Flute. Ink on silk
scoll, 1470-1524

© Nanjing Museum/Nomad Exhibitions



Zhu Yunming (Zhu Zhishan), calligraphy.
Ink on paper, 1460-1527

© Nanjing Museum/Nomad Exhibitions

Erotic paintings

The seclusion of women, the fact that marriage was not an affair between individuals but between families, and the chastity required from women resulted that women's sexual life was often repressed. The same did not apply to men, especially to those of the richer class. Sexual life outside marriage had many legitimate forms: prostitution, courtesanship, concubinage. Same sex affairs were also accepted and frequent.

Courtesans had a special status in the society. It was the courtesan who supplied the need for courtship and romance which many men missed in their youth before marriage. Most well-known respectable scholars went to courtesans' houses, or had courtesans for their concubines, and frankly said so. In fact, to be an official and avoid dinners with female entertainers was impossible. Scholars sought for those hetaeras who could distinguish themselves from the rest either in poetry, music, painting or witty repartee. These girls had to be courted. Many a man had to court a lady of supposedly easy virtue for months and spend three or four thousand dollars before he was permitted to pass a night in her

boudoir. Courtesans carried on the musical tradition of the country, which without them would have died off. Their influence over high officials often gave them a measure of political influence, for sometimes it was in their house that political appointments were interceded for and decided upon¹⁹. (Nevertheless, the philosopher Li Zhi, who taught that women were the intellectual equals of men and should be given a better education, eventually died in prison for his "dangerous ideas".)

The below painting is one of the ten pieces album (1595) of Wang Sheng. Ten silk paintings are combined in this album with ten calligraphies of poems. The poems originate from different authors thereby giving the impression that they were created by various scholars who got inspired by the paintings. It recalls the Ming-dynasty atmosphere in which all aspects of the scholar including his sexual habits were extensively discussed among literati, for example during a dinner in a friend's house or during a "study trip".



One of the ten paintings on silk from the album of Wang Sheng, Late Ming Dynasty

© F. Bertholet Collection, Amsterdam

The paintings exhibited in the *Nieuwe kerk* are never crude²⁰, they suggest beauty and harmony, and are enhanced with symbolic details, such as the big hollow rock with the cockscomb flower on the above painting. The expression of the figures is relaxed, shows hardly any emotion. We can also observe that the bound feet (a 10th-century invention which permeated all strata of the society during the Ming) of the girl had to be covered with a piece of tissue, since the distorted foot was not an appealing thing to see or smell without the nicely embroidered lotus shoe.

The painting and color printing of erotic scenes reached its highest level in late Ming. Erotic literature flourished as well, yielding such a masterpiece as the *Chin Ping Mei* (The Plum in the Golden Vase).

¹⁹ Lin, 1936

²⁰ It is not the general rule; most erotic paintings from this period are more explicit.

Royal Delft Porcelain

The Royal Delft pottery with its characteristic white and “Delft blue” color is a well-known trademark in Europe. What is less well known is how this authentic Dutch product evolved through the copying of Chinese Ming porcelain which had been immensely popular in the Low Countries between the 16th and 19th centuries. At the exhibition we can follow the development of Delft pottery. Meanwhile the early copies from the 1600s can just be named charming (with a little generosity), we get impressed by the quality of Delft pottery from some 50 years later. Due to a steady demand, earthenware factories were established in many Dutch cities in the 17th century. The city of Delft peaked with 32 factories from which just one remained.

It is interesting to note that the blue and white color is not an original Chinese invention. It evolved by a marriage between Chinese and Iranian processes and materials²¹. The blue dye (cobalt oxide) is the same what was used to decorate West Asian earthenware and was introduced in China under the Mongol rule. In the Ming era all foreigner design elements were neglected, just the color scheme remained and got applied for traditional Chinese motifs.

However, not only Westerners copied the much-sought-after Chinese porcelain, Western demand also made its impact on the Chinese production. In the exhibition we can see various examples for European influence, of which the pilgrim bottles are noteworthy. The form of these bottles shows an Islamic origin, and they got to China with Portuguese mediation.

The Exhibition

The “Ming. Emperors, Artists and Merchants in Ancient China” travelling show is jointly organized by *Nomad Exhibitions* and the *Nieuwe Kerk Amsterdam*, and will travel to the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh in 2014. The exhibition is of moderate size but of great importance. It is surprising that the exhibits are arranged in a rather traditional way: the circulation is forced to a relatively narrow ‘corridor’, where visitors ought to keep pace with the procession, peek over shoulders, or force their way to the exhibit if they are less polite and more interested. Considering that half of the available space remained empty, a more fluid spatial arrangement would have been possible. The exhibition is accompanied by a small but fine catalogue in Dutch language, and a nicely illustrated children’s book. Various lectures are offered on the subject as well as activities for children. During the three months of the exhibition a 3D model of all the 980 buildings of the Forbidden City of Beijing is being printed. Visitors can watch the two 3D printers live at work.

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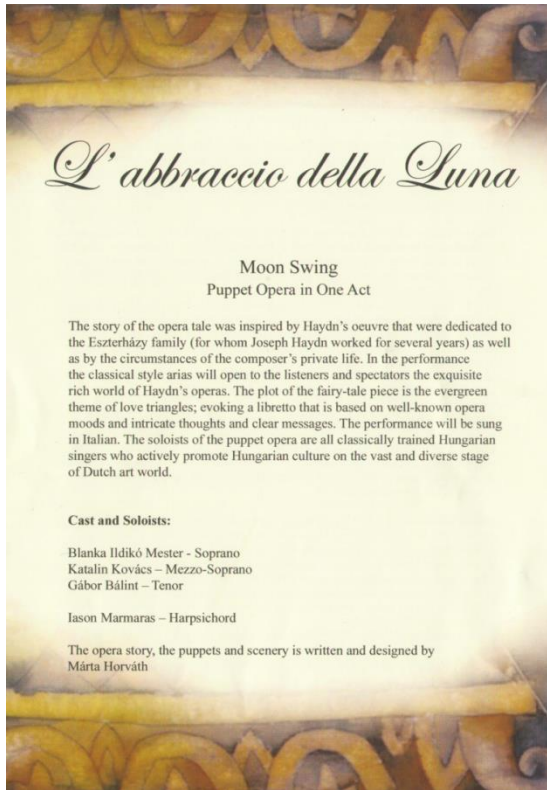
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NAGY, Ildikó

Première of *L'abbraccio della Luna*



On October 23, 2013 the Hungarian Embassy in the Netherlands has celebrated the 57th anniversary of the outbreak of the 1956 Revolution in Hungary with a première of a very special musical performance: a puppet opera entitled *L'abbraccio della Luna* (*Moon Swing*). The puppets and scenery was written and designed by Márta Horváth, a Hungarian puppeteer, and was performed by three devoted Hungarian singers Blanka Ildikó Mester (soprano), Katalin Kovács (mezzo-soprano) and Gábor Bálint (tenor) accompanied by the pianist Iason Marmaras on harpsichord. The première proved to be for many guests a big surprise and at the same time a great success!

The history of the puppet opera commences in the 17th century in Venice with the première of *Leandro* composed by Francesco Antonio Pistocchi. Later, Joseph Haydn himself played a big role in continuing and keeping alive this genre. Like his master, Count Eszterházy, Haydn was very fond of marionette puppets and had happily composed operas especially for puppets to entertain the family. Later many famous composers' operas became

popular to be played in puppet theatres. From time to time the Budapest Puppet Theatre performs Mozart's *Magic Flute* or Bartók's *Bluebeard's Castle*. We can say that puppet opera has a tradition in Hungary, although it is not as well-known as one would expect it to be.

After all it is not surprising that the puppeteer Márta Horváth, who admires Haydn's music, was also inspired by his work and created this very special performance. *L'abbraccio della Luna* was inspired by Haydn's works that were dedicated to the Eszterházy family. The story of the opera was written by Márta, which is based partly on the circumstances of the composer's private life and partly on extracts from Haydn operas.

The story of the opera is a tale about a love triangle between the countess, the count and his love, Celia, where tragedy and happiness are both present. Although the count's and Celia's love cannot be fulfilled on Earth, their souls can unite in happiness on the Moon, on the swing of the Moon. The sound of various emotions – misery, anger, love, happiness, jealousy, loneliness and sadness – all appear in the play. The soloists' great performance and the uniquely and beautifully made puppets helped the audience to empathize with the characters of the opera. The hard work was rewarded with a long lasting round of applause in the chamber. On this special evening the guests of the Hungarian Embassy were

surely charmed by the fairy tale which was played with beautifully made puppets, excellent soloists and enchanted music from the 18th century.

“It was team work!” explains Márta. The arias were selected and compiled by the soloists, who are all classically trained singers: Blanka Ildikó Mester (soprano), Katalin Kovács (mezzo-soprano) and Gábor Bálint (tenor). Under Márta’s guidance they searched for the arias that best matched with the given mood and feelings of the play and also best fitted to their own voice. According to Márta, without their help she could not have made the musical part of the opera. On the repetitions the singers also had to learn how to hold and play with the puppets. “It was very interesting to see that day by day how they get to know the puppets and learn how to hold them and move them”, says Márta. The spectacularly dressed puppets were worked out in details and with big care by Márta. “The three puppets took me 2 months to make and the dresses 4-5 hours for each.” The old cupboard which serves as stage she bought in a second hand shop. But the teamwork has not ended here; at certain places the text of the arias – which were written in Italian – had to be rephrased. With the help of Filippo Rosati, a professional translator, they managed to get through this obstacle, too.

“We started to put together this opera two years ago. It took lot of time to find the right arias, and make the puppets.” She also mentions that in the meantime her mother became ill and she went back to Hungary to nurse her. “The last weeks before the première were very intense and tiring. But now I am very happy and pleased with the result!” – tells Márta Horváth.

The *L’abbraccio della Luna* is not Márta’s first attempt to perform and write scenery for a puppet opera. She made already two performances, which were also based on Haydn’s works. In 2001 at the Summer Festival in Eger she performed with her puppeteer colleague and with seven opera singers a Haydn puppet opera, entitled *Élet a holdon (Life on the Moon)*. Later in 2009 she wrote herself a musical puppet play with the title *Haydináról fúj a szél (Wind blows from Haydina)*, which was performed in the Netherlands. In that case she cooperated with Hungarian folk musicians and Haydn’s music was played on zither.

Since the première, *L’abbraccio della Luna* was once performed before the general public in the Central Library of The Hague, where somebody asked after the play, where can she buy this on CD. Indeed, we hope that this unforgettable performance will be also available on CD or DVD.

Opera synopsis

Our protagonist, the Count lives a quiet, low-key life where his life's only delight is music and to play harpsichord. In contrast, his wife, the Countess, is obsessed by balls and receptions and has a busy social life. After partying every night, the Countess often suffers from headaches and exhaustion so the Count's harpsichord music only intensifies her pain and frustration. Their home has become a haven of perpetual disputes and hysteria. The Count, deep in his heart, longs to be far away and dreams of a distant country where he could freely live his life and dedicate himself completely to music. After long beach walks and painful reflections and tortured by heavy thoughts, he embarks and sails away without parting.

During the sea voyage his ship sinks in a terrible storm. A beautiful young girl, called Celia, finds the shipwrecked count barely alive on the shore. She nurtures and takes care of him. Inevitably they fall in love.

Meanwhile the Countess feels lonely. She does not know if she will see her husband ever again. One day, while walking on the beach she finds the Count's jacket. She sets on to find him. Her ship arrives at the same island and here she becomes witness to Celia and the Count's pure love. In order to separate the love birds, the Countess dresses in disguise as a fortune-teller, predicting a cruel fate if they do not part from each other. After a painful "goodbye" the Count leaves, not suspecting that his wife is travelling back home along with him on the same ship.

The Countess arrives home first, hastily gets rid of her disguise robes, and warmly welcomes her husband as a loving and caring wife. Hope for a happy future fades away however, as the Countess returns to her everyday routine of endless partying.

The Count realizes that his life on the island filled with love and romance was idyllic. Now he thinks of Celia every day as he walks on the beach while poor Celia longs for him on the distant island.

Although their love cannot be fulfilled on this Earth, their affections and souls will unite in another place. Moon will embrace the pair's eternal love. Under the Moon Light they will connect forever.



The artists, from left to right: Iason Marmaras, Katalin Kovács, Gábor Bálint, Blanka Ildikó Mester, and Márta Horváth.





Photos made by: Endre Kovács.



CHINGIZ AITMATOV

Chingiz Aitmatov's 85th Anniversary Celebration

Sponsored by:



The Russian Embassy in London, Rossotrudnichestvo,
The Mukhtar Auezov Institute of Literature and Arts,
The Aitmatov Academy and The Kazakh Arts Academy

cordially invite you to

Chingiz Aitmatov's 85th Anniversary Celebration



**12 December 2013,
7:00 pm**

Rossotrudnichestvo
37 Kensington High Street
London W8 5ED

RSVP
info@aitmatov-academy.org.uk
www.aitmatov-academy.org.uk



Press Release for immediate use

The Aitmatov Academy, UK, announces the hosting of its *International Chingiz Aitmatov Award (ICAA)* ceremony at Rossotrudnichestvo, 37 High Street Kensington, London W8 5ED, on 12/12/13 (7pm- 9pm).

About the ICAA

The Chingiz Aitmatov Awards are presented by the Aitmatov Academy to persons who have contributed to Aitmatov studies or the culture of Central Asia. The names of the winners have not been revealed but are likely to include politicians, artists and academics from Central Asia and Russia. The nominees are decided by an international jury of academics and artists from the UK, Germany, Russia and Kazakhstan.

The ceremony can hold up to 150 people and will be attended by politicians, artists and academics from the UK, Russian, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and other countries. It will also feature a short film about the writer's life and creation.

About the Aitmatov Academy UK

The Aitmatov Academy was set up in the UK by Professor Rahima Abduvalieva in 2010. She is an academic and the former colleague of the famous writer Chinghiz Aitmatov during his time in Germany from the early 1990s until his death in 2008. Aitmatov was and still is one of the most famous writers from the former Soviet Union. Although Kyrgyz by birth, he wrote mainly in Russian and his works have been translated into numerous languages. He is very well-known in continental Europe, Asia and the Russian-speaking world. Rahima stated that she wanted to set up an academy 'to maintain the legacy of the great writer. The Aitmatov Academy is an academic institute which researches and promotes the literature, culture and academia of Central Asia – something which was very close to Chinghiz Aitmatov's heart'.

The focus of the Academy's activities in 2013 has been Kazakhstan. 'Chinghiz Aitmatov was a bilingual writer and the 'Academy is interested in Kazakhstan's official tri-language policy where pupils and students are taught three languages – Kazakh, Russian and English' explains Rahima Abduvaieva. The Academy recently visited Kazakhstan on a lecture tour on the topics of Aitmatov as a bilingual writer and translation studies.

The Aitmatov Academy is active in the following areas: academic conferences, translation agency (Russian/Central Asian languages/English); publishing house; lecture tours (on Aitmatov, translation studies and Central Asia in general). The Academy will also launch its academic journal (*Aitmatov Academy Journal*) at the above event. The first issue was dedicated to the award ceremony but following issues will publish articles from academics from Central Asia and the Russian-speaking world.

