Четвертая междуна-родная конференция

*ИЕРАРХИЯ
И ВЛАСТЬ В
ИСТОРИИ
ЦИВИЛИЗАЦИЙ*

*(Москва,
13 – 16 июня 2006 г.)*

Тезисы докладов

Fourth International Conference

*HIERARCHY
AND POWER
IN THE HISTORY
OF CIVILIZATIONS*

*(Moscow,
June13 – 16, 2006)*

Abstracts

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**РОССИЙСКИЙ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ
ГУМАНИТАРНЫЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ**
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PANEL I

Anthropology of Europe: The Limits of Political Centralization

<u>Convenors</u>: *Petr Skalník* (Univerzita Pardubice, Czech Republic); *Andrés Barrera-González* (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain)

The panel addresses the anthropological dimensions of European integration and unification. Will the identities of each composite part and those common for the whole of Europe compete or coalesce? What is the socio-cultural character of the centre in Brussels and how does the periphery feel about the relationship between itself and the centre? Against the ethnographic data participants will seek answers to these and other questions about the extent to which political centralisation is acceptable for European societies, so long existing as nation-states. Among the premises which should be placed under scrutiny, confirmed or disproved are the following: 1) as the governmental drive towards integration and unification strengthens, various centrifugal forces get stronger as well; 2) the original European Union of consensus is ever more problematic as the number of participating states increases; 3) the contrasts of culture combine with economic differences, and therefore a serious danger of a 'two-speed' process of integration in Europe threatens the very functioning of the supra-national institutions; 4) the more complex communication among countries and regions becomes, the more independently and lacking of effective controls bureaucracies behave in centres such as Brussels or Strasbourg. Documents such as the European Constitution are too complex to be understandable to ordinary citizens. Both politicians and ordinary citizens have to face the issue of further expansion of the EU towards the East, which seems to display serious cultural challenges (Turkey, Ukraine, Croatia, Georgia, etc.). Increasing realisation of differences in political culture, which include election behaviour, attitudes toward authorities, populism and charisma, and a host of other features, make the need to analyse the potential for amalgamation and emergence of all-European values and attitudes ever more pressing. Anthropologists, whose main arena of research is among the grass-roots, can contribute considerably to a better understanding of a quickly changing Europe.

Hana Novotná (Univerzita Hradec Králové and Univerzita Pardubice, Czech Republic)
An Anthropologist´s View of Filming in a Local Community

Between 2002 – 2004, the village community of Dolní Roveň (DR) in eastern Bohemia (Czech Republic) became a focus of a three-year anthropological and sociological restudy called „*Dolní Roveň: Social Anthropology and Sociology of a Czech Commune at the Turn of the Third Millenium.*" The selection of the site for filming has been determined by opportunity as it is commonplace in anthropology. The practicality is underlined by the previous sociological research going back to the 1930s and the recent restudy of the village. DR, exposed to a continuing transformation from a peasant-type society, into a modern semi-autonomous social formation, is anything than a self-contained social unit. The NM2 (New Media for a New Millennium) documentary is based upon existing ethnographic fieldwork. However, the influence is far from being straightforward: the experiment alters the traditional ethnographic account and thus different approaches and procedures of the representation of reality arise. There are three levels of representation: that of the ´native point of view´, the anthropologists´ and that of the film makers. Any cross-cultural dialogue and cultural transmission cannot take place without mediation or interpretation. An anthropologist emerges as a mediator between the film maker and the ´natives.´ The documentary video based upon anthropological fieldwork retains different perspectives on cultural reality. The representation of multiple voices results from the assumption of culture as alterable and contestable that enables the registering of different points of view. The researchers operate both within and beyond anthropology striving for novel ways of representation and expanding the existing boundaries. The ´marriage´ between anthropological insight and film-making procedures is enriching as it offers to explore the multiple points of view. It is experimental in what it provokes: creativity among the viewers limited by the set of possibilities within the social reality: it is no virtual world, there are concrete people with their real narratives, real objects and genuine events.

Petr Skalník (University of Pardubice, Czech Republic)
Vladivostok is in Europe –
at Least One Czech Anthropologist Thinks So (A Contribution to the
Discussion where Russia Belongs in the Open World of Today)

At least two great Czechs contributed to the age-old discussion of whether Russia belongs to Europe or not. The philosopher and founder of Czechoslovakia Tomáš G. Masaryk wrote three volumes of his *Russia and Europe* trying to come to grips with this question. Milan Kundera, the famous living author, now based in France, argued for the place of his native Czechoslovakia among western nations by excluding Russia from the West (and thereby Europe). European Union thus far rejects the idea of Russia being an integral part of Europe and therefore a logical candidate for EU membership. As a political anthropologist I take issue with various pro and con positions by discussing political, social and cultural facts which attest to the important place Russia occupies as a historically formed outpost of Europe towards Asia. Without joining the cultural circle school of Samuel Huntington and his likes, or adhering to naive Slavophilism, I argue for recognition of scholarly data which show that Europe as a sociopolitical initiative has no fixed boundaries, that it is high time to realise that no fortresses and walls can be erected in the open world as long it is really made and kept open.

Andrés Barrera-González (Universidad Complutense, Madrid, Spain)
The Idea and the Image of Europe among Russian Political and
Intellectual Elites

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the ideas and images of Europe and the Europeans held by political and intellectual elites in Russia throughout the last four or five centuries. I will aim at eliciting images of Europe as conveyed in the writings of intellectuals, philosophers, great novelists, and political rulers. Moreover, I will be looking at ideas and images as expressed in the plastic arts, in travel literature and cartography, in folklore and ethnographic sources. To talk about Europe and the Europeans all through the 16th to the 20th centuries, as perceived from Russia or from elsewhere, is probably rather artificial, too broad an abstraction. It would therefore be necessary to look at Russia's perceptions and idealizations about particular nations such as the French, the English, the Spanish, the Italians. Which would eventually yield a quite complex and maybe contradictory image of what Europe and the Europeans might be, from a Russian

perspective. Conversely, in looking at ideas and images of Russians about Europe or European nations, we would indirectly be amassing loads of empirical evidence on how the Russians see themselves as a nation. For group images and collective identities emerge from this kind of dialectical processes where a *We* is set against diverse *Others*. Consequently this paper would become also an exercise of interpretation about Russian collective identity over time and in different contexts. Namely, as it reflects in the mirror of Europe and the diverse European nations.

Davide Torsello (University of Lecce, Italy)
The Lesser of Two Evils Trust and Legality in Comparative Perspective:
The Cases of Southern Italy and Slovakia

Most of the scientific literature on corruption agrees on the idea that it is difficult to conceptualize what corruption means for the social and political life of a country. This assumption is based on three points. First, corruption practices are variable in space and time, i.e. there is a high degree of specificity in what citizens of a country may perceive as "corrupt" or, *vice versa*, as "standard practice". Secondly, even when common perception indexes are applied, they can hardly work to define the complexity of local conditions. This is because the role of observers studying corruption is crucial: a substantial knowledge of the local systems of values, cultural perceptions and the social practices becomes the fundamental prerequisite to read beyond numbers and figures. Third, because corruption belongs mainly to the sphere of the illegal or "black" economic and political practices which are scarcely visible, it is difficult to operationalize the notion. The paper proposes an alternative way to analyze the impact of corrupt practices on the local understanding of legality. The cases of the southern Italian regions and Slovakia are used comparatively to provide evidence on the use of the EU regional funding system. I argue that among the roads to establish trustworthy and transparent policies of economic development and integration there is room for a cultural perspective. This should look at the local understanding of trust in institutions, as well as at the tension between formal and informal conceptualizations of legality.

Terence Wright (University of Ulster, Belfast, UK)
Dolní Roveň: Visual Ethnography and Interactive Narrative

The paper offers critical discussion of narrative strategies in ethnographic film. From this standpoint, the promise, potentials and possibilities of interactive documentary media are examined. J. Hoberman, film critic for New York's 'The Village Voice', has referred to ethnographic film as 'documentary's avant-garde'. With this sentiment in mind, the paper maintains that visual ethnography should play a central role in exploring and redefining documentary practice in relation to the new media technologies. A study of narrative in ethnographic film has formed the rationale and strategy for the author's production 'Dolní Roveň': an experimental interactive ethnography based on village life in the Czech Republic. This ethnography is part of NM2 (New Media for a New Millennium): a European Union funded project which aims to create prototype production tools for the media industry. They will allow the easy production of non-linear media genres based on moving audiovisual images suitable for transmission over broadband networks. While the theoretical basis for the production is firmly situated within the discipline of visual anthropology, it makes reference to documentary film and feature film (*e.g.* the Czech New Wave of the 1960s). In addition the use of new media technologies aims to question the dividing lines applied to the existing genres of news, documentary and ethnography. At one end, the production can be viewed as a 'soft' news human interest story; at the other, it can provide an in-depth study of human life with scholarly sophistication. Indeed the three central approaches traditionally provided by the visual ethnographer: Observational – Didactic – Polemic (Paul Henley)- are now subject to the viewer's choice. Respectively the viewer can decide whether to: Watch – Listen – Hear the anthropologist's commentary explaining, guiding, informing. Access a particular point of view on a subject or issue *e.g.* threat to rural transport issues – viability of train service, village communication.

PANEL II

Cosmopolitanism, Globalism, and Nationalism:
(Un)Stable Identities in the Former Soviet Union and Former Yugoslavia

Convenor: *Ana Devic* (Aarhus University, Denmark)

This panel explores ideologies and everyday practices shaping the cosmopolitan, global and nationalist identities in the two post-socialist regions characterized by recent state breakdown and multiple state-rebuilding, and ethnonationalist violence: former Soviet Union and former Yugoslavia. Our goal is to analyze the sources and background of vigorous cosmopolitan or trans-national(ist) (or "anti-parochial") cultural associations and movements in the two areas, while also analyzing political-institutional obstacles and theoretical limitations for recognizing them as advantageous forms of group identity and association or ideological discourse. In addition to exploring forms of trans-national or cosmopolitan organizing in the realm of post-war reconciliation and literature production (among ex-Yugoslavs), we will also look at the effects of globalization in the sphere of cultural (film) industry, which continuously re-settle the "balance" between national(ist) and cosmopolitan agendas (in the former Soviet Union – in Russia and Kazakhstan). We will seek to discuss our hypotheses about the prospects of cosmopolitan or trans-national identities and networks in the European and global context.