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Facebook: AitmatovAcademy

Ticket information: available on request



АНАНЬЕВА, Светлана Викторовна

Евразийство Чингиза Айтматова

Величайший писатель современности Ч. Айтматов провозглашал евразийство как центральную идею Ренессанса мировой цивилизации. В его прозе переплавлены и воссозданы атмосферы стран, где он побывал, их история и современность. Так возникали «сравнения, через которые часто яснее видится свое. Все увиденное, услышанное, уловленное идет в «реактор» художника» [1, с.423].

Ч. Айтматов был глубоко убежден в том, что «начиная с античности и раннего средневековья, здесь (на территории Центральной Азии – С.А.) сталкивались в конфликтном противоборстве римская и степная, тюркская и иранская, арабская и китайская цивилизации. При этом с геополитической точки зрения этот регион всегда выступал предметом завоеваний как «промежуточный пояс», «буферная», «срединная» зона, которая предохраняла бы от непосредственного соприкосновения». На этот регион «упала густая тень» фундаментализма, рядом с ним «плещется бескрайнее море» почти полутора миллиардного Китая и миллиардного Индийского суб-континента. Писатель доказательно и убежденно утверждал величие мировой культуры и литературы. Организованный по его инициативе «Иссык-Кульский форум» стал действенным форумом деятелей мировой культуры и искусства, реальным фактором современной культуры и духовной жизни. Ассамблея культур народов Центральной Азии, руководимая Ч. Айтматовым с 1995 года, явилась стержнем возрождения новой литературы, с которой человечество вошло в XXI век.

По данным ЮНЕСКО, Чингиз Айтматов – один из самых читаемых писателей мира. Его произведения переведены на более чем 150 языков мира. Его вклад в мировую культуру особо весом и значителен. Признание его таланта – международные премии Джавахарлара Неру и «Этрурия», звание академика Всемирной академии наук и искусств и Европейской академии наук, искусств и литературы, почетное членство в Римском клубе и многие, многие другие.

Евразийство – это не только и не столько сфера геополитики. Зафиксированная историей и не свойственная тогдашней Европе веротерпимость на стыке Европы и Азии является основанием духовного, нравственного сродства, исповедуемого евразийской идеей.

Жизнь и творчество Ч. Айтматова были тесно связаны с Казахстаном. Он был постоянным участником международных форумов, посвященных наследию выдающихся казахских поэтов и писателей, и крупнейших дат, отмечаемым в рамках юбилейных мероприятий Календаря памятных дат ЮНЕСКО. Неповторимым сыном человечества считал он Жамбыла Жабаева, живым памятником, подчеркивая особо философскую сторону его произведений. Поэт отразил в своем творчестве трагедию человека, любовь, его искания... Духовное наследие Ж. Жабаева – уникально и своеобразно.

Художник и власть. Жамбыл не мог обойти в своем творчестве эту проблему. Акын и власть. Что сделал поэт для своего народа как человек, вступивший в диалог с властью?! Литературоведение, был уверен Ч. Айтматов, еще не в полной мере ответило на этот вопрос.

Жамбыл – многовековое эпическое порождение народа. Современные литературы Казахстана, Кыргызстана, по мнению Ч. Айтматова, высказанному им в 1995 году на юбилейной сессии Министерства науки – Академии наук РК к 150-летию Ж. Жабаева, должны продолжать традиции великого акына-импровизатора и вливаться ручейками в реку мировой литературы.

Жамбыл – Абай – Ауэзов. О каждой из вершин казахской литературы Ч. Айтматов находил точные и емкие слова, образные сравнения. «Вершину интеллекта и гениальности казахского народа минувших времен» символизирует величайший мыслитель, поэт, философ Абай. «Мухтар Ауэзов, воскресивший этот образ могучей кистью романиста, - пишет Ч. Айтматов, - оказался такой же вершиной в истории казахской культуры в новые времена. Такое феноменальное двуединство выдающихся личностей нации, такие парно светящиеся, как две неразлучные звезды на небосклоне, имена, возможно, есть исключительный в своем роде факт во всей истории мировой культуры».

Встречи с Ч. Айтматовым во время его блистательных выступлений и докладов в Академии наук Казахстана, в Институте литературы и искусства им.М.О. Ауэзова демонстрировали масштаб его личности, обаяние интеллекта. Он называл 1995 год уникальным. Это был год 150-летия со дня рождения великого Абая, олицетворяющего интеллектуальный потенциал и дух казахской нации, и 1000-летия эпоса «Манас», отмечаемых под эгидой ЮНЕСКО. Эта ключевая мысль выступления Ч. Айтматова на конференции в Доме ученых, посвященной 1000-летию кыргызского эпоса «Манас», объединила все доклады и сообщения, стала их лейтмотивом.

Великолепно сказал о «Манасе» академик З.К. Кабдолов: «Чингиз Айтматов по воле судьбы связан с «Манасом». «Манас» - это океан поэзии, а Чингиз – море, которое не исчезает, потому что имеет прочную и долгую связь с океаном, питается его водами, обменивается волнами. «Манас» и Чингиз – это символы и синонимы кыргызского народа».

В новых исторических условиях самоутверждение кыргызского и казахского народов идет через историческую память, через такие величины, как Абай и «Манас». «Я счастлив, - говорил Ч. Айтматов, обращаясь к аудитории, - что познаем мы себя вместе с казахским народом. И не случайно, что впервые открытие «Манаса» совершено сынами казахского народа: с Чокана Валиханова начинается письменная история эпоса «Манас», являющегося уникальной энциклопедией, содержащей весь опыт и исторический путь кыргызского народа».

Неповторимой личностью был и остается Мухтар Ауэзов. Поразительны его глубина мышления и интеллект. Джунгары запрещали «Манас». От советского «джунгарства» спас национальный эпос Мухтар Омарханович Ауэзов. Он перевернул ход событий. «Манас» не только был, история, но и великое искусство, поднимающееся до уровня шекспировских трагедий. «Манас» - сакральная, святая вещь.

Личности ученых и мыслителей Центральной Азии запечатлены в публицистике Ч. Айтматова, острой, злободневной, помогающей читателям разобраться в геополитических процессах,

протекающих в мире. Писателя волновала проблема исторической памяти и манкуртизма как культурного концепта, евразийства как пути в наше завтра. Евразийство в его прозе неотделимо от концепта память.

Проблема художественного времени в романе «И дольше века длится день» реализуется посредством точно подобранных слов, передающих спрессованность времени в один миг: «промелькнувшие мгновения» (Абуталип больше думал об этом, вспоминал, а сам разъезд пронесся перед его взором и исчез), «время остановилось в минувшем пространстве, на том отрезке пути, который вмещал в себя всю боль и смысл его жизни». «Он так и не смог примириться с действительностью, освободиться от того, что стало уже воспоминанием». Настоящее на глазах читателя превращается в прошлое, действительность – в воспоминание. В этом – особенность поэтики романа «И дольше века длится день». «Промелькнувшие мгновения» имеют над героем произведения особую силу. Он не может оторвать свой взор от окна, хотя поезд мчится все дальше и падающий снег скрывает степную панораму.

Человеческая память проявляет свое главное свойство, позволяющее человеку оставаться самим собой. Воскрешая «все заново, все подробно, в деталях, все зримо», Абуталип испивает до дна «горькую сладость мимолетной встречи».

Легенду о Найман-Ане записывали дважды: учитель Абуталип и ученый-археолог Елизаров. Рассказывал ее в обоих случаях Казангап, именно он, по мысли автора, является хранителем народной мудрости позабытой книги степной истории Сарозеков. «Можно отнять землю, можно отнять богатство, можно отнять и жизнь, но кто придумал, кто смеет покушаться на память человека?! О господи, если ты есть, – обращается безутешная мать, – как внушил ты такое людям? Разве мало зла на земле и без этого»? Она пытается понять, какая жизнь, какие события привели жуаньжуаней к такой жестокости, дикости – вытравить память раба. Только манкурт мог выдержать в одиночестве бесконечную глушь и безлюдье сарозеков, заменяя один множество работников. «Куда легче снять пленному голову или причинить любой другой вред для устрашения духа, нежели отбить человеку память, разрушить в нем разум, вырвать корни того, что пребывает с человеком до последнего вздоха, оставаясь его единственным обретением, уходящим вместе с ним и недоступным для других».

Портрет жуаньжуана нарисован отталкивающим: «Он сидел на мохнатом верблюде, озираясь по сторонам, лицо его было одутловатое, напряженное, на голове черная шляпа, как лодка, с концами, загнутыми вверх, а сзади болталась, поблескивая, черная, сухая коса, плетенная в два зуба». Но и глаза манкурта оставались отрешенными, выражая дремучее отсутствие интереса к чему бы то ни было на свете. Более привычно сочетание «дремучее невежество», но писатель нарушает рамки всего разумного и привычного, так прослеживается в глазах манкурта единственное выражение – выражение дремучего отсутствия интереса ко всему на свете. Лицо изможденное, начерно обветренное, огрубевшее. Смотрит сын «бессмысленно и равнодушно».

Горе матери, давно нависшее над ней, настолько огромно, необъятно и безысходно, что, обрушившись, подминало ее. Время остановилось: точно она пребывала здесь постоянно и каждый день навещала его в степи. Тревога матери как «вскрикнувшая раненая птица». Как

птица, испуганная с гнезда, кружит она по степи. Архетип птицы вновь возродится в конце легенды, когда птица Доненбай будет заклинать манкурта: «Вспомни имя свое!»

Семантика имени героя Жоламан («Будь счастлив в пути») не оправдывает себя перед невиданной жестокостью степного племени. Отец манкурта Доненбай, известный, прославленный среди найманов человек, был убит в одном из сражений с жуаньжуанами в сарозекской стороне. Сын не успел отомстить, попал в плен и был превращен в манкурта.

Образ раба – центральный образ легенды о манкурте. Прототип легенды о манкурте встречается у казахского народа. Но «народного, передающегося из уст в уста предания о манкурте именно в том виде, в котором я его изложил, – рассказывает в беседе с Г. Атряном «...И слово это вместо души моей» Ч. Айтматов, – не существует... В ту далекую эпоху на границе империи Юань и нынешней Средней Азии происходили бурные исторические события, народы жили в постоянной вражде, царили жестокие нравы. И одним из бесчеловечных обычаев того времени было то, когда попавшего в плен юношу подвергали мучительным пыткам, лишая его памяти, насильно принуждая его забыть, как его зовут, кто его отец, мать, кто его народ, где его земля. А человек, лишенный национальной и исторической принадлежности, всего того, что характеризует его как личность, превращался в безропотного раба, в послушного робота... Мне нужно было эту маленькую искорку прошлого воспламенить, сделать его ярким, горящим огнем, то есть, иными словами, поднять предание на более высокий уровень, для того чтобы оно нам что-то говорило, чтобы благодаря этой ретроспекции мы могли бы заглянуть в сегодняшний день» [2, с.372-373].

Полон горечи и трагизма диалог матери с сыном:

– «А что было до того, как ты пришел сюда?

– Ничего не было, – сказал он.

– Ночь была или день?

– Ничего не было, – сказал он.

– С кем бы ты хотел разговаривать?

– С луной. Но мы не слышим друг друга. Там кто-то сидит.

– А что ты еще хотел бы?

– Косу на голове, как у хозяина.

– Дай я посмотрю, что они сделали с твоей головой...»

Кто смеет покушаться на человеческую память?» [3, с.148].

Потеря памяти ассоциируется с глухой непроницаемой стеной, через которую пытается пробиться Найман-Ана, когда ей это удастся. Напевая колыбельные песенки, она замечает, что в лице сына, «застывшем, задубелом до черноты», появляется «какое-то потепление», что-то вроде слабой улыбки. Но она билась в «наглухо закрытую дверь», «в глухую дверь сокрушенной памяти», сын реагировал просто на голос, а не на *ее* голос. Самое страшное наказание для манкурта – упоминание о его голове, Жуаньжуаны прибегают к этому приему: «Она хочет содрать

твою шапку и отпарить твою голову!» При таком запугивании черное лицо манкурта сделалось «серым-серым», он побледнел, стал озираться, как зверь. И когда он смог точно выпустить стрелу, младший жуаньжуан удивился: «В руке память осталась!»

Романное время объемно и растяжимо: это и недалекое прошлое (война, партизанское движение), и далекое прошлое (историческое время легенд и преданий эпохи Чингисхана и т.д.), первая волна репрессий (30-е г.), вторая волна репрессий (послевоенные годы) и т.д.

Помимо легенд о Найман-Ане, Акмае и манкурте, в текст романа включена легенда «Сарозекская казнь», найденная следователем Тансыкбаевым среди бумаг Абуталипа и имеющая подзаголовок «Из времен Чингисхана». Ранее писателем была опубликована повесть «Белое облако Чингисхана». И здесь прослеживается архетип манкурта. К неотвратимой жажде всевладычества и всемогущества сводилась в итоге жесточайшая суть степного властелина, его историческое предназначение. Гадатель-чужеземец, портрет которого необычайно живописен, предсказывает Чингисхану, что будет ему особый знак с высоты волею Верховного Неба. Белое облако, предсказанное им как перст Великого Неба, благославляющий высочайшее положение Чингисхана на земле, появилось на небе. Но самый грозный и беспощадный властелин, сравниваемый со львом в пустыне, оставил без внимания второй наказ чужеземца: «Но тебе надлежит беречь это облако, ибо, утратив его, ты утратишь свою могучую силу...»

Легенда о манкурте прорастает корнями в современное общество: беспамятные сабитжаны и их теория «управляемого человека», согласно которой они не способны помнить родные места, родителей, отчий край. Рефреном через весь роман проходит заклинание-напоминание Найман-Аны: «Вспомни имя свое!» Легенда о манкурте прорастает не только в судьбу Сабитжана, которого Едигей в сердцах так и называет манкуртом, отказывающимся помнить и чтить обычаи предков, но связана она непосредственно и с космической темой романа, с осуществлением операции «Обруч».

Но легенда о манкурте выходит на новый уровень обобщения. Шири из верблюжьей кожи вырастает до размеров «Обруча», каким хотят оградить Землю. Паритет-космонавты 1-2 и 2-1, оставшиеся на планете Лесная Грудь, возражали против предпринимаемой американской и советской сторонами операции «Обруч» – «против той глобальной самоизоляции, ведущей, как они считали, к неизбежной исторической и технологической рутине человеческого общества, на преодоление которой потребуются тысячелетия». Это, с одной стороны. Страницы с описанием лесногрудской жизни, их нравственные и моральные принципы, такие далекие от принципов землян, усиливают контраст. Нередко в пределах одной главы автор использует следующий прием: чередует картины жизни землян и лесногрудцев. Так, в 5 главе описание траурной процессии, направляющейся к родовому кладбищу Ана-Бейит, сменяется сначала картинами жизни лесногрудцев, затем воспоминаниями об Абуталипе. То есть в одной главе даны картины настоящего, будущего и прошлого. Прошлое дается через воспоминания Едигея, таким образом, включается оценка происшедшего. Цепочка человеческой памяти тянется с Земли в космос. Писатель уверен в том, что «человек без памяти прошлого, поставленный перед необходимостью заново определить свое место в мире, человек, лишенный исторического опыта своего народа и других народов, оказывается вне исторической перспективы и способен жить только сегодняшним днем».

С другой стороны, легенда о манкурте охватывает тему политических репрессий, цель которых заключалась в уничтожении национальной памяти. Ч. Айтматов упоминает на страницах романа ученых Национальной Академии наук, пострадавших в годы репрессий. Трагически гибнет один из героев романа бывший школьный учитель и фронтовик-партизан Абуталип Куттыбаев. По мнению А. Жаксылыкова, высказанному им в докладе на Евразийских чтениях, посвященных памяти Ч. Айтматова (октябрь 2009 г.), именно Ч. Айтматов очистил сюжет о манкуртах и подарил миру как бриллиант, подобно Шекспиру. Осмыслил, отшлифовал, придал глубочайший смысл – и вернул нам, чтобы помнили, словно говоря: «Посмотрите, кто вы!» Величайшая исповедальность, искренность, психологизм остаются ведущими чертами айтматовской прозы, как и эпическое, предельно доброжелательное, гуманистическое отношение к человеку.

Мурат Ауэзов уверен в том, что серьезное, мировидческое отношение ко всему, о чем писал Ч. Айтматов, проблемы на грани бытия и небытия, высокое целомудрие в отношении к художественному слову помогают человеку в его взаимоотношениях с природой. Сам писатель прекрасно понимал, что мы находимся в бурном процессе современной истории, все время обновляющейся и все более усложняющейся. В интервью Межгосударственной телерадиокомпании «Мир» Г. Шалахметову Ч. Айтматов называет себя сторонником евразийской идеи, горячо поддерживает идею евразийского сообщества, выдвинутую Президентом Республики Казахстан Н.А. Назарбаевым: «... Рано или поздно, эта идея восторжествует в том плане, что мы все народы, те страны, те регионы, которые уже прошли какой-то совместный большой исторический путь и было там всего достаточно: и добра, и зла, и т.д., все равно мы должны интегрироваться» [4, с.128]. Своим современником называл Ч. Айтматов Л.Н. Гумилева за «его книги, мысли, действия... Он на многие-многие столетия и века оглядывался и видел развитие истории и то, к каким выводам он нас привел, мне кажется, что это мирового значения вклад в науку» [4, с.129].

Произведения Ч. Айтматова, писателя, обладающего даром проникновения, одолели пространство, одолеют и время. В этом, по глубокому убеждению М.М. Ауэзова, заключается высокое назначение таланта Ч. Айтматова в контексте идей евразийства. Ч. Айтматов призывал к энергии созидания. Именно Центральная Азия, по мнению Ч. Айтматова, зона евразийского новоэллинистического и гуманистического синтеза культур – наиболее приемлемое типологическое пространство для осмысления новой парадигмы истории духовной эволюции общества.

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ANANYEVA, Svetlana Viktorovna: Eurasianism of Chingiz Aitmatov

The article is devoted to revealing of Eurasian theme in creative writings of Aitmatov, who proclaimed Eurasianism as central idea of the Renaissance of world civilization. Eurasianism in his prose is inseparable from the concept of memory. The greatest confession, sincerity, psychology remain the leading features of Aitmatov's prose, like epic and very friendly humanistic attitude to human. The article includes comprehensive analysis of the issue of artistic time in Aitmatov's novel "And the day lasts longer than a century ...". The present in the reader's eyes turns into the past, the reality - into memory. This is the specific feature of the poetics of the novel "And the day lasts longer than a century".

The life and creative writings of Aitmatov were closely associated with Kazakhstan. He accurately and clearly disclosed the greatness of the classics of Kazakh literature such as Zhambyl, Abay and Mukhtar Auevov. The writer conclusively and convincingly stated the greatness of global culture and literature. "Issyk- Kul Forum" organized on his initiative became an effective forum of the world's figures of culture and art, a real factor in cultural and spiritual life of the region.



МУКАН, Аманкелди Оразбайулы

Чингиз Айтматов и казахский музыкальный театр

РЕЗЮМЕ

Выдающийся писатель тюркского мира Чингиз Айтматов оставил огромное духовное наследие для человечества. Современный казахский театр неоднократно обращался к наследию писателя и эти попытки прочтения через средства сценического искусства стали интересными творческими поисками художественных коллективов республики. В данной статье автор анализирует художественный мир писателя на сцене музыкального театра.

Творчество Чингиза Айтматова вышло за пределы его родного края – вершины кыргызского Ала-Тоо и стало общим достоянием культуры всех братских тюркских народов. Свойственным только ему своеобразным колоритом он придал литературе и искусству своего времени большой импульс. В период, когда о последствиях культа личности в советское время, навлекшего на народ большую беду, начали писать открыто, и начался процесс освобождения, писатель, привлечший внимание читателей своими интересными рассказами и повестями, уже имел свой разнообразный мир персонажей. В каком бы произведении ни было, художник, чьей гражданской позицией является духовная возвышенность взаимоотношений между людьми, неизбежность сложившихся этических норм, затрагивает актуальные вопросы социальной жизни и вызывает горячую дискуссию среди читателей. Поэтому популярность его художественных произведений и их частая демонстрация в театральных афишах и в киноафишах вполне закономерна. Большинство его прозаических произведений инсценированы и не сходят с подмостков многих национальных театров. Герои писателя с огромным запасом лирических чувств отличаются избытком гуманистических качеств, взятые из жизни портреты современников характеризуются умением остро чувствовать пульс времени. В каждом произведении писатель описывает реалии жизни с использованием неповторимых красок. Он строил свои произведения не на бытовые проблемы, раскрывающие незначительные аспекты рутинной жизни, а рассматривал суть и содержание человеческой жизни с высоты философской науки.

Превратившиеся в весомые работы казахского драматического театра и киностудии «Казахфильм» спектакли и художественные фильмы, поставленные на основе знаменитых произведений писателя, стали огромным достижением казахского национального искусства. Творчество талантливого режиссера, расширившего горизонты национального сценического искусства в рамках Советского Союза режиссера А.Мамбетова тесно связано с прославленными произведениями Ч.Айтматова «Материнское поле», «И дольше века длится день», «Восхождение на Фудзияму и др. Мало кто так глубоко понимал произведения писателя как А.Мамбетов, и нет постановок, так ярко и проникновенно раскрывавших их содержание. Хотя мы говорим, что на сценах других театров вышли полновесные работы со своеобразным почерком многих известных

режиссеров, самые триумфальные и плодотворные годы казахской сцены относятся к творчеству А.Мамбетова, вдохновленного произведениями Ч.Айтматова в шестидесятые-восьмидесятые годы. Подобные достижения в драматических театрах привели к возникновению произведений искусства и в других жанрах нашей республики. Доказательством тому служат спектакли, поставленные на сценах театров оперы и балета.

До сегодняшнего дня казахские драматические театры включают в свой репертуар Ч.Айтматова. Об этом свидетельствует тот факт, что на 14-м Республиканском фестивале театров, проходившем в 2006 году в Астане, Карагандинский Казахский драматический театр имени С.Сейфуллина получил Гран-при за постановку спектакля «Материнское поле». Несмотря на то, что прошло немало лет со времени их создания, эти произведения ценны актуальностью, близкой сердцам современных зрителей тематикой, жизнеспособностью живых героев. Любое произведение, вышедшее из-под пера мастера художественного слова Ч.Айтматова, становится явлением для читателей и зрителей. Театры, с согласия автора, с особым рвением разбирающие его произведения, едва вышедшие в свет – явление которое имеет прямое отношение к творчеству данного писателя.

Вместе с драматическими спектаклями, сделавшими такой удачный шаг на казахскую сцену, оперный театр как один из крупных жанров искусства относится к серьезному и процветающему виду профессионального искусства нашего народа. Казахский Государственный Академический театр оперы и балета имени Абая с его 80-летней историей сегодня стал значительным культурным очагом Центрально-Азиатского региона. На произведения, которые с большим интересом ставились на сценах других театров, не мог не обратить свое внимание и музыкальный театр. Не будет лишним упомянуть о том, что вполне закономерно то, что на сцене этого театра были осуществлены постановки опер, написанных на основе произведений знаменитого писателя. К постановке этих произведений театр подошел со своеобразным видением и основательными поисками. Откликнувшись на пульс эпохи новые постановки коллектива театра, который, несмотря на трудности переходного периода, занимался творческой работой и чутко реагировал на социальные преобразования, явились свежими поисками казахской оперной сцены.

Одноименная опера-притча ленинградского композитора А.Смелкова была написана в 1977 году по мотивам повести «Пегий пес, бегущий по краям моря». В 1989 году этот спектакль на сцене казахского оперного театра поставила молодой режиссер Жамиля Куланбаева. Жившие у берегов Северного Ледовитого океана нивхи традиционно занимались охотой, обеспечивая таким образом свое существование, и секреты своего опасного занятия передавали из поколения в поколение. Когда подошла очередь обучения секретам охотничьего ремесла одиннадцатилетнему Кириску, старейшина племени нивхов Орган, отец мальчика Эмрайн и дядя Мылган сели вчетвером в одну лодку и вышли в море. Первое охотничье путешествие Кириска для отправившихся с ним старших по возрасту и близких ему людей стало последним. Несмотря на это, эти несколько дней, проведенные вместе с ними на лодке, оставили в сердце мальчика неизгладимый след. Опера-притча, посвященная жизни охотников-нивхов, повествует о замечательной судьбе таких личностей с возвышенным духом, которые придавали особое значение процветанию своих потомков и заботились о их будущем, жертвовали своей жизнью ради блага своих детей.

В этом спектакле режиссер сформировал творческую группу из числа специалистов разных жанров искусства, считающихся профессионалами своего дела. Художники-постановщики Б.Ибраев, А.Розенберг, А.Сабитова; постановщик-хореограф Г.Адамова подошли к внешнему сценическому облику спектакля и пластическому решению с нового ракурса, сумели передать глубокие философские образы произведения Ч.Айтматова высокохудожественными и четкими штрихами. У режиссера и художников очень интересной получилась сцена, символизирующая лодку на неистово бушующем просторе океана, которую стремительным порывом грив волн подкидывало, словно горошину, то влево, то вправо, а также картина, изображающая тишь да гладь межсезонья, покрытую белым туманом поверхность океана. В качестве основной идеи в постановке оперы режиссёр акцентирует внимание на родной земле, родном очаге и облике берега, являющегося гранью между синим морем и глубокой бездной мира тьмы, а также противопоставляет стихиям природы человеческое существо, изображает замечательных людей сурового и холодного края, которые сумели доказать стойкость человеческого духа.

Партию главного героя произведения – Кириска композитор написал специально для юношеского голоса дискант. Учащийся специальной музыкальной школы имени К.Байсеитовой А.Омарбаев в премьерной постановке продемонстрировал хорошее музыкальное исполнение. Такие моменты в партии Кириска, где от исполнителя требуется вокальное и актерское мастерство, молодой исполнитель сумел объединить со своей юношеской непосредственностью и естественностью. Прощание с волшебством и покоем беспечного детства, первое испытание накануне вступления в полную противоречий взрослую жизнь для Кириска – А.Омарбаева стало большой школой жизни. Исполнитель реалистично изобразил оставившие неизгладимый след в сознании мальчика два дня и две ночи, проведенные в лодке, душевные муки в момент утраты самых близких ему людей и состояние повзрослевшего после таких трудных испытаний Кириска.

В партии Органа талантливый певец Ш.Умбеталиев создал глубокий и содержательный образ набравшего мудрости умного человека солидного возраста. Исполнитель, обладающий красивым басом с широким диапазоном, профессионально освоил сложную ритмичность и полный интонационной сложности мотив вокальной партии. Вокалист использовал всю полноту потенциала своего голоса в реалистичном создании внутреннего состояния белобородого и седовласого старика, которого заботит выход из сложившейся безвыходной ситуации, с психологической точки зрения. Певец мастерски и с точностью раскрыл, как он ради продолжения жизни молодого поколения пожертвовал своей жизнью, добровольно прыгнув в бездну океана, и личным самопожертвованием подал наглядный пример своим детям и внукам.

В связи с приближением переходного мутационного периода певца, когда голос юноши претерпевает возрастные изменения, оставшийся без своего главного героя оперный спектакль был приостановлен. Хотя со стороны театра и была предпринята попытка подготовки исполнителя-дублера для партии Кириска и включения его в спектакль, но вокальные возможности нового исполнителя не были достаточно подходящими для исполнения столь сложной партии. В связи с этим, спектакль после трех первых постановок выпал из репертуара. Спектакль стал одним из занимательных поисков театра в инсценировке произведений современных композиторов. Мир персонажей Ч.Айтматова вошёл в ряд интересных произведений, поставленных на сцене казахского музыкального театра с оригинальным звучанием.

Первая полномасштабная опера писателя, постановка которой должна была осуществиться на сцене казахского музыкального театра, называется «Буранный Едиге» или «Легенды Айтматова». Произведение было написано в 1991 году. Автором этой оперы, написанной по мотивам знаменитого романа «Буранный полустанок», который неоднократно ставился на сцене драматического театра, является талантливый казахский композитор Газиза Ахметовна Жубанова. Либретто оперы написали поэт С.Жиенбаев и режиссер А.Мамбетов. По мнению автора, идея написания оперы родилась после спектакля «Буранный полустанок» по режиссуре А.Мамбетова на сцене Московского театра имени Вахтангова в 1984 году. Едиге в исполнении талантливого актера театра и кино М.Ульянова, который создал образ главного героя с неповторимым колоритом, стал значительным достижением постановки. Композитор, получив огромное наслаждение от прекрасной постановки и актерской игры, написала музыку для этого спектакля. Впоследствии это произведение прозы было объединено с легендами из вышедшего в свет следующего романа писателя «Белое облако Чингисхана» и появилось поднимаящее сложные проблемы произведение для музыкальной сцены из трех актов, где судьбы совершенно разных людей Едиге и Абуталипа, Мангурта и Чингисхана, слились в одно русло. Композитор, найдя своеобразную музыкальную форму оперы, превращает ее в отдельное законченное философское произведение. Однако, автор, закончив свое произведение в результате огромных поисков в первый год приобретения независимости республики, не спешила отдавать его оперному театру. На это имелось достаточно причин.

Во-первых, хотя опера и была закончена, у театрального коллектива не было возможности осуществлять постановку. В этот перестроечный период общества, экономические трудности переходного периода в первые годы независимости изрядно подавили дух народа. Не было уверенности в том, что коллектив театра в такое тяжелое время в соответствии с авторской идеей создаст постановку на высоком художественном уровне. Хорошо понимавшая довольно сложную творческую и художественную ситуацию, переживаемую в театре, автор не стала торопить события. Так она писала в своей книге о своем новом творческом творении: «В театр пока не отдаю оперу. Не время... На эту оперу столько сил положила. Боюсь, разочаруют. Опера эта сложная постановочно, по сценографии, по вокально-хореографическому решению, не говоря уже о глубинной философской концепции с охватом времен прошлого, настоящего и будущего в человеческой жизни... Может еще повезет, и найдутся единомышленники..» [1,63]. Автор как будто надеялась на то, что в будущем появятся хорошие возможности и самое главное – художник для полного раскрытия вложенной в произведение авторской идеи.