Azra Hromadzic
(University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, USA)
Reconciliation in "Exile:" The Case Study of Reconciliation and Culture Cooperative Network (RACCOON) in New York City

The primary question of this research is: Why do people reconcile in "exile?" It is in the USA that I first became aware of the attempts of several community-based and non-governmental organizations in New York City (NYC)/USA, in Perth/Australia, and in the Netherlands to bring together ex-Yugoslavs in order to reconcile the ethnically divided population. Intrigued by these instances of reconciliation in "exile," I decided to explore this phenomenon ethnographically. The exploration of the primary question soon led to several other questions, such as: What is the "local" meaning of reconciliation? How is reconciliation done in diaspora? Who are the social actors that engage in reconciliation in disapora? Where does reconciliation

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happen and why? Inspired by these questions, I decided to conduct ethnographic research of a NYC-based non-governmental organization called Reconciliation and Culture Cooperative Network Inc., or RACCOON for short. The mission of RACCOON is reconciliation and cultural exchange among the ex-Yugoslav refugee communities (www.balkansnet.org). This is a portrayal of a non-profit community-based organization, with its own hierarchies, donors, power relations, and agency. In addition to being a portrayal of non-profit organization, this is a study of reconciliation in "exile", as it is being imagined, conceptualized and implemented by the RACCOON directors, staff, clients, and visitors. Therefore, my conceptual framework is constructed at the intersection of several related processes: globalization, reconciliation, and forced migration. I study these processes from the point of view of the everyday life of refugees. I argue that reconciliation in the global world is a multifaceted process that involves both the "top-down" discourses and "bottom-up" practices. In addition, I argue that "exile" is an especially fertile ground for studying the nature of these processes, because in "exile" people feel less constrained (but not necessarily less concerned) by the political project of nation-building and the "imposed" reconciliation project at "home". Finally, in this paper I argue that in order to understand processes of reconciliation in "exile", we need to reconceptualize our use of "exile" and "home".

Igor Stiks
(Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, France;
Northwestern University, Chicago, USA)
Citizenship of Literature? The Case of ex-Yugoslav Writers

I analyze the relationship between citizenship, language, nationhood, and national literature(s) in the writings and public activities of several prominent writers in the former Yugoslavia. This case shows a highly complex negotiation process between the writers' citizenship (common federal and particular republican ones), the use of common literary language (Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian), and the institutionalized distinct (ethno)-national literary canons in the federal socialist state where each republic had its "titular" nationalities. These negotiation practices resulted in a series of political positionings among the writers. I will demonstrate how this specific configuration influenced the emergence of specific forms of Yugoslav supranationalism, multiculturalism, and even cosmopolitanism among some of ex-Yugoslav writers. I try to define more precisely what was the content and character of 'Yugoslav cosmopolitanism', as defined and advocated by

those writers and intellectuals. Was it just an affirmation of their supranational political and general cultural affiliation, or was it an open challenge and opposition to the rising particularistic ethnic nationalisms in the Yugoslav republics, often promulgated by some of their fellow writers? The question I intend to answer is how Yugoslavism as an ideology of the unification of South Slavs into a common national state shifted over time in its meaning and character: from a typical 19th century national project to a supranational or multicultural ideology. How did it, eventually, start to be perceived as primarily an anti-nationalist and even cosmopolitan ideology? I believe that a close examination of these writers' views on their national, literary and political affiliations will provide fruitful ground for finding compelling answers to these questions. In the last sections of my paper, I focus on writers' responses to the disintegration of the common state and subsequent wars, and to the emergence of 'post-Yugoslav' literature market and intense literary exchange during the last five years.

Ana Devic
(Aarhus University, Denmark)
Silenced Cosmopolitanism: Interpreting Ex-Yugoslav "Nostalgic"
Networks against the Logic of Nationalism

I approach the subject of "Yugonostalgia" as the two types of identities and corresponding types of memory – practiced or made public by: a) Individuals and their networks disgruntled over the disappearance of Yugoslavia as a communicative-cultural space; or b) Those who primarily identify by their ethnonationality and look at former Yugoslavia as a sum of ethnonational collectives whose group fate was "historically" or continuously "tragic" (e.g., (self-)sacrificing for the preservation of the Yugoslav state), or was tricked by the communist ideology into believing that Yugoslavia was good for "them" while, in fact, it was good only for "others" (that is for those who exploited them). I suggest a way of detecting and operationalizing the first (a) type of the representations of memories of "being (ex-) Yugoslav" – as a form of "silenced cosmopolitanism" – through the works of several literary, film and theatre authors from the former Yugoslavia and their audiences. In this paper I will compare a selection of literary, essayistic and film narratives by authors from the former Yugoslavia resisting the dominant ethnonationalist accounts of remembrance with a range of sociological studies of identity, solidarity and main social grievances documented in the socialist Yugoslavia in the late1980s and early 1990s. The question for social scientists wishing to depart from the reign of "methodological nationalism"

in their analyses of prospects for trans-national and cosmopolitan associations and movements in the post-socialist regions is as follows: How can we incorporate and promote the non-nationalist or anti-nationalist narratives and experiences of the recent past or ethnonationalist violence in the post-Yugoslav (post-Soviet as well) political culture – not simply in order to allow for "all voices to be heard," but to shed a provocative, bottom-top light on the compelling issues of all post-socialist ethno-centric states: participation and exclusion, civic and political solidarity, "majority-majority" boundaries, and multiculturalism as an agenda of Western exports of democracy.

Yana Savova Hashamova
(The Ohio State University, USA)
Screening Masculinity: National Pride and the Trauma of Globalization

In the context of increased international activity between Russia and the West, Western involvement in the political, economic, and cultural life in Russia, and Russia's reaction to these processes, this presentation investigates how Aleksej Balabanov uses a variety of narrative, stylistic, and thematic techniques in his films [Brother (1997), Brother-2 (2000), and War (2002)] to react to the major defence mechanisms of Russian society. He constructs a fantastic and idealised model of the national hero, a defender of everything Russian. Critics such as Daniil Dondurej, Andrew Horton, Elena Stishova, Irina Ljubarskaia, and Natalia Sirivlia have already discussed the ideological nature of the films and the socio-psychological effect they had on Russian viewers. I position my argument in the cultural and psychological dimensions of globalization in general and Russian Westernization in particular. I argue that while in Brother there is still some ambiguity about the nature of the hero and the identity boundaries of self/other, this ambiguity disappears in Brother-2 and War. Furthermore, the latter films construct masculinity perceived as moral strength beyond physical qualities and as a key element for the resurrection of national pride and identity. In the discussion of masculinity and how it operates in later Russian action films, I evoke other film and TV examples [Egor Mikhalkov-Konchalovsky's Antikiller (2002) and Aleksej Sidorov's Brigade (2002)], which support my argument. As theoretical approach I use mainly that of Appadurai, who developed the idea of the collective imagination and coined the term mediascapes, an approach that facilitates looking at films as a complex realm of images and narratives constructing the collective experience and imagination of creators and viewers caught in the dynamics between local

and global. The overall view on the tension between local and global is motivated by psychoanalysis and its application to politics and cultural studies (Segal, Rustin).

Jane E. Knox-Voina
(Bowdoin College, Brunswick, USA)
Kazakh National Cinema Project

The presentation focuses on the question of how Kazakh filmmakers in the face of globalism are implicated in national myth making and ideological productions that serve to delineate both otherness and legitimate selfhood in the geopolitical space or landscape left in this country that, on the one hand, has been forced to recreate itself as a nation since the beginning of the 1990s, and, on the other hand, is ready as the largest Central Asian nation to position itself in the greater international arena. With these similar goals Kazakh cinema and Kazakh nation state have merged in one direction. The new "Kazakhfilm" Studio has begun to work together with Hollywood and French co-producers to create a series of grandiose historical canvases that incite feelings of patriotism and a sense of what it means "to be Kazakh." One of the first sensational blockbusters to be commissioned by President of the Kazakh Republic, Nursultan A. Nazarbaev, is the co-produced (American/Kazakh) 2005 film The Nomad (Kochevnik) co-directed by Ivan Passer, Talgat Temenov and Sergei Bodrov, shot in Kazakhstan but produced in Hollywood with three or four thousands of extras from many different countries with the intent of being shown both in Kazakhstan for Kazakhs and in America as well as Europe so that non-Kazakh viewers will discover a new world, Kazakhstan. The paper examines how such Kazakh-Hollywood block buster and other national Kazakhfilm projects determine and shape representations of the new Kazakhstan.

PANEL III

Europe as Political and Cultural Entity: Dialogue of Civilizations or Civilization of Dialogue?

Convenors: *Ekaterina B. Demintseva* (Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies, Moscow, Russia) *& Timour Atnachev* (European University Institute, Florence, Italy)

The current enlargement of the European Union makes acute even more than before the question of where do the borders of Europe lie? The question has two dimensions: political and cultural. Dealing with both or any of the aspects presupposes choosing one of the two lines of reasoning: Europe may be considered either as a field of interaction of a number of civilizations or as one though internally highly diversified civilization. Finally, do the frontiers of Europe as a political and cultural entity co-insides with the continent's geographical borders? Anthropology, History, Political and Social sciences offer different perspectives to answer these questions, and we invite specialists in these (and other) disciplines to their discussion. Paper proposals may tackle such problems as social, political, and cultural exchanges in Europe in past and present, formation of the European political system and institution and national political cultures, integration of infra-European and non-European immigrants into the European countries' societies and cultures, the possibility of national and ethnic cultures' dissolution in the process of European integration, as well as any other aspects relevant to the panel's general problematics.

Diana Petkova Petkova (Sofia University 'St. Kliment Ohridski', Bulgaria)
Europe between Two Cultural Models: Westernization or Civilizational Synthesis?

This paper dwells upon two major possibilities of the cultural development of Europe. The first one is the firmly embedded conviction in the modernist times that Western Europe represents the civilization and that all the other nations and communities have to follow and copy the model. However, in the epoch of postmodernism this belief receives much criticism by sociologists, such as Amin, Delanty, Robins, Morley, etc. The westernization is thus seen as universalization and homogenization to the extent of cultural impoverishment. After the collapse of the socialist block the division between Western and Eastern Europe has become artificial. Yet, this division

is deeply rooted in the European minds because it has persisted with centuries. In fact it comes from the early medieval epoch with the schism of the Christian church into Catholic and Orthodox. So, one question to be posed is will this division persist even in the postmodernist time and in the process of the European integration? Moreover, will the West expect that the East is to follow the Western model? And is a single universal civilization possible to exist on a continent with a variety of cultures, languages and denominations? The other possibility is that the two cultural models participate equally in the European community and are both represented in it. The latter becomes much more important with the eventual future inclusion of Turkey into the European Union. Hence, what role can Islam play in the European Union and will not the joining of Turkey to the EU mean the total crash of the concept of Westernization? It is hoped that the paper will propose answers to the questions posed above.

Natalia Starostina (Emory University, Atlanta, USA)
Modernity, Technology, and Empire:
French Modernity as the Dialogue of Civilizations

My presentation will be critically engaged with Max Weber's vision of European modernity highlighting technology as the core for its representation. I will seek to unveil how technology, embodied in one of its powerful symbols, the train, negotiates contesting discourses on modernity through the prism of nostalgia, desire to be modern, and imperialism. I will analyze the construction of French imperial discourse through the narratives and representations of railways between the wars. My presentation will show how the artistic visualization of railways negotiated the crisis of French modernity through combining together discourses of technology and imperialism. The representations of colonial railways drew a sharp distinction between the dynamic French nation and those colonial peoples who were imagined to be parochial and backward. Portraying French trains crossing Sahara and subtropics of Indochina the representations of railways shaped interwar discourse on modern France committed and successfully carrying its "civilizing mission" overseas. Justifying and glorifying the French presence overseas, the images of passing trains concealed increasing obstacles that France encountered in the epoch of rising nationalism in North Africa. Examining the images of colonial railways, I will analyze the representation of technology in French interwar imagination. By negotiating contesting discourses, a train, a symbol of French modernity, shaped interwar social and cultural imaginary. The images of steam trains, an increasingly obsolete

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means of transportation in the epoch of growing airplane and car industries, crystallized nostalgia over "la Belle Époque." Transformed to the instantly recognizable symbol of pre-war France, the enduring image of railways re-invoked the nostalgic memories of forever gone pre-war France. Yet the "art deco"-streamlined design of trains, particularly, in juxtaposition with colonial surroundings, symbolized French drive towards modernity and advanced technology. Colonial discourse helped to transform railways to the symbol of modernity.