Безусловно, для автора нет худшей муки, чем не услышать и не увидеть на сцене исполнение своего готового произведения. Композитор, трезво оценив плачевное состояние театра в то время, испытывая чувство огорчения за низкий уровень его главных специалистов, не поддавалась сиюминутному порыву. Мы видим серьезный подход крупного художника, очень глубокого и дальновидного человека, который не хотел выхода на сцену несовершенной вещи, на создание которой потрачена недюжинная энергия. Композитор до ухода из жизни (1993г.) не нашла своего режиссера, который бы поставил на сцене оперу «Буранный Едиге» или «Легенды Айтматова». До сегодняшнего дня партитура оперы в виде рукописи ждет своего звездного часа. Если отыщется режиссер, хореограф и художник, который сможет широкомасштабно осуществить на сцене задуманную автором оперу, то это может принести ожидаемое решение актуальной проблемы.

Самое главное, это произведение нуждается в музыкальном руководителе – дирижере, который сложился бы в оперном театре как главная фигура и имеет возможность принимать смелое творческое решение.

Чингиз Айтматов стал прославленной личностью тюркского мира и всего человечества XX и XXI в.в. Его произведения переведены на 170 языков, еще при жизни он стал классиком всемирной литературы. Хотя мы выражаем свои мысли с сожалением и в прошедшем времени, оглядываясь на оставшееся для следующих поколений большое культурное наследие, берем из него необходимое для себя и применяем как ориентир на будущее.

Когда сердце великого писателя перестало биться, в опубликованном некрологе от имени редакции республиканской газеты «Жас алаш» задали вопрос и ответили на него следующим образом: «Если вы, взвесив, обдумав, рассмотрев все произведения Чингиза Айтматова, ищите ответа на вопрос «Какое же наизидание оставил современному поколению писатель?», то оставшееся современному поколению наизидание великого кыргызского писателя можно было бы сформулировать в двух словах так: «Не будьте манкуртами!».

Виды искусства и все новоявленные способы художественного изображения направлены, в первую очередь, на раскрытие собранных веками достижений человечества, воспевание вечной темы любви, на познание живыми существами окружающей среды, на конкретное рассуждение борьбы жизни и смерти. Творчество Ч.Айтматова является специфическим образным миром, который рассматривает прошлое, настоящее и будущее человечества как одно целое, которое само по себе просится на театральную сцену. Мы уверены в том, что если тщательно проанализируем этот мир и возьмем себе самое необходимое, то наш духовный мир станет еще богаче, а наш человеческий облик станет еще краше и краше.

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MUKAN, Amankeldi Orazbayuly: Chingiz Aitmatov and the Kazakh Musical Theater

Prominent writer of Turkic world Chingiz Aitmatov has left a great spiritual heritage for humanity. Modern Kazakh theater repeatedly appealed to the heritage of the writer and these attempts to read using means of performing arts became an interesting, creative search of the art teams of the Republic. In this article the author analyzes the artistic world of the writer on the scene of musical theater.



TRAVELOGUE

MIRABILE, Françoise

Lumière de Sibérie

Ouverture

Voici quelques écrits sur la Russie tentant de témoigner d'une rencontre non choisie à un certain point d'un parcours de vie. Un voyage-séjour de trois ans qui a succédé à d'autres voyages dans des cultures assez dépaysantes pour faire germer en mon esprit quelques questions. Questionnement sur l'identité individuelle, nationale, religieuse. Mais le mot identité n'est sans doute pas le plus juste pour rendre compte de la vie de ceux qui traversent des cultures dites étrangères, s'en nourrissent, se laissent transformer au fil de leur vécu, sans pour autant s'assimiler, ni même s'intégrer.

Temps de vie, trois années en Russie, sans autre projet personnel qu'être là, sans intérêt préalable. Travail au quotidien, rencontres de personnes, de livres, d'œuvres, l'ensemble déterminé par tout le chemin antérieur à la Russie dans mon existence. Sans autre projet que laisser venir à moi les paysages, les êtres, les choses et observer comment tout cela entre en résonance avec ce que je suis. Me laisser bousculer dans mes certitudes, désirer m'ouvrir à la dérangeante différence de l'autre, tenter de ne pas l'enfermer dans une image figée et définitive, comprendre que ce que je perçois en lui n'est jamais que ce qui existe en moi, comprendre que quand je vous parle de la Russie, c'est bien évidemment à partir de mon pays et de ma culture que je vous entretiens, reconnaissant par là-même l'extrême limitation de mon regard, acceptant ma si large ignorance de l'autre. Je rejoins la famille des voyageurs qui appuient la construction de leur ontologie sur un parcours géographique extérieur, faisant jouer nécessité intérieure et hasards extérieurs ... Paradoxe du même et de l'autre : par l'autre me connaître mieux, et me connaissant mieux, laisser exister cet autre.

Alors, voilà, c'est un texte aventureux et tâtonnant sur un parcours singulier qui n'est que le mien. Ce séjour sibérien m'aura permis de cheminer quotidiennement au long des sentiers forestiers, il m'aura permis aussi de défricher quelques chemins embroussaillés de mon âme, il aura favorisé un léger renouvellement de mon regard.

Je vous offre ces lignes dans le bonheur de ce qui fut un beau voyage.

Akademgorodok, 29 septembre 2008

Un salut automnal de Sibérie. Nous avons bien atterri, dans tous les sens du terme, dans cette nouvelle terre. Sans doute, des difficultés viendront, mais pour l'instant nous sommes dans la phase de découverte et je suis séduite par l'endroit ... très isolé. L'université a été créée à la fin des années 50 comme un immense complexe de recherche scientifique, intentionnellement situé loin de Moscou, afin que les chercheurs travaillent en paix, disent certains ; ou afin qu'ils ne soient pas tentés de franchir les frontières, affirment les mauvaises langues. Nous sommes en plein coeur de la forêt; par endroits, on a défriché et bâti quelques immeubles sans aucun intérêt architectural, mais ici c'est la nature qui domine, et quand je regarde, au réveil, les si majestueux bouleaux dont les feuilles commencent à jaunir et tourbillonnent, devant cette grande et simple beauté, je me dis que c'est un privilège d'être là, de vivre cette vie nouvelle. Ici, pas de stress, une étonnante paix règne, la puissance de la forêt a raison des impatiences humaines.

Nous avons immédiatement ressenti, avec Paul, que cette terre que nous foulions avait une identité forte, même s'il nous est difficile de la cerner. Ici, on parle de l'esprit d'Akademgorodok, le nom de cette petite ville où nous résidons; c'est un esprit d'amour de la connaissance, un grand attachement à la nature, une convivialité car tous se connaissent comme dans un village; une qualité de vie, la conscience que l'argent n'est pas la recherche ultime d'une vie. Nicolas Roerich, qui habita longtemps dans les proches montagnes de l'Altaï, le grand archéologue et peintre du début du vingtième siècle, y est vénéré. Nous le connaissions de l'Inde pour avoir visité sa maison dans l'Himachal Pradesh à Naggar et admiré ses mille et un tableaux des monts et vallées de l'Himalaya, en toutes saisons, à toutes les heures, avec des couleurs et des lignes qui touchent le fond de l'âme. Sous son regard, c'est toute la Création qui chante la beauté du monde, une invitation muette lancée à l'homme pour qu'il élève son âme à la connaissance des forces qui l'animent, et que, à la suite de bien des Sages de diverses traditions, il se pose la question "quel est donc le maître de ce monde?" Nicolas Roerich était chrétien orthodoxe, mais sa longue fréquentation de la terre indienne, lui a fait peupler ses tableaux de stupas, divinités bouddhistes, drapeaux de prières que l'on trouve au sommet des cols himalayens, un au-delà du regard limité des hommes ordinaires sur la religion, la capacité d'appartenir à une Eglise sans rejeter les autres traditions. On trouve des peintures de Roerich en bien des endroits du monde : Russie, Inde, USA, ... Il existe aussi nombre de centres ouverts par les amis de la fondation de Nicolas Roerich. Il y a un de ces centres à Novossibirsk, un autre à Samara : on y trouve des reproductions au laser de ses tableaux, quelques uns de son fils qui passa sa vie en Inde, épousa la fille de Rabindranath Tagore. Nicolas Roerich a beaucoup écrit. Des fascicules véhiculent ses idées philosophiques, esthétiques et religieuses. Depuis l'art primitif et jusqu'à aujourd'hui, selon lui, l'art advient dans un éclat de joie. Nicolas Roerich, dans la lignée des grands géologues et explorateurs russes, resitue la nature dans sa relation intime à l'homme, l'un et l'autre égaux dans la Création. Ceci explique que différents mouvements écologique, agnostique, humaniste, philosophique, reconnaissent en Nicolas Roerich un Maître, et que ces centres qui lui sont consacrés soient très actifs.

Je ne peux vous énumérer tous les peuples et tribus qui vivent en Sibérie : Bouriates, Yakoutes, Tatares, Altaïstes, ... En conséquence, bien des religions voisinent en Russie : orthodoxie, catholicisme, protestantisme, islam, judaïsme, mais aussi bouddhisme et chamanisme ... imaginez la joie de Paul au voisinage de tant de langues, de coutumes, d'explorations possibles pour lesquelles il aurait besoin de plus d'une vie.

Tolstoï est passé dans la région, savez-vous qu'il correspondait avec Gandhi, et que certainement cette terre si particulière concourut à forger sa pensée dans une recherche de résolution des relations humaines non violentes; Romain Rolland suivit cet échange avec grand intérêt. Ce que je suis en train de vous dire, c'est que nous sommes bien loin des clichés sur la Sibérie, le froid, les ours, les camps, qui bien sûr sont une réalité, mais il existe une autre face, c'est celle que nous découvrons avec bonheur.

Je vais peut-être redescendre sur terre et vous parler de notre quotidien, duquel vous devez être curieux. Nous vivons dans un petit appartement, une pièce chambre-bureau, une grande cuisine très agréable, sanitaires, une pièce de rangement sans fenêtre, le tout très propre et plaisant, bien équipé. La femme de ménage passe tous les lundis puisque nous logeons dans une hôtellerie gérée par l'université. Extérieurement, nous sommes dans un immeuble ordinaire, mais les appartements n'ont pas tous le même statut : certains font partie de l'hôtellerie qui accueille des professeurs visiteurs comme nous ou des étudiants étrangers venus pour quelques semaines ou quelques années d'étude, d'autres appartements sont privés. Nous nous rendons à l'université en traversant la forêt (10mn à pied), les départements d'anglais et de français sont voisins, on peut y utiliser les ordinateurs et ainsi correspondre avec vous. Nous avons des classes qui comprennent entre 10 et 15 étudiants, très polis, souvent curieux et enthousiastes, je retrouve le bonheur d'enseigner. Les profs nous aident autant qu'ils le peuvent et nous initient à la vie en Sibérie, nous préparent à la grande épreuve du froid à venir (comment éviter les sinusites ou autres conseils utiles).

Comme j'ai peu d'heures de cours, je suis allée à Novossibirsk (située à 18 km d'Akademgorodok) à l'Alliance Française et j'ai de suite été engagée. Ambiance familiale, équipe complètement russe, les très rares Français qui vivent là la fréquentent, et c'est comme cela que j'ai rencontré, vous n'allez pas le croire un ancien habitant d'Epinay-sur-Seine qui fréquentait occasionnellement ma paroisse, Notre-Dame des Missions; sa femme est russe, il est marin, aime lire et discuter, et nous avons tout de suite sympathisé; c'est une rencontre qui fait chaud au coeur quand les amis sont un peu loin.

Pour l'église, ce n'est pas Istanbul où je n'avais que 200 m à faire pour rejoindre la cathédrale latine. Ici, il faut aller jusqu'à Novossibirsk où il y a une église catholique fréquentée par des descendants de Polonais, d'Allemands, de Lituaniens et autres. Il me faut encore trouver la localisation exacte, et nous nous y rendrons prochainement.

Quant au climat, nous sommes passés de 30 degrés fin août à 3 ou 4 degrés, mais bien sûr ce n'est rien, tout est à découvrir ... L'automne est déjà bien avancé, on se régale de champignons et de balades; il me semble que la forêt rentre en moi par tous les pores de ma peau, cela influence la réflexion, la prière, c'est une expérience qui me ravit. Les écureuils sont ici les meilleurs compagnons des habitants d'Akademgorodok, ils traversent sans aucune crainte les sentiers, se laissent admirer, prendre en photos.

Je n'imaginai pas ressentir ici un tel bien être, mes origines campagnardes reprennent le dessus.

Nous avons beaucoup de temps pour lire, faire chacun nos recherches, prier. Je prends ce séjour comme un temps donné, offert qui nous enrichira profondément et j'en rends grâce à Dieu chaque matin et chaque soir.

A tous, nos amitiés et mille bons voeux. Françoise

De ma fenêtre ...

La fenêtre dessine devant moi un cadre où, au fil des saisons, s'inscrivent des tableaux différents.

Les bouleaux sont là, immuables, en face de moi, ils sont. Leur apparence change, mais ils s'offrent à moi comme un support familier, récurrent, de contemplation. Je les admire, je les aime! Ces jours-ci, ce sont leurs troncs qui captent mon regard, entre le blanc et l'argent, ils donneraient presque à croire qu'il a neigé. Pas encore... Mon regard rebondit de tronc en tronc, dans la profondeur, dans des jeux de lumière divers et il me semble faire des pas plus grands, entrer dans une forêt, une vraie forêt de chemins de lumière et de pénombre, depuis ma fenêtre.

Le parallélisme des troncs verticaux et élancés repose l'esprit; l'inévitable diversité naturelle de leur disposition me distrait et réjouit ma fantaisie. Au gré du temps, des heures, le blanc se fait gris, rose, mauve, violacé. Ce soir, le soleil n'est pas arrivé à traverser la couche blanche du ciel et la nuit est venue sans le moindre éclat, discrètement, terne et déprimante. Tristesse hivernale qu'il me faut vaincre en me ressourçant à la lumière de l'origine, celle d'avant les deux luminaires du soleil et de la lune, celle qui ne demande qu'à briller au fond de notre coeur et par laquelle la Voix divine nous murmure "Je suis, et par Moi le monde est" ... en tous ses états, tristesse et joie s'épousent en toute vie, en ta vie. Vois-tu, de ta fenêtre ce qu'est la Vie? Les bouleaux le chantent à tes oreilles quand ils bruissent dans le vent, se brisent ou tendent vers le ciel leur fierté. Parés d'or ou d'argent, de modeste verdure ou exhibant les lèvres de leurs cicatrices, ils sont dans la mélancolie de la lumière déclinante. Peut-être que demain j'enflammerai le ciel comme je l'ai fait l'autre soir, un feu d'artifice de couleurs te saisira, la chaleur des tons, l'intensité de la lumière réchauffera ton âme, si tu prends garde à rabaisser ton mouvement propre pour entrer dans le mien. La nature, je l'ai voulue comme une permanente surprise pour éblouir celui qui s'aventure à contempler et à créer son rythme intérieur, personnel sur la partition cosmique qui se joue en chaque instant. Présence. C'est ma Parole de bonheur en ce jour. Née d'une apparente et illusoire déception et d'une sincère disponibilité.