Helena Elts (St. Petersburg, Russia)

**The General Histories of Eighteenth-Century Europe
in Search for Fundamentals of European Entity**

The general histories of eighteenth-century Europe composed of sections relating to different aspects of European life and new approaches abandoning traditional historiography show the actuality of the striving for presenting European society as an entity. These works of synthesis and generalization result in conceptions of Western and Eastern Europe, periphery and centre; West is presented as more progressive, stable and dense while East as fluctuating in frontiers, incomplete and searching for more rapid progress. A paradigm of Enlightenment with French cultural domination and a paradigm of Old Order are the foundations on which the idea of European entity is built. The interpretations of European Russia vary considerably depending on stereotypes and methodological principles. The changes in thinking and incorporation of recent research on Eastern Europe and Russia in 1960-1970 caused to reassess the status of Russia and evaluate its rise as one of the main political changes of the period. In terms of European Enlightenment Russia is defined as barbarian, powerful, distant and backward, with low percentage of literate population and latter assimilation of european culture. Enlightened despotism imitating the administrative monarchy of Louis XIV, state split, without peasants as the subjects, is the great mirage of Enlightenment; the intellectual, cultural and scientific take-off is the fruit of State. The paradigm of Old Order, in terms of which Russia is described as significantly different from Western Europe because of reinforcement of serfdom, failure to develop corporatist structures and the society being the artificial creation of the State, searches for the foundation of considering Russia as Old European Order. Analyses on the different aspects of European life, taking account of pre-Petrine Russia make for elimination of stereotypes and revealing similar phenomena in history of European States.

Peter Martyn (Institute of Art, Warszawa, Poland)
Urban Contra National Questions:
The Fate of Warsaw Since the Polish Partitions

The paradoxical circumstances under which Warsaw has taken shape as the chief city of a country that failed to consolidate itself as a single territorial entity on the political map have tended to be miscalculated or blatantly ignored. Can the myth built up around Warsaw as a nerve centre for the Polish insurrectionary tradition and would-be showpiece of nation and state be disentangled from purely urban issues (e.g. the life and labor of its inhabitants, the conducting of municipal affairs independent of national politics and interests, etc.)? In every 'European' or 'europeanized' country the impact of historical watersheds is most typically reflected in urban centers where economic wealth is amassed and the social elites alongside the political establishments are based. The inherently unstable course of modern Polish history has both determined and undermined the urban layout, culture and identity of Warsaw to a degree far greater than has occurred in other state capitals. The city's status as urbs prima Polonis originated from the representative role assigned to it in the 'first', 'noble' 'republic' (Rzeczpospolita szlachecka). The era of statelessness coincided with Warsaw's increasingly rapid expansion into a city of about one million inhabitants (about a third being Jewish). Warsaw thus took on the scale and functions of a metropolis before it became the capital of a fully independent Polish state. Since the declaring in 1918 of the Second Republic (Druga Rzeczpospolita), that state has gone through two successive reincarnations into the People's (Rzeczpospolita Ludowa) and, since 1989, the Third (Trzecia Rzeczpospolita) Polish republics. In both instances implications for the city proved enormous. A very contentious issue needing to be addressed is the extent to which the perceived 'greatness' of Warsaw was dependent not so much on the Polish Question as the collective ability of the Poles to come to terms with the unfolding of the modern (i.e. post-mediaeval) era, and, with the hindsight of history, just what that 'greatness' signifies in the here and now.

Timour Atnachev (European University Institute, Florence, Italy)
Can the Mutual Acceptance of Dialogue Erase Civilizations' Boundary?
Philosophical Assessment of the EU-Turkey Case

The European Union through its prominent thinkers and official representatives explicitly refuses to set a firm geographic boundary beyond

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which no negotiations would be possible with potential future members. This leaves the question of limits of the European civilization strategically undefined or even strategically open. Accepting dialogue and voluntary contract becomes the basic principles regulating the membership in the political community. The dialogical definition of the civilization's boundary stands in clear opposition to the "clash of civilizations" and to most of other organic, religious, cultural or racist concepts of civilization as rather separated and definite geopolitical entities. Lively recent debates around Turkish request for the European membership showed the hidden tensions of such an open definition of the European Union. Despite the active efforts of the Turkish elites to reform the country in order to comply with European standards, several prominent European politicians publicly stated that the question is not about the degree of readiness of Turkey to meet the legal, political and economic requirements, but the question at stake is simply that Turkey is not a desirable candidate to the Union. If this became an official position of the European Commission leading the negotiations with candidate countries, this would mark a strict boundary essentially separating Turkey and European civilization. Now this return to a non-dialogical conception of boundary still seems to be unlikely and Europe will rather maintain an open concept. We would like to invite our colleagues to a theoretical assessment of the current European conception of its potential boarders, conception which we can describe as the "civilization of dialogue": any political community accepting to comply with certain basic principles of the inner organization shared by the members of EU can be accepted as a new member through a series of negotiations.

Stephen Gallagher (Youngsville, USA)
Against Tolerance

In the closing years of the previous century, the word "tolerance" was out of fashion. It had a sort of quaint, musty antiquity about it, reminiscent of the days before 1968. Yet today the word "tolerance" is being used everywhere, given new life in such discourses as American attitudes towards the religion of Islam and European attitudes towards recent waves of immigrants. What prompted this renaissance of the concept of tolerance? Jacques Derrida suggests that "if the term and theme of tolerance have come back of late, it is perhaps to accompany what is called in a rather simplistic and confused fashion the 'return of the religious'." In the United States of the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of September 11, "tolerance" was supposed to pour healing oil on the waters and enable some sort of ground for a universal

moral commitment. On the other side of the pond, with the emergence of the European Union and the "European Dream", a resurgent culture of tolerance would enable the kindly encapsulation of the Other. However, the concept of tolerance, the almost frantic hope being placed in the promise of tolerance, will be seen to be unproductive, even dangerous. Recent years and recent events have battered the foundations of tolerance, and we shall see that as we attempt to find our way in the new century, "tolerance" simply will not do. Tolerance has run its course. We will look at tolerance as deployed and reinvented by its most devoted champion on the current philosophical scene, Jurgen Habermas. We shall unpack some of Habermas' presuppositions, and analyze the reasons why tolerance poses a clear and present danger. We will attempt to bootstrap ourselves into a different cultural framework through an analysis of a much more promising, intriguing, though certainly more controversial concept: Derrida's concept of "hospitality".

Sabina Mihelj, Thomas Koenig, John Downey
(Loughborough University, UK)
Talking in Tongues about Europe

The European Union's proposed Constitutional Treaty could be the next milestone in the process of European integration. From a democratic point of view, it would be desirable, if this quasi-constitution would attain some democratic legitimacy. One prerequisite for such legitimacy would undoubtedly be democratic deliberation of the Treaty among its citizenry. Until recently, it has been argued that due to the lack of a coherent European media system and the absence of a lingua franca, a European public sphere, where such deliberation could take place, would not exist. Contrary to that opinion, newer culturalist approaches to the public sphere claim that these obstacles can be overcome, if the same issues are debated at the same time with the same intensity and the same structures of meaning throughout Europe. Our study explores, if these (and other) conditions are met in the case of the public debates on the Constitutional Treaty. We have compared print press discourses about the Treaty in three different European countries: A large core country experiencing economic stagnation (Germany), a stable economy with special ties to the US (the United Kingdom), and a small accession country (Slovenia). Data from several other countries (France, Italy, and Austria) are used for qualitative comparisons. Our study uses a novel approach to frame analysis, which combines more qualitative, discourse analytical with a new brand of dictionary-free content analysis, which validates the findings of the initial qualitative analysis on larger

corpora of data, thereby allowing for generalizations, quantitative validation of the framing model, and qualitative as well as statistical comparisons of the national discourses. The results of our study are mixed, showing some signs of the Europeanization of the debates, but as well serious national idiosyncrasies, which hamper truly democratic deliberation.

Sergei Panov (Russian University of Culturology, Moscow)
The Time of the Name and the Styles of Writing. Nietzsche/Valery/Derrida
(Towards the Problem of Appropriation
of the Name in the Deconstruction of Politics)

Have the Europe been stolen ? If the philosophy and the politics are transformations of the mythology (Nancy), we can speak only about the "stolen name " - about the stolen language : the Europe is nothing but phantom constructed by language, which determines all the political rhetoric, and all the diagnostic-prophetic pathos of the so-called "geopolitical studies " until now. The Europe for Nietzsche is a name for the restricted economy of the will-to-power, which accepts a possibility of a contract with something stranger to its growth as a perspective becoming. In this manner Nietzsche understands socialism as a necessary remedy from the future reign of the "crowd democratic animal " - the reign of the unwill. In what mesure does the Nietzsche's project of the will appear itself as the one of the styles of "marasmus femininus ", in which he saw the destiny of civilisation? The justification of the illegal contract is in basis of the project of will-to-power, the essence of will is a contract of contradictions and contradiction of the contract. The Europe is a name of the perspective of the impossible and an impossibility of the perspective. What are the main styles of the " european " writing after Nietzsche, written by Paul Valery in "Notes sur la grandeur et le decadance de l'Europe" in the reading of J.Derrida? The Europe is a name of the center, an idea of the centralization and the centralization of the idea. The Europe is an idea of the capital, the structure and the basis of the capitalization, an "ideal capital " of the cultural unity.

Ekaterina Demintseva (Center for Civilizational and
Regional Studies, Moscow, Russia)
The New European Culture Phenomena: "The Cultural diversity" or "The Cultural Mixing"? On the Example of Beur Culture in France

The issue of cultural diversity has a long history of being one of the hotly debated topics in many societies. In the last decades this issue has been attracting increased attention given the advent of the globalization era and the intensification of migration which has already transformed the social landscape of the European countries. In France the issue of cultural diversity is discussed first and foremost in connection with the fate of immigrants from the Maghrib countries and their children: their presence within the framework of the French society raises questions that touch upon nearly all aspects of social, economic, political life. Today different approaches to these issues exist. Some researches emphasize the "cultural differences", which lead to questions regarding the definition of culture as part of one's identity. Others point out the problems related mixed cultures (for example, formation of "mestizo" cultures). Our analysis of the beur literature and the Raï music in the French society shows the formation of an integral model of self-perception and self-expression in the minds of young people of North African origin. Both the French and the immigrant societies are currently undergoing interconnected transformations based on the interaction of those two different cultural frameworks. For young members of the Maghrib diaspora their ancestral culture is not an obstacle for integration into European society – on the contrary, it helps them to become a part of the French society. Although the ongoing mixture of cultures is obvious, one should not let out of sight that the new generation is increasingly acquiring its own voice demanding respect for its right to be "different".

Marcos Farias-Ferreira (Institute of Social and Political Sciences &
Lisbon Technical University, Portugal)
Some Notes on Kundera & Brodsky: Uncovering the Role of the Literary Querelles about the Meaning of Europe

In this paper, I set out to draw on the literary querelle between Milan Kundera and Joseph Brodsky about the definition of Europe in order to uncover the different contexts of meaning which serve as its epistemological and ontological anchor. My central assumption here is that Europe is first and foremost a normative construct, not a geographical or physical category, and that all matters concerning its meaning, identity, purpose and border of order

have to be discerned primarily at the level of language. That is why, I contend, the literary querelles about Europe have to be seen as constituting more than a mere literary genre; they become a most valuable heuristic device in order to understand the power of language in the social construction of reality. In my essay I focus on the literary querelle between Kundera and Brodsky and try to make clear how it is, above all, a discursive querelle about the ideas ascribing meaning to Europe. More than describing reality, therefore, Kundera and Brodsky's utterances on Europe work as speech acts intervening in the long-term process of political and social change which materialize the social construction of Europe. Consequently, the latter is far from being a fixed concept; it is instead a contested realm, which (social) fact ascribes sheer importance to all aspects of what I identify in my paper as the 'politics of speaking Europe'. To conclude, I go back to the Kundera/Brodsky querelle in order to understand the role of ontological dichotomies (*i.e.*, East vs. West, Europe vs. Russia, Central Europe vs. Russia) in the forging of contemporary perceptions about the limits of the European political project as regards, for instance, the problematique concerning Russia's Europeanness and relationship with the EU.

Hierarchy and Power before and after the Revolutions

Convenor: *Bahram Navazeni* (Imam Khomeini International University, Qazvin, Iran)

The history of mankind has witnessed various types of state system in which the main subject had always been the distribution of power. In each type, the old or modern, theocratic or democratic, despotic or pluralistic, different classes and strata have played and still may do so different roles either in supporting or opposing the ruling power which by its turn may have some relation to a particular context of social and economic power. That is why we see opposed classes and groups continue their opposition to a revolution and collapse of the whole system. Covering a large area of the political science field, this panel encourages all academics and scholars of politics, sociology, history and all those interested in the nature of the modern state and the power it wields to use historical and contemporary material to illustrate the theoretical analysis and the different and changing will and need of the ruling and revolutionary groups and classes.

Julian Goodare (University of Edinburgh, Scotland)
The Scottish Revolution

This paper is a historical analysis of the main features of revolutions in early modern Europe, using the example of the Scottish Revolution of 1638. It begins with a diagnostic definition of early modern revolutions that can distinguish revolutions from other events, such as coups d'état, usurpations, civil wars or secessions. Revolution is defined as a coercive seizure of political power in a state, accompanied by revolutionary ideology and popular mobilization. The paper emphasizes one difference between early modern revolutions and more recent ones. Early modern revolutions often happened in multiple monarchies, where one monarch ruled several countries which might not agree. Charles I, king of Scotland in 1638, also ruled England and Ireland. Some scholars have described the Scottish Revolution as a 'nationalist revolt' against English rule. The paper, however, argues that it was not separatist; it was part of a British movement, making links with English revolutionaries. The paper discusses how to distinguish the political consequences of revolution from other events. The Scottish Revolution was very successful until 1644. After then there were splits in the revolutionary movement and defeats. Many nobles lost

enthusiasm for revolution; other classes became more radical, notably the bourgeoisie in towns, and many clergy and peasants. Many achievements of the revolution survived, especially its fiscal and military system. In 1689, a second revolution re-established much of the constitutional programs and ideology of 1638. Finally the paper discusses longer-term economic and social consequences. The revolution transformed economic policy. The state began to support commerce and industry, instead of being parasitic on them as it had often been before 1638. The Scottish Revolution paralleled, complemented and sometimes preceded the English Revolution of 1640; it was a key moment in the origins of the modern world.

Mohammad Ali Basiri (Isfahan University, Iran)
Globalization: New World Order and Feminism

International relation is a part of social relations (man and woman) in high level. From olden times half of population (women) have had low places in different areas because of the dominant role of men. Industrial Revolution and modernism have improved the place and the role of women in international relations slightly. Feminism believes that international relation was far from the reality in recent decade. So the role of women was weak. But the role of men was strong and poverty, crisis, war etc. were the result of this for the nations. If women found their real places in international relations, the problems of this area would be solved. The presence of people, groups and NGOs has increased in international relations by collapse of the USSR, globalization and new world order. We can state that the Globalization will be a kind of world revolution in which women movement will be a pressure group for achieving their real rights in future of international relations. The question raised in this research is: by globalization and new world order, do women find their real places in international relations? In order to answer this question, it's necessary to answer these secondary questions: 1- What is feminism in International relations? 2- What is globalization? 3- What is its relation with the change of the place of women? 4- What is the new world order? 5- What is the place of women in it? 6- Does the presence of women in international relations change the different areas of power? 7- Does the presence of women in international relations decrease their problems in this area? 8- Does the presence of women in international relations take place in southen and northen countries in a similar way? Research method is descriptive based on literature review.

Isabel Alexandra de Oliveira David (Instituto Superior de Ciências
Sociais e Políticas, Lisboa, Portugal)
**From Theological Horizontalism to the Iron Law of Oligarchy:
the American Revolution Revisited**

The case of political theology has been strongly argued by Carl Schmitt.
Have political concepts secularised theological concepts? The religious
background of the American Founding Fathers and its influence on the
political system that arose from the Revolution seems to suggest so. In fact,
federal theology is strongly anchored on an egalitarian conception of life and
politics, which relies on covenanting as a basis for the establishment of
political institutions. As Hannah Arendt explains, having established
liberation through an initial period of revolt, the true aim of the Revolution
was to establish and perpetuate freedom. That goal was to be met through the
birth of a new science of politics, with a new grammar, that was to be
federalism as it is known today, the secular version of the biblical covenant.
Modern federalism emerged therefore as an alternative to the classical
European sovereign State model, consisting in an arrangement seeking to link
individuals, groups and polities in such a way as to allow them to retain their
autonomy and integrity, combining self-rule with shared-rule, authority with
liberty and unity with diversity. However, as Hannah Arendt has shown,
modern revolutions have all demonstrated the inevitable contradiction
between thought and action. From federalism – the unfulfilled ideology – to
federation - the "institutional prosecution of the fact" (Mario Albertini) –
there is a long path, along which Rousseau's lesson comes to mind: "those
Vices, which render social Institutions necessary, are the same which render
the Abuse of such Institutions unavoidable." In the light of the
aforementioned, should we ask, with Denis de Rougemont that "…federalism
designates a set of historical experiences and policies much older than its
theory, but never fully fulfilled"?

Seyed Javad Emamjomehzadeh (Isfahan University, Iran)
Houri Jahanshahrad (Monash University, Australia)
Women and Constitutional Revolution in Iran

One of the important indicators of development in any society is the degree
of women's participation in different fields. A hundred years ago the Iranian
Constitutional Revolution (CR) of 1906 deeply shocked people of
underdeveloped Iran, and created new opportunities for women in social
sphere. Therefore, the struggle of Iranian women in connection with national

revolution (CR) and international one (world women's movement) could compose the part of the international efforts towards securing women's rights. The news about the women's struggle in other countries and their achievements released in Iranian publications could deeply effect Iranian revisionism. Women's movement in CR may be divided in two periods. In the first period women considering themselves equal to men took part in various demonstrations against the internal dictatorship and external colonialism and did not have specific demands. In the second period more women with more consciousness and knowledge put into consideration some specific demands such as: publication of newspapers and journals specifically for women, establishing girls' schools, creating women's organizations and associations. Because of traditional and patriarchal structure of the society as well as authoritarian government, men did not agree with specific women's aspirations or demands. Generally speaking in spite of the fact that CR was the beginning of women's awakening and activization, but they share the achievements of the revolution in a very low degree. For instance parliament through an electoral law ratified in 1908 did not give the women vote right. In this paper we attempt to elaborate women's conditions in Iran before the CR, their roles in the victory of the revolution, and the achievements of women movement. Finally we will explain the fact that revolution could not really meet different women's political, social and legal needs equal to men.

Houri Jahanshahrad (Monash University, Australia)
The Role of Islamic Feminism in the Improvement of Women's Status in Post-Revolutionary Iran

A general overview of the history of Iran's political system denotes three revolutions and movements in the twentieth century. The first one was "Constitutional Revolution" 1905-1911 which was actively supported by women. However, when the movement has reached the final success and the first constitution of Iran was written, women's participation was overlooked and they did not received the voting right. In the second one of 1951, entitled "Nationalization of Oil Industrial Movement" the women question was not particularly propounded. And in the last revolution 1979, Iran's monarchy was replaced by an Islamic Republic whose ruling clergy immediately initiated radical political and social changes. The Islamic Republic of Iran instituted measures that greatly affected the legal status and social positions of women. The influence of the Iranian Revolution of 1979 on women's status can be viewed from two conflicting perspectives. Some believe that Iranian women lost many of their fundamental rights because the Revolution

instituted laws such as mandatory veiling for women, discriminatory testimony, marriage, divorce and custody laws. Others estimate the revolution as a positive movement because it allowed women to participate freely in social and political life without abandoning the basic principles of Islam. In regard to these views, in this article I examine the birth of the Islamic feminist movement in Iran; incorporating several groups and individuals, formed soon after the revolution. The object of this movement has been to improve women's status and to secure certain rights for them under the Islamic regime by using principles of Islam and Islamic courts to contest women's oppression and gender inequities. I also study interactions between Islamic feminists and secular feminists, their joint actions, their distinctions and similarities, and their role in the improving of women's status in post-revolutionary Iran. I conclude although, Islamic feminism has some limitations in both its thought and action, it has been able to develop women's rights and women's status in the social, economic and political framework of Iranian society.

Ebru Thwaites (Lancaster University, UK)
A Strategic Relational Approach to State Power in Turkey

The paper addresses the paradoxical relation between norm and exception. Euro-centric paradigms of state development assume state building either follows a normal or an exceptional path. Such an epistemology would classify the Turkish state as exceptional within the conventional dichotomies (of despotic versus democratic states, early versus late developers, strong versus weak states, etc.). Exploring the ways in which Euro-centric epistemologies have orientalized Turkish experience, I elaborate on the paradigm of "strong versus weak states", arguing that, Turkish case represents an "anomaly" for two reasons: firstly, because it has not been discussed by mainstream scholars in the context of strong and weak states; and secondly, where Turkish scholars have discussed it, the meaning of state strength is used differently from US academia. I use the strategic relational approach to the state to qualify state strength as a relational concept, which introduces geo-political as well as geo-economic considerations especially significant in the Turkish case. Having discussed the nature of state power in the above context, the paper ends with a consideration of how Mustafa Kemal played out state strength with respect to internal social stratification (clerical bourgeoisie, religious men, Kurdish tribal groups) and external/internal capital in the context of the Turkish revolution.