Akademgorodok, le 21 novembre 2008

Bonjour à tous,

Il m'a fallu du temps avant de reprendre la plume, ici les rythmes ne sont pas les mêmes, en tout cas pour moi. En plein coeur de la forêt, et maintenant sous une épaisse couche de neige, la Russie hyperactive, en plein boom économique, je ne la connais pas. Ne soyez pas déçus. Je ne puis m'empêcher d'accueillir ce séjour à Akademgorodok (je vous excuse d'en avoir oublié le nom) comme un cadeau du Ciel; elle fait partie de ces expériences au devant desquelles on ne va pas de soi-même mais qui vous révèlent une partie de vous-même. Rien d'extraordinaire à vrai dire: les jours se suivent et se ressemblent étonnamment; je veux dire sans ennui. Je m'installe dans cette vie paisible. De notre petit appartement, je passe de longs moments à contempler les mille et une couleurs de la forêt, des couchers de soleil où le rose pourpre du ciel se reflète sur la neige dans des tons parme, des ciels bleus par-delà les nuages blancs de neige et ces tourbillons de flocons légers qui se déposent comme des guirlandes sur les ramures, commencent à geler, mi-transparents et comme en équilibre. Un aspect de la création dont j'ignorais tout. Je reste dans un émerveillement sans cesse renouvelé depuis mon arrivée.

J'aime infiniment le silence de la forêt enneigée, le bruit discret des pas qui crissent sur ce tapis où les traîneaux des enfants balisent des chemins bien dessinés. Je suis fière de mes bottes (vous n'imaginez pas l'importance de l'achat des bottes d'hiver en Sibérie) et surtout de leurs semelles antidérapantes qui me permettraient presque de hâter le pas si tout alentour ne m'invitait plutôt à le ralentir. Pour cet achat d'importance, une collègue d'Alliance Française m'a accompagnée. Je pense que je n'aurais jamais trouvée seule ce petit magasin en sous-sol, sans vitrine où des femmes de tous âges se pressaient pour dénicher la bonne occasion, des bottes de qualité et bon marché.

Les courses ne sont pas toujours évidentes: côté nourriture, nous avons rapidement pris nos repères, nécessité oblige, mais quelle histoire pour trouver quelques cartes postales, j'ai fini par envoyer des images de saint Nicolas et autres sujets religieux, ici pas de touristes et donc pas de cartes... Et quelle victoire, quand je suis tombée sur des enveloppes! Je ne vous parle pas de l'achat d'un petit magnéto pour écouter un peu de musique.

A la fac, tout se passe bien: mes étudiants en journalisme se sont habitués à avoir un prof qui ne parle pas le russe, ils sont moins paniqués, et je crois qu'ils aiment bien ce que l'on fait ensemble, c'est bien sûr différent des méthodes russes et cela a l'attrait de la nouveauté. Je leur ai demandé qu'à chaque cours, l'un d'eux présente une nouvelle de Russie puisqu'ils sont de futurs journalistes, mais ils ont du mal à parler de leur pays et de leur culture: ils me racontent de tout petits faits divers ou des curiosités sans lien avec la Russie comme par exemple ce matin l'ancêtre du ballon caoutchou à l'époque de Tacite. Je ne

les force pas, j'en déduis que, sans doute, il y a une réserve, une timidité à parler de son pays, et d'ailleurs c'est compliqué. Ainsi, nous avons eu un jour de fête le 4 novembre, mais personne ne savait exactement ce que l'on fêtait: dans l'ancienne URSS, le 7 novembre était l'anniversaire de la révolution d'octobre (décalage des calendriers), mais aujourd'hui on apprécie plus ou moins cet héritage et l'on a donc déplacé la fête mais, à une date proche, pour que les nostalgiques de l'époque communiste (ils sont encore nombreux) s'y retrouvent. Certains parlent d'une victoire sur la Pologne le 4 novembre sans qu'il y ait unanimité sur la question. Alors on organise des défilés, des spectacles folkloriques et chacun y met ce qui lui convient.

Ce mois-ci, j'ai assuré pas mal de remplacements en littérature française et autres, les étudiants sont communicatifs et, arrivés en 4ème ou 5ème année d'étude du Français, ils ont un bon niveau. Au second semestre, j'animerai un séminaire sur Cinéma et Société Française, cela me plaît beaucoup, j'ai grand plaisir à travailler. Comme le salaire est très bas, je donne quelques cours à l'Alliance Française et là, c'est autre chose: des groupes d'enfants ou d'ados qui sont des débutants complets à qui je dois enseigner la langue de Molière sans parler un mot de russe et avec très peu de matériel, c'est parfois drôle, parfois épuisant. Je travaille en binôme avec Galia, qui est russe évidemment. Elle est musulmane, mi-tartare, mi-kazakh ; on s'amuse et on galère ensemble, et j'apprends par elle, pas mal de petites choses sur la vie quotidienne, comment saler le chou ou le poisson, garder les pommes de terre et les carottes dans la terre... et la voyant vivre, je comprends les difficultés et les préoccupations de beaucoup de Russes, l'angoisse du lendemain, la course à l'argent qui fait cumuler divers travaux, le souci de l'éducation des enfants, ...

Le week-end, Paul et moi, nous allons régulièrement écouter les vêpres dans une église orthodoxe découverte dans la forêt en nous promenant. Elle a été construite ou reconstruite à la fin des années 90, comme la plupart des églises ici. Il y a bien sûr des icônes sur tous les murs, les hommes d'un côté, les femmes de l'autre et une belle chorale de femmes. Une fois tous les 15 jours, on prend le bus pour Novossibirsk et on va à l'église catholique. Hier, c'était l'appel des catéchumènes, ils étaient nombreux, de tous âges. On profite de ces visites à Novossibirsk pour visiter et découvrir. Nous sommes allés dans un restaurant où l'on peut goûter la cuisine traditionnelle russe et nous y avons dégusté le plat sibérien, des *pelminis* ou délicieux raviolis à la viande, cuits dans un bouillon savamment épicé. Ce plat nous a rappelé la Chine, ce qui est loin d'être étonnant car la Sibérie est peuplée d'ethnies asiatiques bien proches, culturellement.

Il y a ici mille et une variétés de caviars et compte tenu de nos salaires nous avons opté pour la version populaire, qui se laisse manger avec grand bonheur. Nous mangeons aussi beaucoup de poisson, fumé ou frais, et bien sûr le célèbre borchotch, soupe à base de chou et de betterave, servi avec de la crème, on adore.

La température est actuellement aux environs de -5 degrés. Bien couvert, ce n'est pas un problème, et j'aime les contrastes extérieur-intérieur, froid et chaleur. Les appartements sont très bien chauffés et c'est très agréable quand on arrive de se mettre en tenue légère, on se détend vraiment. Une française qui vit là depuis longtemps me racontait que quand elle rentre en France, elle a toujours froid car on ne chauffe pas bien les maisons et on est toujours tendu.

Dimanche, nous sommes allés au concert, grand orchestre philharmonique et, merveille des merveilles, Chostakovitch au programme: étonnant, détonnant, génial, toute l'âme russe avec des émotions, de l'humour, du grandiose.

Nous nous laissons imprégner de ce nouvel environnement et nous trouvons vraiment très heureux de l'expérience.

Tout au long de nos pérégrinations, nous vous gardons dans notre coeur, sachant que vous pensez bien à nous. A tous salut amical. Chalom Françoise

Cinéma russe

Loin d'avoir un savoir institué, universitaire sur la Russie, je découvre un peu de cette immense culture au gré de nos pérégrinations, lectures et autres formes artistiques. Tout autant que la littérature me séduit le cinéma russe.

De ma jeunesse cinéphile me reviennent des images de films d'Eisenstein ou de Vertov, deux grandes écoles cinématographiques qui marquèrent l'histoire du cinéma des années vingt, génie du montage pour Eisenstein, cinéma-vérité des films de reportage pour Vertov, chez l'un et l'autre grande expressivité et inventivité...

Avant de venir en Russie, je me souviens aussi d'avoir vu *Le Bannissement*, primé dans un festival pour sa mise en scène et dont le réalisateur, Andreï Zviaguintsev, est de Novossibirsk. *Le Bannissement* est un film tout à la fois exigeant et onirique sur un sujet délicat, l'avortement ; je retrouve les mêmes qualités chez Tarkovski et chez Sokolov dont j'ai vu certains films en Russie.

Autre point commun : le choix d'une photographie en Noir et Blanc, encore que chez Tarkovski les séquences en couleur et en Noir et Blanc alternent, au lecteur de tenter de comprendre selon quelle logique.

Autre analogie, le sentiment de durée intérieure et d'intense vie psychique qui se dégage de ces films, des personnages subtils et en évolution, dont il est parfois difficile de percevoir les motivations. Un sens dramatique très efficace se concilie avec une grande poésie, sans doute parce que ce sont des films peu bavards, comme les aimait Robert Bresson, des films sans redondances plates, ce qui est dit par l'image ne l'est pas par le son, et le son a sa propre expressivité au-delà de la simple illusion narrative.

De ces divers facteurs il ressort une impression de plénitude bien rare. En France, il n'y avait pas beaucoup de spectateurs pour voir *Le Bannissement*, et ici les films de Tarkovski et de Sokolov sont réputés difficiles, des étudiants me disent n'y rien comprendre, d'autres se disent très touchés par ces films sans savoir pourquoi, sans les comprendre non plus. Ce cinéma suppose des spectateurs intelligents, avec sans doute pas mal de références dans la tête, familiers du questionnement et imaginatifs. Voici des images et des sons qu'on se doit d'interpréter, c'est-à-dire de faire travailler en nous, cinéma ouvert qui refuse d'emprisonner le spectateur dans une vision unique du monde qui nous entoure ; c'est étonnant comment chaque personne qui a vu ces films peut en parler différemment, et

chaque lecture semble juste, on peut la juxtaposer aux autres, les unes enrichissant les autres. C'est bien sûr le cas de toutes les œuvres d'art accomplies, mais ici quelle prodigalité, quelle générosité !

Une caractéristique de ce cinéma est que le questionnement sur l'homme est toujours en lien étroit avec la description de la nature : nature grandiose, qui évoque la large géographie du pays ; beaucoup de plans sur la campagne, les rivières, ... qui deviennent, si l'on peut dire, acteurs du film, et l'on comprend que la nature en Russie, et pour les hommes de cette terre, n'est jamais indifférente, elle pèse sur la vie des hommes pour le meilleur comme pour le pire. Il y a un rapport de passion ou de sagesse avec la nature, jamais d'indifférence. Je qualifierais volontiers les films de Tarkovski de cosmiques. L'aventure intérieure se vit en symbiose avec la relation à la nature, pas seulement en miroir, mais la nature infuse dans l'âme des protagonistes une grandeur, une élévation, permet de vivre ce combat spirituel en lui donnant mesure et démesure, en faisant peser sur elle des contraintes et l'ouvrant à la pleine liberté des parcours auxquels elle se prête. Dans *Stalker*, la nature est dégradée par les sociétés humaines, mais même dans cette décadence, elle reste chemin initiatique, exploration possible du secret des âmes et du monde, révélatrice de nos beautés et de nos laideurs intérieures, du courage inconscient dont nous faisons parfois preuve pour donner sens à notre monde.

Bien sûr nous avons regardé *André Roublev*, l'iconographe de la Trinité, du même Tarkovski. Sa représentation de la Trinité est devenue non seulement classique, mais la seule admise dans les églises orthodoxes. Les églises catholiques qui ont représenté la Trinité de bien des façons différentes ont souvent eu, en Russie, maille à partir avec les autorités ecclésiastiques orthodoxes pour qui la représentation du Père comme un vieillard ou de l'Esprit Saint sous la forme d'une colombe sont des hérésies. Le film nous montre une Russie moyenâgeuse avec son appétit de découvertes, ses artistes et ses bouffons, ses princes félons et ses envahisseurs Tartares, ses guerres et ses famines, son peuple laborieux et ses moines ascètes ou corrompus, ses rêveurs et ses exploités. Profonde méditation sur l'homme, sa recherche de paix et de beauté, son appétit de sang, de violences, sur le cheminement de vie d'un homme se demandant comment montrer la paix, fruit de la rencontre avec le divin, alors que tout autour, le monde n'est que barbarie, désolation, mort et souffrance. Roublev aurait arrêté de peindre plusieurs années avant de recommencer, touché au fond de lui-même par ce jeune fondeur de cloche capable d'éveiller, nous dit le personnage du film, tant de joie, de fête chez le peuple, incroyable séquence, reconstitution documentaire et magnifique portrait humain.

L'âme poétique russe (mais n'est-ce pas une expression redondante) traverse tout ce cinéma et on la retrouve sous une forme ô combien plus légère dans ce film culte qu'est *L'Ironie du Sort*, comédie de l'époque soviétique du début des années 1970 qu'on regarde religieusement chaque 31 décembre, qui se moque de la désespérante uniformité des habitats, de la vie des uns et des autres et dont chaque scène est pour les Russes un rappel émouvant et drôle de leur vie dans les années soviétiques dont bien des coutumes sont encore vivaces, comme la célébration du Nouvel An avec champagne aux douze coups de minuit, ou la célébrissime salade Olivier qu'il est inimaginable de ne pas manger ce soir-là, et bien entendu la tradition du bain russe entre amis ou amies pour enterrer la vie de garçon ou de jeune fille.

L'histoire ? Un jeune homme de Moscou sur le point de se marier fête le Nouvel An avec ses copains aux bains russes. A force de toasts à la vodka, les esprits ne sont plus très clairs, et le voilà parti pour Léninegrad à la place d'un de ses amis ; toujours passablement éméché à son arrivée à l'aéroport, il monte dans un taxi, donne son adresse, arrive devant un immeuble identique au sien, ouvre la porte d'un appartement en tous points semblable à celui qu'il habite à Moscou. Quelques minutes plus tard arrive la locataire qui prépare un dîner d'amoureux pour son futur mari. Elle le découvre là, lui ne veut pas partir et se croit chez lui : 3 heures de rebondissements au terme desquels les couples se défont pour en reformer un nouveau. Le film est si populaire qu'on lui a donné une suite, trente ans plus tard, en 2010, les enfants des deux protagonistes revivent la même aventure ... Le film est ponctué de poèmes chantés que tous connaissent ici, respiration poétique qui a concouru à la popularité du film. Un Russe qui n'écrit pas de poèmes ... difficile à trouver. Les Russes nous demandent comment nous connaissons ce film qui pour eux ne semble présenter d'intérêt que si l'on est Russe ... une étudiante m'en a un jour parlé avec tant de feu que ma curiosité n'a été satisfaite que lorsque finalement j'en ai trouvé une version avec sous-titrages en anglais. Je crois que bien des clins d'œil dans le film m'échappent, je ne connais pas assez le quotidien de la population, mais j'y vois des personnages à la fois drôles et dramatiques, ambivalents et tellement humains, attachants, comme le sont vraiment beaucoup de Russes dans leur capacité à admettre une certaine fatalité du destin et à la transformer en humour ou en rebondissement. Je crois que la popularité de ce film tient à ce que les Russes y voient une image réaliste, lucide et bienveillante de ce qu'ils sont.