Mohsen Khalili (Ferdowsi University, Mashhad, Iran)
**Review of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran: Political Changes
in the Post- Revolutionary Iran and Their Impacts on the Legal Structures
of Political Power**

The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran was promulgated in 1979 in the public referendum, following its approval by the Council of Experts of the Constitution. In 1989 it was comprehensively reviewed. In investigating the reason for this constitutional review one can formulate the following hypothesis: Political changes that followed the revolution impacted upon political structures, gradually rendering some aspects of the constitution unsuitable to meet the needs of the past, present and future rationally necessitated the review. The prevailing inconsistencies in the leadership and the three branches of administration, following the end of Iraq-Iran war, and the need to rebuild and restructure the country, joined hands in making it imperative that the Constitution should go through the review process to accommodate changes that had taken place. These changes had occurred in the following areas: 1- The removal of Ayatollah Montazeri as the successor of the their Leader, Imam Khomeini; 2- The inconsistencies in the Executive Branch between the President's and the Prime Minister's interpretation of the constitutional principle and the level of legal discretion afforded to each; 3- Differences between the Guardian Council and the Majles (Parliament) and the newly established Council for Identifying the Best Interest of the Political Order; 4- The dominating shortcomings in the method of consultation in the Supreme Judiciary Council; 5- The end of the war between Iraq and Iran and the need for rebuilding and restructuring the country following the war. The present paper will take up these changes to demonstrate the ways in which they impacted upon the constitutional review process.

Konstantin S. Khroutski (Novgorod State University, Russia)
Cosmist Revolution in Organizing the Civilizational Power

The main vice of the modern, world guiding (Western) episteme and, conformably, – of the derived current global world – is their natural-artificial essence: of considering the real (objective) phenomena and processes on the basis of a priori artificial principles (the postulates of Western philosophers). The challenge has emerged to the advancement and realization of the evolutionary next, already non-Western – natural-natural (hence, universal) – episteme and the new derivative, civilizationally self-dependent (philosophic, scientific, cultural, political, etc.) world. Basing on the Russian (but not

Soviet!) philosophy, I have proposed the Cosmist conception of the needed episteme (and the deduced philosophy and theory). Simultaneously, my theorization is strictly based on a posteriori (verified by natural sciences) fundamental natural truths (principles) of: (1) cosmism; (2) universalism; (3) subject-subject interrelation with the world; (4) subjective (personalist) functionalism; (5) emergent (macro)evolutionism. Therefore, in distinction of the modern, generally accepted standpoint, I intend to claim and substantiate the triadic (cyclic, macro-evolutionary) essence of the real world. Thus, I am going to prove the following: "Hierarchy and Power" is not dualistic, historical and presently static, always being reduced to a pair of the two indissoluble united parts: "ancient" or "modern", "theocratic" or "democratic", "despotic" or "pluralistic", etc. Just the reverse, the real (social) world is self(macro)evolving and functionally universal on the subjective (personalist) level. This means that every subject of life (society and civilization as well) has its/his/her own macro-evolutionary substantive Past, Present and Future of subjective (personalist) wholesome development. Therefore, I contend in my presentation that we have the equal evolutionary significance of both (1) and (2) – "ancient – theocratic" and "modern – democratic, despotic or pluralistic" societies, as well as the (3) "emergent future – universalist" system of the world organization – the society of subjective functionalist evolutionary universalism (cosmism), which is, basically, – the society of equal (functionalist) capabilities.

Majid Bozorgmehri (Imam Khomieini International University, Qazvin, Iran)
Mahboubeh Mansouri (Tehran University, Iran)
The Islamic Revolution in Iran and Its Conceptions of Power

During the last two hundred years, the dominant models of successful revolution in most of the world have been those of France and Russia, and the most dramatically effective roles were those of the Jacobins and the Bolsheviks. The Islamic revolution which won power in Iran in 1979 and continues to offer a major challenge to existing regimes in other Islamic lands uses none of these symbols. For the Ayatollahs and those who respond to them, neither the Bible nor the Latin and Greek classics, neither Jacobins nor Bolsheviks, neither Paris nor Moscow provide usable models or evocative symbols. This of course does not mean that they have none. Islam has its own scriptures and classics. Islamic history provides its own models of revolution; its own prescriptions on the theory and practice of dissent, disobedience, resistance, and revolt. It is surely important to study the Islamic revolution by a more analytical vision. The Islamic revolution in Iran is, in its way, as

authentic as the French or the Russian ones. For better or for worse — which remains to be seen—what happened in Iran was a revolution in the classical sense, a mass movement with wide popular participation that resulted in a major shift in economic as well as political power, and that inaugurated, or, perhaps more accurately, continued, a process of vast social transformation. This article is therefore going to analyze conceptually the relationships between the Islamic revolution and the power, its unique and/or similar features of/to the revolutions and its justification of religious sovereignty. We finally conclude that the Irano-Islamic reflections on the power and sovereignty are a new combination of western and Islamic conceptions, which could be also considered as a new model.

Sayyed Mortaza Mardiha (Allameh Tabatabae University, Tehran, Iran)
Mahboubeh Paknia (al-Zahra University, Tehran, Iran)
Nature of Revolution: the Case of Iran

When the revolutionary movements arrive in power, they begin to centralize the power and leave out the rivals, and therefore linger their realization. There is an explication according to which, the revolutionary transformation, in politics, has generally unessential incapacity, caused by its philosophy, to realize its expectations. It seems that a romantic pathology, about the social and political problems, is often at the core of revolutionary thinking. Poverty, violence, corruption, injustice, malpractice etc. in the society find its origins in the lack of goodwill of political class. There are no bad people, there is always bad government. So the unique solution for all problems is the replacement of government by people. The greatest promise of the revolutionary movements is always the distribution of power and wealth, and they think that: firstly, there is a great deal of power and wealth in the dictator's hands, secondly, it can be redistributed suddenly and successfully among people, thirdly, the revolutionary persons or party who feel to represent the people are reliable for this distribution, whereas the scientific pathology shows that the problem is not so simple, and all of mentioned statements can be considered as doubtful. So, it seems that the heritage of ancient regime is not great or sufficient for enriching all the poor , the revolution is not programmable and therefore can cost one dear, the human being is more psychological than rational and more rational than moral. For example, the Iranian revolution can be considered with its philosophical foundations in the same intellectual environment. It was seeking sincerely the liberty and social and economic justice (affluence and pleasure), and it was

thinking that all of this can be produced by changing the bad politicians with the good revolutionaries in the ruling class.

Alan Kimball (University of Oregon, USA)
The Problem of Russian Civil Society:
Pre-Soviet Concepts and Their Legacy

I will explore the experiences and conceptualizations of about two dozen pre-Soviet Russian thinkers/activists deeply committed to notions of civil society [gradzdanskoe obshchestvo]. I will concentrate on Nicolaj Ivanovich Khlebnikov, Vasilij Osipovich Kljuchevskij, Aleksander Ivanovich Koshelev, Maksim Maksimovich Kovalevskij, Viktor Vladimirovich Leontovich, Platon Vasil'evich Pavlov, Afanasij Prokof'evich Shchapov, Pavel Vinogradov, and Sergei Vitte. I will not deal with these figures ad seriatim or in depth. I seek to pull them together -- the Interior Minister with the historian, the visionary patriot with the underground radical, etc. -- to identify a shared center of gravity in their thought and action with respect to the political/social crisis of their time and the constructive role of civil society. In their view, the concept "civil society" described the experience of distinct self-mobilizing and stable social groups and organizations (societies) seeking mutually dependent and reciprocal three-way or triangular relationships among (1) other social groups and formations, (2) political power (the state) and (3) the production and distribution of commodities and services (the economy). Two obstacles thwarted progress in Russia -- a mercantilist statistcentralism (political authority that floated above but controlled and exploited society and the economy), and a hierarchical social structure which stifled social mobility, restricted movement and exchange between social strata, and shut out provincials and rural folk beyond the centers of managerial power in the urban capital cities. For centuries, when Russians sought "careers open to talent" and when they tried to act independently, especially in provincial locales, the absolutist political system and the closed and sanctified social structure stifled them. The revolutionary 20th century in Russia did not fully resolve these problems. These pre-Soviet figures defined political-economic continuities that link Imperial Russian, Soviet Russian and contemporary Federal Russian political and social life.

Nicola Peter Todorov (Lycée Gustave Flaubert, Rouen, France)
Local Hierarchies and Power Configurations Before and After Revolutions in Central Germany from the Late Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century

It is usual to distinguish within a given society a certain number of social classes and other groups. But on another scale it is also possible to observe stratification within the different social layers. The society of a village can be organised very hierarchically, or not. Great Revolutions on a large, national or international, scale are often followed by personal and institutional change on the summit of the state. But these cataclysmic events provoke also change and adaptations on a local level. From the early nineteenth to the twentieth century Germany was the theatre of several revolutions and revolutionary changes, such as the effects of French Revolution and Napoleonic state formation, the democratic Revolution of 1848, the Revolution of November 1918, the communist experience in Eastern Germany. While the national events are well known, the strategies of local oligarchies have been studied less in a systematic way. However, these events have influenced the rural society. We have studied the local power configurations in one of the Prussian provinces, that of "Saxony", assembling parts of different former principalities. It is particularly interesting to analyze the relations between the national elite and the different social groups in a rural society. Generally, the centralizing national elite is looking for support within the poorer groups of rural society in order to break the power of provincial and local oligarchies. But the enthusiasm to reverse power on the local level declines more or less after every revolution. It is therefore necessary to take into consideration different scales of time. A short time scale of action and a longer scale of what we would like to call "erosion". But this process is not a continuous one. We will try to analyze the factors controlling this process. The heterogeneous character of the Prussian province of Saxony allows us also to observe different relatively stable regional models of power configurations.

Pingchao Zhu (University of Idaho, Moscow, USA)
Wartime Power Politics between the National Government and the Guangxi Warlords, 1931-1945

This paper is devoted to the transformation of wartime relations between the Nationalist government under Chiang Kai-shek and the Guangxi warlord group during China's war against Japanese aggression between 1931 and 1945. The research intends to show how a ruling national authority and a regional power interacted within and beyond the state power system in order

to strengthen each other's power base. The study has three major focuses: reluctant alliance, mutual distrust, and expedient cooperation. The Guangxi warlord group played an important role in the successful Northern Expedition (1926-28) that reunified China. As a result, they earned high ranking positions in the Nationalist government and the military. Chiang Kai-shek was compelled to treat the Guangxi leaders with respect for the sake of national interest in the face of growing Japanese threat and Communist challenge at home. After Japan's full-scale invasion to China in 1937, the Guangxi troops, as part of the Nationalist military forces and in the numner of 100,000, fought in central and eastern China in several major campaigns against the Japanese forces. The reluctant Nationalist-Guangxi alliance reflected continuing suspicion from Chiang and resentment from the Guangxi group. There had been growing tensions between the Guangxi warlords and Chiang's central government over issues of military and financial reforms. As an indispensable part of the Nationalist government and the military, the Guangxi warlord group carefully kept their own political agenda apart from the Nationalist control. The distrust of Chiang also led the Guangxi leaders to show sympathy to the Communists who in turn wooed them aggressively for strategic reasons. In wartime politics, the Guangxi warlord group played power politics well into their hands by strengthening their regional base and maintaining their national popularity. In the end, it was the Nationalist government and Chiang Kai-shek who not only lost the civil war to the Chinese Communists but also their own reluctant supporters.

Liza Rivera (University of South Britany, Saint Cast, France)
Hierarchy and Power before and after Revolutions: the Case of Colombia

Colombia is well-known for its extreme critical events. It is a matter of «abnormal» situations that contrast with the theory of Colombia, that is proud of being the only democracy in Hispanic-America which escaped the dictatorial phenomena, frequent in the continent, and of accommodating the oldest political parties in America. These antagonisms on the reality bring us to question of the reasons of the Colombian crisis. It is, in our opinion, related to the manner in which the Colombian society was formed since the colonial period. And more specifically, to the way the elite seized the political power after the revolutions that led to the independence of Colombia in 1819. In fact, these revolutions did not try to change the social life but on the contrary, they reinforced the former social structures and its privileges. To maintain the statu quo, the elite of the country dissolved the revolutionary army –which could become a powerful group able to run the government–

and prevented the social mobility of the majority of the population by controlling all the means of production and by the bias of the political power. Thus, since the XIXth century, the elite use the state as a private property and the politics as the essential way for the conservation of prerogatives. While favoring their interests, the elite always allied itself to avoid the emergence of a social or political rival that can restrict their influences and supremacy. If at the XIXth century, the Colombian elite utilized its people to gain the political power and set their predominance within the country, in the XXth century, they succeeded in preventing all popular revolutions that could transform the statu quo. This situation drove the individuals –placed at the bottom of the social pyramid– to develop alternative forms of power, based on illegality and violence as the only way to improve their lifestyle. This could explain the existing situation in Colombia.

Bahram Navazeni (Imam Khomeini International University, Qazvin, Iran)
The Role of Foreign Agent in the Revolutions: Cases of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution and the US Independence Revolution

This is a comparative study of the two victorious revolutions in Iran (1905) and in the USA (1775) that lead to the all encompassing awakening of the two oppressed nations to fight against the despotism and oppression and to collapse the ruling political, economic and social order. This paper would analyze the various ideas and means adopted by different revolutionary groups and mainly the role of the British government played in the Iranian Constitutional Revolution and the French in the US Independence Revolution. Although the symbols and causes for revolutions are plenty, this would not prevent us from giving a pattern in which the study of this role in the hierarchy of the revolutions would be simplified. Beside to the despotic and oppressive behavior of the king and his courtiers towards two societies that had naturally caused the popular dissidence, government's inability to repress severely and completely as well as the expansion of ideas such as liberty within the two societies that provided the necessary and adequate objective and subjective grounds for the revolution, the role of foreign agent in making every plot and plan to encourage and divert this popular awakening from its original initiatives should not be neglected. This role of foreign agent is determinately influential. In the objective ground, the foreign agent declared war or inserted boycotts and other economic and financial pressures over the government on the one hand and on the other secretly supported the revolutionaries and fortified their stand till the victory. In the subjective ground too, by introducing or even injecting new or even

revolutionary ideas such as constitutional or independence the foreign agent infused the dissidents to revolt and change their position in the power hierarchy. In this way the foreign agent succeeded to take its benefit out of this combining situation; the British helped the Iranian bourgeoisie to draw Iran out of its rival (Russian) sphere of influence and the French helped the American patriots to make the British colonies independent.

PANEL V

Human Rights in History of Civilizations

Convenor: *Pattamaporn Busapathumrong* (Asian University, Banglamung, Thailand)

The panel on human rights in history and civilization focuses on exploring how the economic, political and socio-cultural factors have influenced the conception, definitions and the emergence of human rights in history and civilization. This involves social processes in historical dimension concerning human rights in the areas of human rights violation and the development of human rights instrument (written and unwritten codes) such as traumas among those who experience human rights violation, grassroot movements, peace movements, civil society, legal frameworks and instruments, the role of governmental, non-governmental and international organizations. The question is what are the limits of that power strategies vs. stages of political evolution, the ideology and legitimization of power in different civilizational contexts play key role in history and civilization including violence and non-violence in the history of political institution, formation, development and decline; hierarchy and heterarchy in the sociopolitical history of mankind.

Vera Pavlovna Ponomaryova (Bryansk State University, Russia)
Classification of Human Rights

The category of human rights is the essential part of contemporary civilization. Notions "rights" and "freedoms" are different, but their meanings are determined by similar factors, including the implementation of the said phenomena in public relations which fact contributes to their systematization and formation of civil values. Importance of human rights in Russia is strengthened by the fact that for a long time law consciousness and law culture were formed under strict control of state, which "granted" them to the people. It caused implicit disregard of human rights and freedoms, created a complicated situation of an defenceless individual. Understanding of implicit character of rights and freedoms helps to release from being excessively dependant upon of the state. Human rights as an wholesome phenomenon, possesses some features: they are discrete, they create different levels, non-homogeneous by origin and time of existence. In order to detect their place and role in modern civilization and promote their effective realization, the

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systematic classifictation must be used. There are many classification criteria in literature applyable to the diversity of the notion "human rights". The following categories of human rights are distingueshed: natural, civil, political, economic, cultural. There is a well-known classification, proposed in the beginning of the 20-th century by russian lawyer B.A. Kistyakovskiy, which is based on the criterion of person's attitude towards the state; he distinguished special group of rules, named "personal freedom from the state". The french political scientist A. Esmen classified not the rights, but freedoms, distinguishing two groups: material and moral. The americans A. Meson and B. Binny singed out three groups of rights in the first eight amendments of Constitution of the USA: freedom of religion, rights declared in the second and third amendments and the right for protection. Last time a new structure of human rights appeared which added the following groups of rights to the classification: essential, "generation" and collective rights.

Arsalan Ghorbani Sheikhneshin (Tehran Islamic Azad University, Iran)
Human Rights and Dialogue Among Nations: Challenges and Solutions

The main part of the concept of human rights is promotion of the image of interdependence and dialogue among people. This means participation of all human beings as the starting point for the authority of governments. UN founders considered this principle to be the most fundamental principle of democracy. They claimed their adherence to the protection of democracy, which includes the respect to equal rights and self-determination principles and promotion of fundamental freedom for all people without discrimination. Many aspects of world history show a deep interdependence between dialogue among civilizations and human rights, asserting that human rights implementation is the way of exchange of ideas. Despite all progress, the dialogue between nations faces a major challenge. The main dilemma rooted from a paradox of the theory of human rights and its exercise by the sovereign nation-states of the Westphalia order. The paper will treat this argument, emphasizing that the nation-states as the main players of the international relations has the main responsibility.

Norma Hervey (Luther College, Decorah, USA)
**The Endless Struggle for Citizenship and Rights
in the History of the United States, 1776-2006**

The challenge this presentation will address is that of the rights and obligations of citizens. Questions relating to who could vote and what rights were common to all were not easily resolved. In fact, they are still challenged today. Citizen rights or human rights have often been denied during times of unrest or under repressive governments of the United States. From the 1798 Alien and Sedition Acts during the administration of John Adams to expansion of voting and constitutional rights after the election of 1800, Americans have faced multiple challenges in retaining and using rights guaranteed in the Bill or Rights or the first ten amendments to the US Constitution. The 14th amendment is also a major statement defining citizenship for the first time and declaring the rights of black Americans to full citizenship. The Sedition Act of World War I again denied freedoms of speech, assembly, the press, all guaranteed by law. The witch hunts of the Cold War era destroyed the futures of individuals during the Army/McCarthy hearings. Since 9/11, the Patriot Act includes language that would again deny citizens of the United States their guaranteed rights. Until 2005, most of those denied their rights are not American citizens but foreign nationals who have been denied the rights established by the Geneva Conventions, not the US Constitution. Throughout the history of the United States, there are ongoing individual cases of denial of rights. Many of these were recent immigrants, labor leaders, anarchists, and Socialists or Communists. Rather, this paper focuses on laws passed by the U.S. Congress and upheld by the US Courts which deny any citizen rights guaranteed by the Constitution. This represents an ongoing pattern of repression within the U.S. which resurfaces over issues of power within the nation and often relates to situations abroad. This challenges historians and citizens to study and consider the impact and consequences beyond the individual to the body politic and to US foreign relations and policies.

M.S. Ahluwalia (Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla, India)
**Majoritarian-Minoritarian Syndrom and Secessionist Movements in
Post-Colonial South Asia – A Case Study of the Sikh Separatist Movement
and Human Rights**

The paper attemps to explain that the colonial legacies and subsequent developments in Indian Punjab led the Sikhs to raise their voice for redress of

certain grievances which unfortunately were not handled with much fairness by the Indian State authorities. The paper shows how the Government of India tried to redress the grievances through the extra-constitutional means and the state structures responded with the legitimate coercive means at its disposal while laying more emphasis on the methods being adopted by such movements rather than paying adequate attention to the removal of causes of the Sikh separatist movement. Within the Sikh community, a deep current favouring of a Sikh State was apparent. This and several other politico-religious factors created a space for Sikhs to rebel with the purpose to offer alternatives to what the Government of India defined as "Constitutional Framework". This ultimately led to a serious conflict with the Indian State resulting in serious violation of human rights. Majority of the Sikhs feel that despite their unparalleled sacrifices for the country before and after independence, they are not being given respect and trust they deserve. The Hindu majority, they feel, always advocates the cause of other states against Punjab and even the Punjabi Hindus never stood up to defend the rights of the state. It is a matter of common knowledge that after having failed to suppress the agitation spearheaded by the Akali Party, the Government of India injected violence into the agitation with the help of the Central Intelligence Agency. The paper concludes that the disillusionment of the Sikhs and their consequent loss of faith resulted into the open conflict with the center. In fact it took an ugly shape and turned into a fight between majority and minority on the one hand and rise of terrorism on the other but claiming victory for none. The paper sums up that it is in this context that the rise of the secessionist movement in South Asia has to be viewed.

Aline Carla Afonso Pereira (University of Lisbon, Portugal)
**The Impact of Globalization
on the Urban Labor Market for Women in Angola**

The process of integration of the Angolan economy in the world market from the nineties onwards (after the end of the Marxist regime) reinforced gender inequalities within the Angolan labor market. Angolan women found severe barriers to access the official (formal) labor market, to ascend in their careers, to get salary raises and to get better professional qualifications. Although women represent a major source of revenues to households, they are still relegated to a secondary position in the labor market, often pushed to the informal markets where they face miserable working conditions characterized by an extreme insecurity and uncertainty. Discrimination and inequality of opportunities besides hampering Angolan women from prospering also

represent a major obstacle to the development of the Angolan economy as a whole. Such problem has been recognized by international organizations and donors alike, along with national NGOs. Nevertheless, there is a major tendency by the majority of institutional actors involved, to place the emphasis in the so-called civil society organizations, basically meaning national and international NGOs operating in the country and funded by the international community. Although we do recognize the importance of civil society in the construction of democracy and development, we also have to recognize that 15 years after the transition to a market economy and even considering the enormous efforts developed by NGOs in Angola, the fact is that it has not been enough; the problem is far from solved. The State is needed as a central and main player in this battle against exclusion and discrimination of women in the formal labor market.