Il me faut enfin évoquer le cinéma de Pavel Lounguine dont les films commencent à être connus en France puisqu'il vit dans l'Hexagone depuis les années 1990. Un cinéma qui donne le pouls de la société russe et de ses changements : c'est lui qui décrit il y a quelques années les nouveaux riches de la Russie (oligarques) entrant dans l'ère libérale dans *Un Nouveau Russe*, c'est encore lui qui fit ce si beau film *l'Ile*, filmé dans les îles Sokolov au nord de la Russie, tristement célèbres à cause d'un grand monastère transformé en prison sous l'ère soviétique où furent déportés et où moururent des milliers de moines et de prêtres orthodoxes et catholiques. L'an passé l'archevêque de Paris, André 23, y fit un pèlerinage accompagné des autorités orthodoxes. L'histoire du film s'inspire librement de diverses figures d'ermites et starets russes, nous dévoile une partie de l'histoire russe et surtout ce travail intérieur des âmes, comme ce moine qui n'en finit pas de se repentir de sa lâcheté d'un moment, errant dans des paysages glaciaux récitant la prière hésychaste, et développant un chemin personnel vers Dieu, avec humilité et irrévérence envers sa hiérarchie, sorte de bouffon contestataire d'une règle ronronnante. Il reçoit bientôt des visites de toute la Russie, y compris de généraux soviétiques, chacun espère par son intercession obtenir la guérison d'un proche, la sortie d'une impasse. Le film est plein d'humour à l'image de ces personnages qu'on rencontre dans les livres de spiritualité russe. A qui penserait que Pavel Lounguine est devenu un orthodoxe conservateur et a rangé sa boîte à questions sur le monde et la société russe, il faut encore regarder son magnifique et inquiétant *Tsar* qui nous dépeint un Ivan IV (dit chez nous le Terrible) à la fois tyran insupportablement cruel et mystique exalté versant dans une dangereuse folie. Aux étudiants et professeurs à qui je demande pourquoi ce film aujourd'hui, je n'obtiens d'autre réponse que l'aspect très controversé du personnage historique qu'est Ivan IV et de son rôle dans l'histoire russe, les uns en faisant un héros promoteur d'une Russie considérablement élargie, par la conquête de la ville

de Kazan jusqu'alors aux mains des Tatares par exemple, les autres se désolant d'un autre tyran qui assombrit l'image de la Russie moderne. De mon point de vue très extérieur, j'ai le sentiment que Loungine pointe la tentation certaine d'une Eglise en train de reconquérir un espace politique et cherche à la faire réfléchir sur son alliance, voire sa complicité avec le pouvoir. Il touche là à une spécificité de l'Eglise orthodoxe russe qui côtoie toujours étroitement le nationalisme, oubliant parfois de préserver une salutaire indépendance. C'est comme si Loungine prenait de film en film le pouls de ce grand corps souffrant et vivant qu'est la Russie.

Voici donc quelques rencontres marquantes entre des œuvres que l'on peut évidemment admirer en n'importe quel point du globe, mais qui prennent sens et corps pour moi d'avoir été découvertes alors que je partageais depuis déjà plusieurs mois le quotidien des Russes.

Akademgorodok, 14 mai 2009

Mi-mai: le soleil est enfin au rendez-vous après toutes ces semaines de printemps sibérien à vous faire prendre en grippe la seule idée du printemps. C'est un peu comme quand on a peiné pour gravir une montagne, on arrive au col, bien fatigué, et on pense que tout est gagné, on a fourni son lot d'efforts. En réalité, la descente s'avère longue et quelque peu déprimante, on n'a plus la motivation d'atteindre le sommet, de se surpasser, il s'agit seulement de parcourir la vallée jusqu'à un possible campement, on ne s'élève plus vers le ciel, on retombe dans le souci du quotidien. Les vrais montagnards riraient de ces randonneurs peu expérimentés qui ne sont pas tout à fait dans le présent de leur marche.

Et les vrais Sibériens rient de notre attente et de notre déception, de cet espoir naïf de voir l'hiver rentrer dans la coulisse pour laisser sans transition place à un printemps ensoleillé bien mérité. Que ces semaines furent longues et maussades: alternances de froid, de pluie, d'un mince rayon de soleil, de quantité de boue. Les températures devenaient plus clémentes et l'on avait envie de se promener, de rester plus longtemps dehors, mais les chemins de la forêt étaient si boueux, parfois traversés de cours d'eaux dus au dégel, que les trajets indispensables jusqu'à la fac ou au marché nous semblaient déjà un exploit et dissuadaient d'aller plus loin. Pour nous remonter le moral, on nous a parlé des fleurs superbes des pommiers et pruniers sauvages, qui apparaissent si soudainement et ravissent la vue.

Je m'aperçois que je vous parle encore et toujours du temps, de la forêt ; il est vrai que c'est notre première préoccupation. De traverser la forêt quotidiennement nous rend attentifs aux métamorphoses de la nature. Nous avons guetté l'apparition et le développement des bourgeons et un matin, au réveil, nous avons été malgré tout surpris: les arbres s'étaient revêtus de vert, d'un vert printemps si tendre, si clair, un vrai bonheur pour le regard, si soudain. Comme dans un opéra où à chaque acte le décor change du tout au tout. J'ai en effet ce sentiment que le déroulement des saisons est ici comme une symphonie, avec ses mouvements, ses harmonies secrètes. J'aime être toute baignée de ce vert quand je me promène maintenant.

Mais pour être honnête, il y a aussi des désagréments; depuis qu'il a commencé à faire chaud, des moustiques énormes nous poursuivent et nous devons surveiller l'ennemi public des habitants d'Akademgorodok, les tiques. Une jeune étudiante s'est fait piquer: visite au centre anti-tiques, injection pour éviter une encéphalite, et le porte-monnaie bien allégé. Du coup, Paul d'habitude très aventureux, délaisse les petits sentiers buissonneux, particulièrement prisés par ces insectes, pour les allées larges et moins risquées. Au retour de promenade, on secoue les vêtements, les cheveux pour vérifier qu'on ne

donne pas asile à un hôte indésirable.

Quand il fait beau, nos balades nous conduisent plus loin. Dernièrement, après une visite à la petite église orthodoxe, nous avons pris un petit chemin et n'avons pas tardé à remarquer qu'il était très emprunté: des personnes jeunes et moins jeunes, portant toutes des sacs à dos ou des cabas, certaines utilisant des poussettes, véhiculant des plantes,... C'est que nous ne sommes pas loin d'un village de *datchas*, ces maisonnettes au confort rudimentaire où l'on se rend le soir, le week-end et pendant les vacances pour jardiner, planter puis récolter des légumes dont une bonne partie sera mise en bocaux en prévision de l'hiver. Beaucoup de Russes vendent une partie des légumes qu'ils produisent. Ils s'installent à proximité des marchés ; une caisse en bois, la voiture font office d'étal, et l'on trouve chez eux des produits locaux, frais, légumes, fruits, mais aussi miel, confitures, sauces à base de tomates et d'ail très pimenté, chou salé, ...Si aujourd'hui, les marchés russes regorgent de marchandises tout comme en Europe, beaucoup de familles améliorent largement leur quotidien par la culture dans les *datchas*, et ce n'est pas le jardinage-loisir mais la nécessité qui commande.

Il existe aussi des *datchas* de luxe, comme celle de la famille de Svetlana de l'Alliance Française, chez qui nous étions invités. Cette opulente *datcha* se trouve dans le village des "bâtisseurs", tous les propriétaires sont des notoriétés d'Akademgorodok.. Un centre français a été ouvert dans notre université à l'intention des étudiants des départements de sciences pour favoriser des échanges entre chercheurs, encourager des projets internationaux, et à l'occasion de son inauguration est venu de Moscou un attaché de l'Ambassade de France pour qui cette fête champêtre à la *datcha* était donnée. Il faisait beau, nous étions à deux pas de notre petite mer (un lac formé par l'Ob avec plage s'il vous plaît). Il y avait là un public composite de Français des universités (étudiants et profs) et des quelques entreprises françaises de Novossibirsk (Auchan, Peugeot, Leroy Merlin), des Russes quelque peu francophones et l'équipe de l'Alliance Française. La communication s'est avérée plutôt chaotique, entre langues et centres d'intérêts divergents. Côté gastronomie, ce fut le très populaire pique-nique barbecue qui se pratique tant dans la forêt, sur la plage, à la *datcha* : petits sandwiches avec de la charcuterie et des tomates, concombres frais et ou salés débordant de mayonnaise, brochettes, beaucoup de bière et de vodka. Et, pour notre bonheur, la Directrice pédagogique de l'Alliance, bonne cuisinière, avait préparé, mijoté un *plov*, mot qui vient du turc *pilaf*, un savoureux mélange de riz, d'oignons et de viande, assaisonné d'épices qui varient selon les régions de culture turque. A la fin de ce genre de soirées, il y a ceux qui roulent sous la table, ceux qui aiment chanter et se lancent, des duos touchants où se mêlent les voix, justes et discordantes, nostalgiques et mélodramatiques. Notre cordon bleu avait les yeux tournés vers le ciel, mais la lune était derrière elle, elle avait saisi une jeune prof de russe par le bras et s'évertuait à suivre sa mélodie. Les convives n'y prêtaient aucune attention : les uns continuaient à boire, les autres à fumer et discuter, d'autres étaient simplement assis, seuls, perdus dans d'incertaines méditations.

Heureuse rencontre pour moi à cette *datcha*: une étudiante française qui vit aussi à Akademgorodok a rencontré par l'intermédiaire d'une copine protestante la petite communauté catholique d'Akadem, et j'ai

ainsi appris que chaque dimanche une messe est célébrée dans un appartement privé. Les prêtres sont italiens, ils font partie d'une communauté qui s'appelle Liberté et Communion et sont installés ici depuis une dizaine d'années. Je n'ai pas bien compris leur mission, si ce n'est de témoigner d'une présence catholique et d'assister les quelques catholiques qui vivent ici. Je me suis interrogée sur ces catholiques russes de Sibérie et je reconstitue progressivement des épisodes de leur histoire. Il y a par exemple des descendants de Polonais qui furent envoyés en Sibérie en représailles à leur révolte au dix-neuvième siècle contre le gouvernement russe alors que la Pologne était sous autorité russe; il y a aussi des descendants d'Allemands qui eux étaient à l'origine installés au Nord-Ouest de la Russie, du côté de Petersbourg, et ceux invités, au XVIIIème siècle, par la tsarine Catherine à s'installer dans la région de la Volga. Près de Saratov, ils atteignirent à la fin du XIXème siècle le nombre impressionnant de 1,5 million. Dans les années vingt, ils eurent même une République autonome allemande, mais ils furent envoyés en Sibérie lors de la seconde guerre mondiale, bien évidemment on se défiait d'eux. La République disparut et ils restèrent dans des camps de travail jusqu'à la mort de Staline. Quand ils furent libérés, ils ne furent pas autorisés à retourner dans leurs anciens villages et restèrent en Sibérie. Ils ne parlent plus l'allemand, sont totalement russifiés mais des accords spéciaux avec l'Allemagne leur permettent désormais d'émigrer là-bas s'ils le souhaitent. Ce qui explique la présence d'un consulat allemand à Novossibirsk alors qu'il n'y a pas de consulat français ou anglais par exemple, et aussi la forte présence des entreprises allemandes. Il paraît que certains partent en Allemagne et s'intègrent bien, d'autres n'arrivent pas à apprendre l'allemand correctement, à s'habituer à la vie en Europe occidentale et reviennent après quelque temps. Dimanche dernier, pour la Pentecôte, nous avons partagé un gâteau avec cette quinzaine de catholiques. Les deux prêtres ont tout de suite sympathisé avec Paul et nous nous sommes promis de partager un bon plat de pâtes italiennes à la rentrée.

Pour parler de tout autre chose, nous avons eu la chance, pour notre première année d'assister à une représentation de l'opéra de Borodine, *Igor*, inspiré de l'épopée sur laquelle Paul travaille. C'était aussi une occasion de visiter l'Opéra de Novossibirsk, le plus grand de Russie. Belle salle, public très attentif, des familles et beaucoup d'enfants, la salle était comble pour cet opéra national qui n'avait pas été mis en scène ici depuis longtemps. Beaucoup de chanteurs, de beaux tableaux d'ensemble bien que les décors fussent trop modernes à notre goût. La musique était superbe, les voix impressionnantes pour moi qui ne suis pas très familière de l'opéra. Paul était vraiment heureux de voir vivre sous ses yeux cette histoire dont il est tout rempli depuis des mois et bien sûr cela stimule sa réflexion. Pour moi aussi c'était un bel événement, j'ai aimé le mélange des cultures russes et turques qui témoigne bien de la complexité de ce que nous nommons Russie, cette histoire étonnante qui construit une épopée sur la défaite plutôt que sur la victoire. Les habitants de Novossibirsk sont très fiers de cette nouvelle production, car s'ils ont une des plus belles salles de Russie, le budget ne leur permet pas toujours des spectacles aussi ambitieux et prestigieux qu'à Petersbourg au théâtre Marinski, par exemple.

Après les premiers mois, la surprise et l'émerveillement d'une vie nouvelle, le temps a vite passé, nous sommes comme chacun dans le quotidien du travail, en ce moment les derniers examens, la perspective

d'un petit voyage dans l'Altai où nous espérons échapper à la pluie... Pourtant, l'empreinte de ce lieu unique marque ce temps de vie. Les rigueurs du climat comme une plus grande intimité nous donnent l'impression de vivre chaque journée avec plus d'attention, plus d'intensité. Nous avons accueilli avec bonheur la nouvelle que l'université acceptait de renouveler notre contrat de travail, nous aurions été malheureux de devoir partir après un an.

Nous vous souhaitons à tous une bonne continuation, peut-être de prochaines vacances, dans l'attente de vous revoir.

Françoise

Sur *Guerre et Paix*, Livre Deuxième,**deuxième partie, chapitre 21**

De ces centaines de pages de *Guerre et Paix*, une scène reste particulièrement savoureuse à mes yeux : la remise de la légion d'honneur au soldat russe par Napoléon. Combien Tolstoï a dû s'amuser à l'écrire. Et combien je me réjouis en la relisant. Son efficacité et son humour tiennent au paradoxe de planter un décor absolument conventionnel, une revue des troupes dans un contexte de guerre hautement dramatique. Cadre solennel, chaque soldat figé dans sa pose dans le grand tableau cérémoniel où les deux empereurs, Alexandre et Napoléon entrent en scène, moment historique d'une paix précaire, comme un grand tableau de peinture du XIX^{ème} siècle, terriblement ennuyeux. Notre auteur va progressivement en faire écailler la peinture desséchée, l'animer d'une énergie dévastatrice qui en fera exsuder et dégouliner les couleurs jusqu'à créer une confusion, un mélange des tons et une totale, joyeuse, si vivante dérision. Pour moi, ce que j'ai perçu de plus subtil de l'âme russe, je le trouve là dans sa quintessence, cette mise en place du grotesque comme une machine de guerre narrative visant à dévoiler la puissance et la nécessité des rituels de la société, faisant fi d'humanité et de vraie justice, privilégiant des images emblématiques, qui ne satisfont personne mais qu'on accepte avec résignation.