Nazarov R..R. (Institute of History, Tashkent, Uzbekistan)
Aliyeva V.R. (Institute of Irrigation and Melioration, Tashkent, Uzbekistan)
Yunusova D.M. (Institute of History, Tashkent, Uzbekistan)
Rights of Ethnic and Confessional Minorities in the Republic of Uzbekistan

The basis of ethnopolicy of Uzbekistan is formed from equality of civil rights, irrespective of the ethnicity, race, language and connfession; priority of human rights; respective attitude towards different cultures, languages and confessions of minorities, the creation of conditions for retaining their specific character; the development of market economy, of lawful state, of civil society in the interests of all ethnic groups; the solution of interethnic problems by peaceful means; the development of interethnic and interconfessional tolerance; the retention of ethnocultural variety. The guarantors of the promotion of the human rights are: the Constitution of RUz and laws; international agreements; ratified resolutions and the recommendations of international organizations (UNO, OCSE, CIS), the double-sided and polygonal agreements, which regulate status of ethnic minorities, national activity. Elements of ethnopolicy of RUz: the creation of the atmosphere of interethnic and interconfessional tolerance, the improvement of guarantee mechanisms, measures for the retention of the ethnocultural originality of minorities and their integration, the guarantee of proportional representation of minorities in the political, economic, cultural spheres. The important indices of democratic ethnopolicy of RUz are: prohibition for organizing of nationality- and race-based political parties; prohibition of the foundation of the public associations, whose activity are directed toward the propaganda of ethnic, racial, religious dissension;

prohibition of the use of religious slogans for purposes of the excitation of hostility, hatred, interethnic dissension; prohibition of the obstruction of free election of the language of contact and education.

Ichhimuddin Sarkar (North Bengal University, India)
Development and Struggle for Existence of the Indigenous People of the Third World Countries: A Review on Indian Experiences During Post Independent Period

The aboriginals in the world at large and India in particular are faced with a serious identity crisis. The identity of these people the bulk of which are tribal in India is in a critical situation because the very economic base, socio-cultural background which from immemorial period enabled them to identity as distinct communities are being trampled upon by various means. While on one hand these people are dislocated from traditional economic base, they are equally on the other subdued in the ongoing trend of modernization and cultural hegemony initiated by other communities. The economy of the indigenous people broadly depend on natural resources mainly land, water and forest products which belong to 'Mother Earth'. Human beings enjoy them even before the dawn of human civilization with unwritten rights over them. Nobody can claim them as own property, nor can be bought or sold, appropriated or privatized. Land thus as a source of economy happens to be an important item of the tribal peoples' identity not only in terms of its economic usage but also for its spiritual and emotional quality. Thus symbiotic relationship with nature dictate the social life of the indigenous people which is virtually characterized by egalitarian values and attitude towards the other members of the community. It also defines the nature of the male-female relationship that prevails in their society. The thrust of their social life, therefore, tends to cast off any tendency of social hierarchy. The culture of the indigenous people has also rooted in their egalitarian mode of social life and harmonious relationship with land and other forces of nature. Whether it is their dance form, music, language or dresses, they are all expressions of their basic egalitarian and humanizing values and attitudes of 'togetherness'.

Golrokh Jahanshahrad (Islamic Azad University, Isfahan, Iran)
Human Rights and the Reproductive Health of Adolescents

The importance of the reproductive health of adolescents has started to receive increasing recognition. Because adolescents are less vulnerable to disease than the very young and very old, health problems in relation to their age group have been given little prominence until now. Among the problems of adolescent reproductive health are those resulting from the traditionally early marriage in many, especially rural, parts of the developing world. Although an adolescent girl is likely to give birth and rear her children within the context of family, the risks she and her children run of illness, injury and death are far greater than those for a mature woman in her twenties and generally high rates of mortality and morbidity have always been associated with pregnancy and childbirth for pubertal and adolescent girls. Moreover, children born by adolescent mothers are about 40% more likely to die during their first year of life than those born by women in their twenties, and are at even greater risk during their second year. A further problem of uninformed and unprotected adolescent sexual activity is the increased exposure to STDs, including infection with HIV, the causative agent of AIDS. The barriers of adolescent reproductive health are: widespread lack of effective policies and programs and the failure of involve young people in any existing promotional activities, the lack of coherent policy for the protection and maintenance of reproductive health in adolescence, or that existing policy is inadequate to meet current and future needs, lack of information and guidance for young people, both at home and at school, the lack of understanding of dangers of adolescent pregnancy for the health of both mother and child, thelack of training, misinformation or simply embarrassment in discussing matters relating to sexuality and the lack of effective discussion of needs for physical and psychological maturity and well-being.

PANEL VI

Interpreting Violence:
The Confessional, the National, the Generational, and the Personal

Convenor: *Charles Rheaume* (Directorate of History and Heritage, National Defence Headquarters, Ottawa, Canada)

*T*his session is divided into two parts, the first one focusing on problems of the relation between faith and violence, and the second dealing with the interpretation of violence on different national levels. Intertwined in the two parts are elements pertaining to the interpretation of violence through generational and personal angles. Our first four papers which constitute the first part respectively bear on Christian Crusaders and the idea of "Sacred War", the attitude towards the use of force in the Judaic tradition, Israeli Russian-language media's use of cultural codes in interpreting Intifada, and generation groups in the transformation process in Tajikistan. The second part is first made of analyses of the relation between the cultures of small and middle-size countries such as Second World War Denmark and Cold War Canada towards state violence, and then four papers dealing specifically with Russia's history from the 19th and 20th centuries. These are examinations respectively of imagined wars in Russian conservative utopias, the phenomenon of denunciation in Stalinist Russia, the Great Terror in the Gulag, and the formation of state and political institutions in Russia and the Soviet Union alternately through consent and coercion.

Valentin Portnykh (Novosibirsk State University, Russia)
The Crusaders and the Idea of the "Sacred War"
(from the Chronicle "The Deeds of the Francs")

The aim of this study is to reveal the idea of "sacred war" as it was viewed by the Crusaders. If we look at history, we see that in the first centuries of Christianity the church preached the abstinencion from violence, and the term "milites Christi" was used only for those who fought along with prayers, not with arms. However, the idea of "sacred war" took shape gradually in ecclesiastic minds. Since wars are unavoidable, the church decided to distinguish those who were right in war and those who were guilty by speaking about "fair" and "unfair" wars. To make the war "fair" it was necessary to give a justification to it. Since war came to be "fair", the use of

the term "milites Christi" has also included the meaning of laity. The church began to give official support to some soldiers. Thus, it blessed the defense of Europe from the "pagans", the return of Sicily, the campaign of William the Conqueror. The Crusade was to be a logical continuation through papal sanction. As a matter of fact, the pope preached about it in his speech at the Clermont. Consequently, the author describes the Crusade as an act of god and the Crusaders as those who express the divine will. In particular, the author uses the Bible for justifying his view. The Crusaders in the chronicle act in contrast with the background of the Muslims, who, from the author's viewpoint, were the pagans, and with the "crafty" emperor of the Lower Empire. It's necessary to mention that the author of the chronicle calls the Crusaders "milites Christi" and it is clear that the use of this term was not restricted by monks. Therefore, the chronicle "The deeds of the Franks" helps us to understand that the idea of "fair war" had evolved and by the time of the Crusades turned into the idea of "sanctity" of an army fighting for justice.

Yakov Rabkin (University of Montreal, Canada)
The Use of Force in Jewish Tradition and in Zionist Practice

The pogroms of the late 19th century deepened the insecurity of the Jewish population of the Russian Empire. In contrast to Jewish reactions during the pogroms of the 17th century, which had been far crueller and more violent, for a growing number of secularizing Jews the insecurity and the suffering they encountered at the end of the "century of progress" had lost all religious significance. 20th century Jews who had broken with the Torah reacted in an entirely different way. Rather than scrutinizing their own behaviour and intensifying their penitence while they fled the violence, they asserted their pride and called for resistance. It was a radical departure from tradition. Zionism emerged from a climate of shame, of insulted dignity. Even though the Torah, both written and oral, repeatedly cautions Jews against personal or collective pride, it was precisely in these traits that the Zionists sought the kind of respect that they defined in European terms: a country, an army, political independence. What gave the Zionist movement its extraordinary vigour were not the suffering of pogrom victims, but the humiliation of the rejected supplicants, of those whose hopes of integration into Russian society the pogroms had shattered. They felt drawn by the Zionist doctrine of Theodore Herzl, himself a rejected aspirant, whose hope of becoming a full-fledged European was shaken by the Dreyfus trial.

Maria Yelenevskaya (Technion-Israel Institute of Technology, Israel)
At Home with Violence: Israeli Russian-Language Media's Use of Cultural Codes in Interpreting Intifada

Relations with Palestinians, violence, and terrorism are never-ending topics of Israeli discourse. Immigrants from the countries of the former Soviet Union are considered to be among the most right-wing groups in the society, sceptical about negotiations, opposing territorial concessions and supporting the use of force in the relations with the neighbours. Such attitudes are often expressed and fuelled by the Russian-language media (over 50 newspapers, several radio stations and a TV channel) that have secured an important role in the social and cultural life of the community. Like other Israeli information sources, the immigrants' media provide extensive coverage of Israel's relations with Palestinians. A specific feature of these materials is manipulation of collective memory. Allusions to the Russian and Soviet military past, and in particular parallels with World War II and the war in Chechnya put events in Israel in the context meaningful for ex-Soviets. Journalists use these parallels to objectify their interpretation of the situation in the Middle East, predict its development and legitimize extremist views. The mobilization of collective memory appears to be a successful journalistic strategy and is mirrored in the immigrants' discussion forums on the Internet which reprocess the same images and stereotypes.

Sophie Roche (Max-Planck-Institute of Social Anthropology, Halle, Germany)
Generation Groups in the Transformation Process in Tajikistan

In Tajikistan violence is a common mean of communication for young men. In my research I look on how violence is reproduced and maintained as a social principle of order. Since civil war and the accompanying break down of social security system concepts of honour (or-u nomus, nang, sharm-u hajo) are one main factor that organizes inter-human relation in Tajik society. In Tajik view honour is closely connected to legal use of violence by a specific group: the young men. My research focuses on the institution of male age groups (gap, gashtak) and men house. While men houses are based on strong hierarchical principles meetings of young men (djura) work differently. Violence is constantly reproduced as well as actor and as victim through games. It is an important place where male bonding is forged and competition take place outside of the elder's control. Though Tajikistan has

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one of the highest birth rates in the former Soviet Union little attention is paid to the difficult condition of young male. Young men face special difficulties in Tajikistan: they are supposed to defend the family's honour and it is expected that they should find work to feed their family, over more they set the main physical power force (i.e. to build houses). Since honour concepts are based on female behaviour which again is based on Islamic principles male aggression is viewed as legal mean of defending the family's faith. During the civil war revenge of personal matters based on honour was one principle of getting into violent conflicts. Concepts of honour were used also to harm the opposition (i.e. raping of young women - Tadjbakhsh 1994). The male age groups (generation groups) form a basic action unit as well in civil war as in peaceful time; it is a life time network. In a strongly gerontocratic system as Tajik society generation groups are an important counter weight.