Napoléon et Alexandre sont tenus de donner à l'armée et au peuple russe la représentation de leur nouvelle entente, de leur accord politique, ni l'un ni l'autre trop à l'aise. Comment justifier aux yeux des soldats et du peuple ce revirement qui fait de l'ennemi d'hier, cause de tant de morts et de blessés, le complice d'aujourd'hui ? C'est alors que Tolstoï nous décrit ce geste emblématique qui concentre l'ensemble de la situation et de la relation des deux pays à ce moment. Géniale et inattendue décision de l'empereur français de récompenser un soldat russe en le gratifiant de la Légion d'Honneur. Embarras de l'empereur Alexandre : dans cette mise en scène que constitue la revue des troupes, l'attribution de la décoration n'était pas au programme. A qui la donner ? L'empereur repasse la patate chaude au commandant du bataillon devant lequel a lieu la rencontre. Et l'on peut deviner la colère intérieure, le profond agacement d'Alexandre quand il "sourit aimablement". Incertitude. Moment flottant où l'on peut craindre un infime dérèglement de la cérémonie. Son bon déroulement est garant de la stabilité même du pouvoir, il faut donc trouver très vite le quidam sur la poitrine de qui il convient de déposer la croix accrochée à son ruban rouge. Ce sera le premier soldat de la rangée. Difficile moment pour lui, qui non prévenu, est appelé, et sorti de son rang après avoir avancé de deux pas, se demande bien ce qu'il doit faire pour satisfaire leurs Majestés et tenir avec dignité son rôle. Dans un long supplice, les yeux rivés sur son Souverain, il attend. La vraie récompense viendra pour lui quelques heures plus tard : héros du jour, fêté, envié par tous ces camarades et pensionné à vie.

En filigrane, la cruelle question de Tolstoï ; quel a été son mérite pour cette décoration ou le démerite de quelque autre, par exemple ce Capitaine Denissov mis en procès pour avoir dérogé au règlement par un sens un peu trop aigu de la responsabilité envers ses hommes et qui sera dégradé. L'un monte et l'autre descend, indépendamment de leur valeur personnelle, ils ne sont que des images d'une société qui a nécessairement raison, loue ou sacrifie au gré des circonstances. Mélange de naïveté et de sincérité patriotique du soldat russe, de Tolstoï lui-même et de farce corrosive, grand rire de la dérision qui réduit d'un coup à néant le socle des valeurs qui justifient la présence de tous les personnages en cette scène. Juxtaposition du respect des normes sociales et lucidité des individus sur la vanité, le ridicule de ces dites normes, la totale non coïncidence entre quelque réalité et l'image offerte qui serait restituée par le pinceau du peintre officiel du palais ou aujourd'hui par le photographe saisissant en un cliché l'instant le plus "significatif" où le courage et le mérite de l'insignifiant soldat, choisi parce qu'il se tenait en bout de ligne, sont récompensés par l'empereur, qui pas un seul instant ne porte sur lui son regard, l'existence du soldat se réduit à un pur prétexte.

Question : ce geste de Napoléon est-il historiquement attesté ? Lazarev, car il a un nom ce brave soldat décoré, exista-t-il vraiment ou est-il sorti de l'imagination de Tolstoï ?

Prochain départ ...

Où en suis-je de ma relation à la Russie, tellement transformée depuis trois ans, depuis le moment où j'ai posé le pied sur cette terre dont j'ignorais alors à peu près tout. Je sais maintenant que mon regard sur la Russie et les Russes continuera à évoluer. La Russie est désormais ancrée en moi comme un point affectif fort. J'aime l'appel de sa terre noire et puissante, j'aime ses eaux abondantes, la Volga et le Baïkal, j'aime la cuisine de son terroir. J'aime la puissance imaginative et expansive, parfois la folie de l' « âme russe ». J'aime ses opéras, sa littérature, son cinéma. J'aime ses églises et ses icônes, tant de découvertes faites au hasard de mes pérégrinations.

Là, comme jamais depuis longtemps, je me suis épanouie dans mon métier d'enseignante ; merci pour ce beau cadeau à tous les élèves et étudiants russes rencontrés.

Bien sûr je ne veux pas dessiner une image idéalisée pour « vendre » la Russie, je n'y ai aucun intérêt. Simplement, je choisis de garder dans ma mémoire et mon cœur ce qui de la Russie m'aura enrichie, j'oriente mon esprit vers ce qui m'a étonnée et ravie. D'autres se chargent à longueur d'articles et de reportages de nous présenter le visage sombre et déprimant de ce pays, moi je contemple un paysage de Repine et j'affirme : la Russie n'a rien de déprimant, c'est une terre douée d'une puissance créatrice renversante, les Tolstoï, Chostakovitch, Tarkovski et autres génies ne sont pas des fantômes du passé, aujourd'hui combien de créateurs continuent à questionner ce grand corps souffrant mais qui vit, qui vit ... Certainement que l'omniprésence de la forêt, les longues traversées de la taïga en Transsibérien, l'immensité dans laquelle je me suis sentie immergée y sont pour quelque chose. Les Russes vivent la nature, la connaissent et s'y ressource tout « naturellement ».

Ce séjour de trois ans est un cadeau pour moi. Apaisant. Qui m'aura donné le désir de vivre plus près de la terre, plus à l'écoute de ses forces puissantes. Un séjour qui m'aura ramenée avec simplicité à l'essentiel, dans la banalité d'un quotidien partagé avec les hommes et les femmes de Sibérie. Ce matin, j'allais à l'université et je regardais cette belle allée forestière où le soleil commençait tout juste à répandre sa lumière dans le feuillage renaissant de ce printemps, toujours tardif en Sibérie. Les oiseaux s'en donnaient à cœur joie, se répondaient dans la diversité et la multiplicité de leurs cris, semblaient s'amuser et lancer un alléluia joyeux, cantique que l'oreille de tant de saints ou de pèlerins captèrent dans leur marche journalière, et moi, sur ce chemin devenu familier, je me disais : je ne souhaite rien d'autre que cette banalité-là, pas d'autre quotidien que la traversée matinale de ce coin de forêt, où mon regard cherche la nouveauté du matin, quelques bourgeons apparus, les feuilles naissantes, et le parfum odorant des épicéas que j'emporte dans ma salle de cours et qui apporte son précieux bouquet à une journée si ordinaire.

MIRABILE, Françoise: Siberian Lights

Mrs. Françoise Mirabile has recorded her three year sojourn in Siberia in the form of twelve E-Mails sent to her friends and acquaintances in Europe, which expose her personal experiences and visions whilst living and working amongst the Russian people; visions interspersed with eight critical commentaries on Russian literature, cinema, culinary art, Birch tree culture and icon-painting.

Nothing is dissimulated. Nothing is sugar-coated. All the joys and hardships of daily life in Siberia and in European Russia at the Alliance Française of Novosibirsk or at the University of Academgorodok are expounded as well as her travels throughout Russia both in winter and in summer: her meetings with Russians of all classes and walks of life, with foreigners either living in Russia or touring, her astonishment and marvel at the awe-inspiring ice-crested Pine trees of Siberian forests at forty degrees below zero, at the glistening bluish ice of Lake Baïkal in December or verdant green banks in June, at the sandy banks of the Volga en route to Astrakhan, at the colourful striped domes of Suzdal's and Vladimir's churches and at the icon-makers busy in their adjacent workshops...

Interpolating her E-Mails with observations, critiques and comments, the author has thus created a nice alternating admixture of the personal and the academic that certainly sums up and defines her penetration of the Russian soul, experienced under and within the myriad tints and hues of the lights of Siberia...

The unabridged version, including many photos, is published as a supplement to this issue. — Ed.



BOOK REVIEW

FARKAS, Flórián

European Affairs

The following three books will be reviewed here:

1. Edith Oltay: *Fidesz and the reinvention of the Hungarian Center-Right*
2. Igor Janke: *Napastnik / Hajrá, magyarok!*
3. Rinus van Schendelen: *The Art of Lobbying the EU*

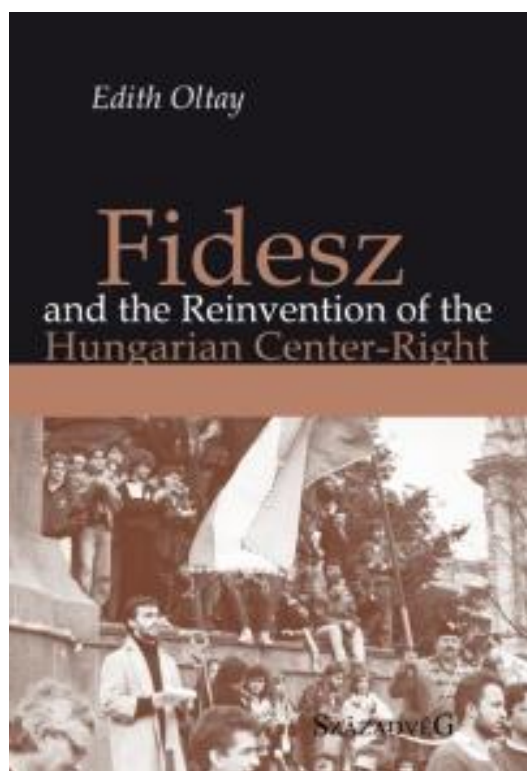
Fidesz and Viktor Orbán

Between 2002 and 2010 a socialist-liberal coalition governed Hungary. Especially in the period 2002-2006 they so grossly mismanaged the economy in particular and the whole country in general that Hungary was extremely weakened when the global financial crisis broke out. Only a quick 20 billion euro IMF loan in 2009 could save Hungary from a financial meltdown.

As a consequence, in the parliamentary elections of 2010 the Hungarian electorate gave an unprecedented 2/3 majority to the center-right Fidesz and its charismatic party-chairman Viktor Orbán. The new cabinet performed a wholesale reform of not just the economy, but also of the juridical, economic and social structure of Hungary in order to stabilize the country and to prevent a future mismanagement similar to the 2002-2010 period.

In this process the Hungarian government had no other choice than to confront the interests of powerful (international) economic groups and the world-view of the pan-European socialist and liberal parties. These formations launched from 2011 on an unprecedented media blitz against the Hungarian government in general and Viktor Orbán in particular that shunned even the media blitz against Austria more than 10 years before. These attacks were bordering the surreal most of the time. It is no wonder that a great part of the general European public has a caricatured view of the situation in Hungary and the politics of Fidesz as a consequence of this media blitz.

In 2013 two books were published for the international audience that provide an objective overview of the party itself and a portrait of its chairman. Below we review these two books.



Author: Edith Oltay

Title: Fidesz and the Reinvention of the Hungarian Center-Right

Publisher: Századvég Kiadó
(www.szazadveg.hu/en/)

Year of publishing: 2013

Language: English

Number of pages:260

ISBN: 978 615 5164 040

The author, Edith Oltay, was educated in the US and at the University of Bonn in Germany where she received her M.A. in political science. Born in Hungary, Oltay focused on her native country as an analyst of the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty research institute where she prepared analyses and studies about trends in Hungary with emphasis on the political system, media, minorities, civil society, and state-church relations. She published articles about Hungarian political developments in Austrian and German newspapers as well as journals. Throughout the years the Hungarian party system became Oltay's major field of research with special attention to new parties established in the wake of the democratic transformation.

The volume '*FIDESZ and the Reinvention of the Hungarian Center-Right*' is not only a scientific analysis of the history of Fidesz but also of the whole party system since the democratic transformation (roughly since 1988-1989). In order to understand the advent of Fidesz, an introductory chapter presents an overview of the legacy of the communist system (Kádár era). During the turbulent years of 1988-1989 several historical parties arose from ashes and also several completely new formations appeared on the scene. Among them the most lasting one is Fidesz. It was formally founded on 30 March 1988 as a political youth organization by 37 university and college students and graduates. It was the only political formation of that time, which was completely free of any communist legacy. The founding core consisted of politically motivated students who prepared themselves for political activism in a special college in Budapest called 'Bibó Kollégium'.

The following chapters analyze the party's evolution and its role in the Hungarian political arena, breaking the period 1988-2010 into four, well-defined stages. Between 1988 and 1993 the party's orientation was characterized as liberal, radical, non-negotiable anti-communism, and as such it was a real opposition party during the reign of the first democratically elected center-right coalition government of József Antall. Probably the most important decision of this time, and this is where the role of Orbán became prominent, was to withstand the pressure to become the junior partner of SZDSZ, a new liberal party founded mostly by the children and relatives of the communist nomenclature. This party is held responsible for sabotaging the regime change, preventing a cleanup of the political nomenclature, of the media and other state institutions.

This stand for independence was highly rewarded after the 1994 parliamentary elections, when despite an absolute majority of the former communist party, who rebranded themselves as the Hungarian Socialist Party, the SZDSZ entered into coalition with them. This was seen by many as a major treachery, because SZDSZ maintained up until that time a radical anti-communist stance in their communication and with their move uplifted the political cordon sanitaire around the ex-communists.

In the period 1994-1998 the party began its major reorientation, under the firm leadership of Orbán. It became obvious that a fragmented political right cannot compete with a highly organized ex-communist party. Therefore the orientation became national liberal, conservative and a party structure underwent also a major change towards centralization.

This reorientation bear fruits in the 1998 election, which the Fidesz won, though it needed coalition partners in order to govern. The Fidesz government's years, 1998-2002, witnessed a further shift towards national conservatism, further centralization in the party structure. The government itself performed a program that was more than a change of government but was less than a regime change, since the coalition did not have a 2/3 majority.

In the same time, this period revealed a great weakness of Fidesz, namely its lack of nation-wide basic organizations. This fact backfired in the 2002 elections, when the ex-communists returned to power and began their 8 years long mismanagement of the country. The loss of the 2002 elections was probably the most profound turning-point in the history of Fidesz. Its orientation was fully converted to a right-wing people's party, which was achieved by expanding the social base via mass mobilization. The party structure was altered accordingly; civic circles were initiated nation-wide, and a very broad civic alliance was created.

These changes were necessary for the 2/3 majority win in the 2010 parliamentary elections, though the socialist-liberal mismanagement between 2002 and 2010 played a significant role too.

The volume '*FIDESZ and the Reinvention of the Hungarian Center-Right*' is a fascinating book, clearly presented through this framework and scientifically argued. For the international audience it is a valuable source since getting objective information from Hungary is still problematic due to language barriers and a still existing quasi monopoly of the ex-communist/liberal intelligentsia. This book explains why Fidesz could win in 2010 so overwhelmingly and why is this party-alliance the most powerful center-right political entity in Eastern and Central Europe, following a non-ideological, pragmatic course, combining center-right and center-left policies.



Author: Igor Janke

Title: Napastnik

— Opowieść o Viktorze Orbánie —

Publisher: Demart SA (www.demart.com.pl)

Year of publishing: 2012

Language: Polish

Number of pages: 300

ISBN: 978-83-7427-812-6



Author: Igor Janke

Title: Hajrá, Magyarok! — Az Orbán Viktor sztory egy lengyel újságíró szemével —

Publisher: Rézbong Kiadó — Aeramentum Könyvek (www.rezbong.hu www.aeramentum.hu)

Year of publishing: 2013

Language: Hungarian

Number of pages: 330

ISBN: 978-963-08-6617-0

The author, Igor Janke, was born in 1967 and he is a Polish journalist and publicist. Currently he is the chairman of the independent think tank *Instytut Wolności* (Liberty Institute) and the leader of the political blog-portal Salon 24.pl. Previously he was with the Polish news agency PAP as editor-in-chief, then with the daily newspaper Rzeczpospolita as chief publicist. He also worked for the Polish Section of the BBC. Igor Janke is the author of several hundred reports, analyses, and interviews. His book about Viktor Orbán became a best-seller in Poland. After its success in Poland in 2012, the book was published in Hungary in 2013.

Due to the fact that the history of Fidesz and the political career of Viktor Orbán are inseparable, the volume *'Napastnik – Opowieść o Viktorze Orbánie'* (in Polish), *'Hajrá, Magyarok! – Az Orbán Viktor sztory egy lengyel újságíró szemével'* (in Hungarian) has a similar structure to that of Edith Oltay's, chronologically at least. It is an excellent complementary volume because it provides an insight into the personality of Viktor Orbán, while maintaining the main narrative.

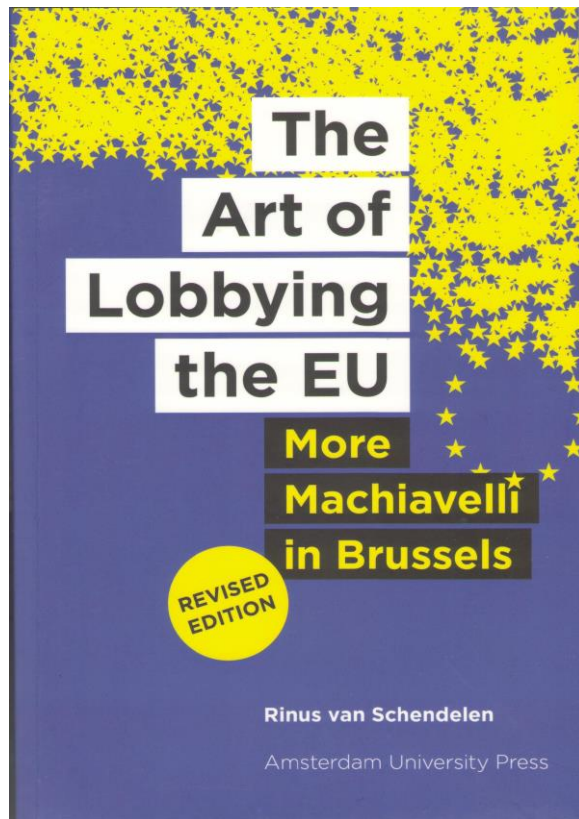
The book logically contains additional information on Hungarian history, culture, mentality, which would be superfluous for a Hungarian audience, but the author wrote this book for the Polish audience. The volume was written after several interviews and sessions with Viktor Orbán himself, interviews with colleagues, close associates, friends, political adversaries, former partners, etc. It was written by someone who has great experience in politics and political journalism. Its style is analytical on the one hand and informal on the other. A great reading, especially after one has gone through the book of Edith Oltay.

From the personal life of Viktor Orbán we learn why his most favorite movie is *'Once Upon a Time in the West'*, why is he such a soccer enthusiast (as a private person he is a driving force behind reviving the Hungarian football), why is he so much focused in his career and on the other hand such a caring spouse, father and a 'jolly good fellow'.

It is no wonder that the book became a best-seller and the readers of the Polish weekly *Gazeta Polska* voted Viktor Orbán as *'Man of the Year 2013'*. You can love him or hate him, one thing is for sure: he is far above all the European political grey mice figures.

It would be a great win for the European general public to have an English translation (and possible others as well) of this volume.

The Art of Lobbying the EU



Author: Rinus van Schendelen

Title: The Art of Lobbying the EU

— More Machiavelli in Brussels —

Publisher: Amsterdam University Press

Year of publishing: 2013

Language: English

Number of pages: 387

ISBN: 978 90 8964 468 8

The author, Rinus van Schendelen, is professor of Political science at Erasmus University, Rotterdam, the Netherlands, a member of PA practitioner's groups and an advisor to interest groups in the EU.

In 2013 the fourth, fully updated and revised edition of this book appeared, published again by Amsterdam University Press. The first edition appeared in 2002 and in the meantime Czech, Polish, Bulgarian, and German translations of the book were also published. This on its own proves the value of this volume.

The book's greatest value comes from the fact that it aims at combining two objectives: firstly, to synthesize the theoretical knowledge of how interest groups can influence public authorities, and secondly, applying this knowledge in the case of the European Union. Thus the book is a first-rate navigator in Public Affairs Management (PAM) in general and its application to the EU in particular.

Several factors necessitated the revision of the volume. The most important ones are the increase of EU-competences due to the Treaty of Lisbon, and the enlargement of the EU from 15 to 27 member states.

Chapter 1 – The Europeanization of Public Affairs provides a brilliant example of how a theoretical framework can be presented using an appropriate example. In this case, the major building blocks of the Public Affairs Management field are sketched using the EU as an example.

Chapter 2 – The Playing-field: EU Common Decision-making the in and outs of the decision-making process is examined. This chapter provides answers to the key question: *How does the EU work?*

Chapter 3 – Pushing the Bottoms of ‘Brussels’ explores the possibilities and playing room for the interest groups that the EU offers. Also included are the lobbying patterns of the different member states of the EU, i.e. the five old larger countries, the ten old smaller countries and the twelve new Central and Eastern-European countries.

Chapter 4 – Getting Grip on an EU Arena examines the process of defining a lobbying strategy, including the selection of the lobbying arena. In this chapter the main characteristics of the volume come to the fore, namely an excellent combination of theoretical knowledge with ready to use practical information.

Chapter 5 – Managing the Home Front deals with the issues of how to best organize the lobbying organization in order to achieve success in the EU.

Chapter 6 – Managing the EU Fieldwork is the culmination of the previous chapters wherein the final link is established on how to execute the chosen strategy, with the built organization on the selected targets within the EU. Early, late and continual activities are also discussed next to an all-encompassing deliberation on timing.

Chapter 7 – The Limits of EU Public Affairs Management examines the different components of the limits at both the sender and the receiver side.

Chapter 8 – Public Affairs, Lobbying and EU Democracy is on the one hand a general reflection on the workings of democracy within the EU and on the other hand a practical examination of how it works in reality. The positive and negative effects of Public Affairs Management in the EU are considered together with correction mechanisms.

Every chapter is introduced by a well-chosen quote from Machiavelli's *Discorsi*, probably one of the most influential (and less known) books in the area of political science. These and the overall handling of the subject throughout the book make it (and keep it) an indispensable source for every PA practitioner and the general public interested in the Public Affairs Management of the EU. A real milestone!



OUR AUTHORS

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Dr. Ananyeva holds a Ph.D. degree in philological sciences; she is Professor, and Head of Department of Analytics and Foreign Literary Connections of M.O.Auezov Institute of Literature and Art, Ministry of Education and Science. In 1980 she graduated with honors from Cherkask State Pedagogical Institute named after the 300th anniversary of unification of Ukraine and Russia, in 1985 as a post-graduate student of M.O.Auezov Institute of Literature and Art. In 1986 she defended her thesis «Modern Russian novel in Kazakhstan (Issues of poetics)». She was awarded the State Award of Russian Federation «Medal of Pushkin» (Moscow, 2013). Joint monograph «Modern Foreign Literature» under her editorship won the International Competition for the best scientific publishing project «Scientific Book-2012» in the category «Social Sciences» of the International Association of Academies of Sciences of the CIS (Moscow). The countless monographs and research works of Dr. Ananyeva were highly praised in Russian, Kazakh, and European newspapers and journals. Next to that she is member of editorial boards of several journals.

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2004: graduated from Altai State University (Barnaul), specialty “History, International Relations”, had linguistic practice in the Informational Center of Science and Technology Institute of Xinjiang Department of the Chinese Academy of Sciences (Urumqi City, China) as translator.

2005-2007: worked in Khovd (Mongolia) as a teacher of Russian and gathered material for dissertation.

2008-2010, 2011-20013: took part in joint Russian–Mongolia grant projects on researching cultural collaboration between Russia and Mongolia.

Since 2007 she is teacher of Chinese, Russian (for foreign students) and History of Arts at the Altai State Technical University (Barnaul).

2011: Candidate of Philosophy; author of 21 scientific articles and 4 collective monographs.

FARKAS, Flórián

Mr. Farkas was born in 1967 in Kolozsvár/Cluj/Klausenburg. He holds a M.Sc. degree from Technical University of Budapest, Hungary and Ecole Normale Supérieure de Cachan, France and an MBA degree from Henley Management College, UK. Since 1992 he is living in the Netherlands. He cofounded the Foundation Mikes International in 2001 in The Hague, the Netherlands.

KISAMOV, Norm

Born and educated in Moldova, Mr. Kisamov spent a 40-year career as an industrial automation engineer. He emigrated from Russia to the USA in 1978, when the USA patronized immigration of educated people from Russia. For the last 15 years, he was the webmaster of the site <http://turkicworld.org>, which serves as a non-commercial, educational publishing outlet for the Turkologists who could not propagate their studies in Russia and whose works were unknown to the Western world. He has translated a number of Turkological books to English, most of them were posted at that site, a few were published in Russia, in post-Soviet countries, and one was supposed to be published in Germany. Mr. Kisamov was assisting the writers as a volunteer. In his 15 years of working with various aspects of Turkology, he has amassed a significant collection of Turkisms cited by various authors, who were pointing out Turkisms in English and/or Germanic languages. Tracing and verifying etymologies of the cited lexemes, he encountered numerous other cognates, which led him to assemble a draft of the article that is published abridged in this issue, and unabridged as Supplement. By that time, the volume of the lexicon far exceeded accepted criteria formulated to discern random borrowings from genetic kinship. Mr. Kisamov is not a linguist, nor does he pretend to be a scholar. However, with some kind help from the sites contributors, he was able to systemize and organize his collection, and prepare etymological comments. His interest in Turkic history arose quite accidentally, but it quickly riveted him, he was growing into it for the last 25 years, and still, after a quarter century of reading and translating, he has only scratched the surface. Previously, he has authored a couple of articles on Turkological subjects related to the Scythian history.

MAKHDUMI, M. Rafiuddin

Dr. M Rafiuddin Makhdumi is head of the Mongolian Studies in the Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir. He has the research experience of more than two decades. He has attended 40 national and international conferences and seminars and has to his credit more than two dozen research papers, which have been published in national and international journals and proceedings. In 1993 he was awarded fellowship by the Mongolian government. He has travelled to Hong Kong, China, Mongolia and in 2007 he made extensive field study in Kazakhstan for a project assigned by the University of Kashmir. In November 2012, he was invited by the Foreign Ministry of Mongolia and Mongolian Academy of Sciences to attend the International Conference on "Chinggis Khan and the Globalization". More recently on 2nd July

2013, Dr. Makhdumi has been entrusted by the President of the Centre for the Military and Strategic Research, Astana, Kazakhstan, Dr. Bakytzhan Abdiraym, to make the necessary beautification to the tomb of Mirza Haidar Daughlat, a 16th century Kazakh ruler of Kashmir, who ruled Kashmir from 1540-1550 A.D.

MIRABILE, Françoise

Graduated from the University of Vincennes-Saint-Denis, Paris VIII, where she obtained her Master's Degree in Modern French Literature, and from INALCO (Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilisations) in Hebrew language and civilisation, Mrs Mirabile has worked in high schools and universities in Istanbul, South India, China and in Siberia, where she has taught French as a maternal and foreign language, French literature and Latin. She also participates in inter-religious associations, notably Jewish and Christian, and gives conferences and contributes articles concerning Jewish-Christian dialogue. Mrs Mirabile is at present teaching in Istanbul.

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MURAKEÖZY, Éva Patrícia

Born in 1971, Budapest, Hungary. Received her diploma (M.Sc.) in Agricultural Sciences and her Doctorate (Ph.D.) in Plant Physiology, in 1995 and 2001, respectively, both from the Szent István University of Gödöllő, Hungary. In 2003 she graduated as an engineer in Plant Protection at the University of Veszprém, Hungary and worked for the Hungarian Plant and Soil Protection Service. Between 2004 and 2005 she worked as a postdoctoral student at the Technopôle Brest-Iroise in Brest, France. She is specialized in the physiology and molecular biology of halophyte plants. Between 2007 and 2012 she studied fine arts at the Academy of Fine Arts of The Hague, The Netherlands until her graduation in 2012. Her special field of interest is the artistic depiction of organic growth processes.

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Mr. Namatov was born in Kyrgyzstan and received his M.A. degree in Kyrgyz and other Central Asian Languages and Culture at the Kyrgyz State University, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan in 1995. Then he earned a Ph.D. degree in Cultural Anthropology (Middle East and Central Asian) at the Aegean University in Izmir, Turkey in 2002. In 2009 Mr. Namatov earned a second Ph.D. degree at Hannover University, Department of Sociology (Social Anthropology). Between 2003 and 2006 he was lecturer and visiting scholar at Frankfurt University, Department of Middle East Studies and between 2006 and 2008 he was member of a research project at the University of Hamburg, Institute of Asia and Africa. Mr. Namatov is currently with the Department of Sociology (Social Anthropology) at Hannover University. His language skills cover Kyrgyz, Dari, Uzbek, Turkish, Russian, English and German.

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Ms. Namatova earned a BA degree (1989-1993) from the Kyrgyz State High College of Cooperation Trade, Bishkek, Kyrgyz Republic, an MBA degree (1996-1999) from the Dokuz Eylül University, Dept. of Business Administration, Izmir, Turkey then a PhD degree (1999-2005) from the same university. This was followed by a Postdoc program at the Nuremberg-Erlangen University, Institute of Middle East Economic Studies in 2005, Nuremberg, Germany. Between 2005 and 2011 she worked at the Kyrgyz-Turkish University "Manas", Faculty of Communications, Public Relations Department. Since 2011 she is teaching at the Canakkale 18 Mart University, Biga, Turkey.

NAGY, Ildikó

Economist and sociologist, freelance researcher. Between 1996 and 2004 she worked as research-fellow at TÁRKI in Budapest. In 2004 she completed her Ph.D. thesis at the Budapest University of Economics and Public Administration (today Corvinus University of Budapest). Between 2001 and 2009 she was the co-editor of the report series "*Changing Roles. Report on the situation of women and men in Hungary*" and between 1998 and 2011 she was a project editor of the *Social Report* series of TÁRKI.

SHEIKH, Ab. Hamid

Mr. Sheikh has completed his M.Phil Degree in History from the Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir and is pursuing his Ph.D. studies at the same University. He has Qualified National Eligibility Test for lectureship in History conducted by University Grants Commission, India in 2012. He is working on the revival of Silk Route and has three international papers to his credit.

SHISHIN, Mikhail Yurievich

1987: Graduated from the Ural State University (Sverdlovsk City), specialty "History of Arts".

1980-1989: researcher in Altai State Museum of Fine Arts.

1990-2005: vice-chancellor at Altai State Academy of Culture and Arts.

2004: Doctor of Philosophy, Professor.

Since 2005: head of UNESCO Department of Altai State Technical University.

In 2005-2007, 2008-2010, 2011-20013 he took part in joint Russian–Mongolia grant projects on researching cultural collaboration between Russia and Mongolia.

Author of 15 monographs (including collective works) and 156 scientific articles.

VERMAN, Sanghamitra Rai

Dr. Verman is a Senior Research and Teaching Associate (History), School of Social Sciences, Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU), New Delhi, India. She received a Ph.D. degree in History at Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU), New Delhi; the topic of her thesis was '*Textiles in Ancient India: Crafts, Designs and Motifs (Indus Valley to Guptas)*'. Her prior qualifications include: Master of Arts degree (MA) in History with 1st. Class from Jadavpur University, Kolkata, India. Bachelor of Arts degree (BA) with History Honours from Jadavpur University, Kolkata, India. Bachelor of Education degree (B.Ed).