Finn Aaserud (Niels Bohr Archive, Copenhagen, Denmark)
Niels Bohr's Approach to Violence

Growing up under harmonious family circumstances in the small and safe Danish society, Niels Bohr had little contact with violence until the 1930s, when Hitler came to power in Germany and Stalin tightened his grasp in the Soviet Union. As leader of Copenhagen University's Institute for Theoretical Physics, Bohr was alerted to the unbearable situation of German and Soviet academics by visiting scientists. This caused him to make his institute a haven for refugee physicists, primarily from Germany. Upon the German occupation of Denmark in April 1940, Bohr chose to remain in his home country, providing support to threatened colleagues as well as serving as a rallying point against the German oppression. After escaping to England in October 1943 he became convinced that nuclear physics, to which he and his institute had been major contributors, might lead to an atomic bomb before the war was over. He willingly joined the atomic bomb project, while starting his own mission to convince the statesmen that the weapon of ultimate violence would necessitate a new openness between nations after the war. In response to historical circumstances Bohr had developed an approach to violence grounded both in his Danish roots and his view of science as a truly international enterprise.

Charles Rhéaume (Directorate of History and Heritage,
National Defence Headquarters, Ottawa, Canada)
Canada's Self-Image as a non-Violent Nation

From its decision not to develop a nuclear bomb of its own after the Second
World War in spite of its active participation in the Manhattan Project to its
eagerness in engaging in peacekeeping missions across the world as early as
the late 1940s, Canada is a middle power that saw the second half of the 20th
century shape its self-image as a non-violent nation. It may be argued that
neighbouring the mighty United States of America with which to have
security agreements helps oneself to pretend being more virtuous than others.
It cannot be denied however that a genuine philosophy of contributing to the
easing of international tensions has emerged in that country through the
thinking of such visionary figures as 1957 Nobel Peace Prize winner Lester
B. Pearson, and led Canada into taking part in hundreds of peacekeeping
missions over the years. In addition to an overview of Canada's record in
international conflicts mediation, this paper examines the possible clash that
awaits it through tough choices ahead. The fact is that the war on terror in
which Canada is now taking part in the post 9/11 environment has its leading
military people asking the tough question: "Are we ready for blood?".

Mikhail Suslov (European University Institute, Florence, Italy)
Imagined Wars in the Russian Conservative Utopias

Russian conservatives in the 19th and early 20th centuries were infatuated
with the idea of the grand European war which they perceived in the terms of
Apocalypse as an ultimate sanction of all domestic issues. Their inability to
overcome the gap between the gloomy reality and visionary projects of the
futur*e made them susceptible for the radical and coercive methods of
establishing the new brave world. But we should not regard the imagined war
as a merely fantasy, on the contrary, it was evidently the most successful
project of Russian conservatives in the late tsarist Russia who eventually
managed to make war out of their daydreams. The genre of the Utopian war
carries out a function similar to this of the eschatological visions of the
medieval past. It works as deus ex machina, as a crafty technique of reducing
the detailed program of reforms to the archetypal reference to the purifying
flame of the war. Russian political culture is practically imbued with utopias
among which imaginary wars constitute a considerable part. I count only the
most explicit and sound texts on the eve of Russian revolution such as N.
Shelonskij's "In the World of the Future" (1892), D. Ilovayskij's "More then

Thirty Years Later" (1897), A. Krasnitskij's "Under the Raised Curtain" (1900), S. Sharapov's "Fifty Years Later" (1902), F. Vitberg's "Political Daydreams of the Russian Patriot" (1904), P. R-tskij's [pseudonym] "The War between the Ring and the Union" (1913). And it must be stressed that Russian case was not unique and the similar books were published in this time across all Europe. It seems intriguing to investigate to what extent these utopias coincided with the reality and how they influenced the political decisions.

François-Xavier Nérar (Collège Universitaire Français de Moscou, Russia*)*
5% of Truth: Denunciation in Stalinist Russia

In the summer of 1928, as he prepares to instigate collectivization, Stalin launches a vast denunciation campaign that he calls self-criticism. "Of course, he says, we cannot ask that such criticism be 100% true. But if it comes from the man on the street, we must not reject a criticism that would even be only 5 or 10% true". In the name of a struggle against bureaucracy, citizens are therefore invited to make their frustrations known to the authorities, denounce abuses and unmask the culprits. Denunciation will become a widespread practice in the thirties. Not only will it be a way for some to wage repression, perform vengeance or express their hatred, but it will have the interesting effect of allowing Soviet citizens who are forbidden to go on strike to voice their discomfort and disappointment. It will be channelled by the authorities in a way however that it will prove politically inoffensive. These signals nonetheless remain terrible descriptions of the shortcomings and the violence of daily life in Russia.

Oxana Klimkova (Central European University, Budapest, Hungary & Petrozavodsk State University, Russia)
The Great Terror in the Gulag

The paper is devoted to the exploration of a particular manifestation of violence as a method of state governance in the context of Stalinist Russia. It analyzes the mechanisms, dynamics and the peculiarities of the so-called "Great Terror" in the context of the GULAG (the system of the Forced Labour Camps). The GULAG was yet another arena for sullen plays of mind of executioners during the "Great Terror" of 1937-1939, and a mirror image of the Soviet state and society at large. The materials of repressive policy inside the camps at the end of the 1930-s also reveal an unimaginable gap

between the inquisitorial mechanisms of the charges on the one side and the factual evidence of the crimes on the other side. But at the same time, the policy of the "Great Terror" in the GULAG, which was not an ordinary penitentiary system, but the instrument of detention and exploitation of the real and imaginary opponents of the regime, had its own peculiarities, that this paper attempts to grasp. The paper also discusses the influence of the policy of the "Great Terror" on the social life within the camps. The paper is based on the archival materials from the GARF (State Archive of the Russian Federation, Moscow), and the memoirs of ex-prisoners of the GULAG collected in the Memorial Society Archive in Moscow. By presenting the new material, the paper aims to contribute to the debate on the issue of inclusion/exclusion, (or, in other words, "Sonderweg") of the Soviet period of Russian history in relation to the 20th century history of the European modern states.

Christopher Williams (University of Central Lancashire, Preston, UK)
Consent or Coercion : The formation of State and Political Institutions in Russia, 1917-2005

This paper utilises a variety of political theorists and their theories explores the way in which consent or coercion was used at different times by successive Russian governments from Lenin to Putin to establish or maintain political power and how coercion became an obstacle to Soviet rule after 1985. It will also analyse the debate about authoritarian tendencies under Yeltsin and Putin and the impact of the latter on political institutions formation, development and on the nature of Russian democracy in the early 21st century.

PANEL VII

Modern Mass Media and Public Sphere:
New Challenges and Opportunities for Democracy

<u>Convenor</u>: *Veronica V. Usacheva* (Center for Civilizational and
Regional Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow)

Globalization has created new challenges in information space. New models
of communication have emerged. Their influence overcomes states' borders
and, what is even more serious, they have a great potential and capabilities
for destroying the basis and cultural values of a society. In the classical
interpretation by Jurgen Habermas the "public sphere" is the arena within
which a debate occurs. It is the zone where access to information is sufficient
for more probable rational discourse and looking for mutually acceptable
public standards. The public sphere is where ideas, information and
knowledge are shared, where ideas generated and opinions are constructed.
Although real and experienced, the public sphere cannot be located in a
particular place or identified as an object. It is not a physical spot where
discourse has consequences. For Habermas, correctly functioning public
sphere restricts state power and gives possibilities through which democracy
could be realized. Ideally, the public sphere should be free from limitations,
both private interests and state control. Nowadays the public sphere as a zone
of modern discourse is distorted by unequal access to information, power and
prosperity. What is the role of modern mass media in the public sphere's
formation? What possibilities do they offer citizens to seek, receive, and
impart information? How do mass media provide equal access to them for
different social groups and individuals? Is equal access possible in the
modern world? During the 20th century the state became a serious player on
the public sphere stage, being sometimes authoritarian or totalitarian
monopolist. Information control can serve as a part and parcel of nation-
building. At the same time, media manipulation can become a weapon of
mass deconstruction. What kind of public sphere can exist in the situation of
increasing influence of the state and economic interests on mass media?
Where is the solution to overcome the elitist character of the public sphere?
The progress of communications gives new opportunities for people to
overcome limitations and deficiencies, even social norms and social control.
The many point out that new mass media are revolutionizing the nature of
discourse. The crucial question is: Do people receive now more information
than before? Do we have more zones for public discourse, than before? Are

there any new possibilities for broad and unlimited freedom of expression, including critical to authorities? The panel will cover both theoretical and empirical approaches to the mentioned above problems and encourages papers that deal with the following: public sphere / public sphericules; modern mass media in maintenance the institutions of civil societies and democracy; public discourses, their competition and hierarchical relations.

Sergei V. Klyagin (Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow, Russia)

Mass Media and Society Today:
The Phenomena of Recovered Social Reality

It is obvious that the role of mass media in modern society has changed considerably. Today mass media are not only a tool of social interaction, media factor creates social reality on the whole. A number of consecutive ideas and stages, concerning this subject are represented in the concepts of J.Baudrillard, M.McLuhan, P.Bourdieu, M.Castells, N.Nosov and other theoreticians. The latest stage in media-society system development follows the virtual type of constituting the social reality. Virtualization of society means the transition from social action to semantic information interactions. Moreover, it is important that this transition is certainly reflected in people's minds. The latest stage in its turn manifests no reflected replacement of sociality by virtuality created by mass media. Returning, reverting, and recurring of the previously established virtuality form the recovered social reality. This idea shows the possibility of discovering new social ontology characterized by new configuration of matter, man, social action and media. Prerequisites of the recovered reality phenomena are caused by the power of the nowadays media. Not to mention the strengthening system integration of mass media into global production processes. There is a certain menace for man and society in spreading of the described phenomena. Paying attention to humane factor of policy and democracy ("democracy of feelings", A.Giddens), putting forward new ideas for social dialogue, looking for the new effectiveness of non institutional social and personal identities – these are some of the measures to prevent future problems.

Tarmo Malmberg (University of Vaasa, Finland)
The Possibilities and Limits of Public Life: Habermas and the Mass Media

Ever since the East-European liberation movements leading to the upheavals of 1989-91, the problem of civil society in general and Jürgen Habermas' theory of the public sphere in particular have been in the focus of political media theory. What has not been given sufficient attention to is the ambiguity of the concept of the civil society – in its liberal, Hegelian, and other connotations – , and the development of Habermas' conception from *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962), his first substantial contribution, to *Facts and Norms* (1992), his last major work. Habermas started from a Neo-Marxist rewriting of Hegel's social philosophy, but he diverted from both Hegel and Marx in inspecting the social totality from the point of view of neither the state ,like Hegel, nor the economy (civil society), like Marx – but from that of the public sphere, which was an autonomous social entity the rising bourgeoisie generated. After he, at the mid-1970s, abandoned the Marxist framework altogether, Habermas had to change his conception of society, which was accomplished in *Theory of Communicative Action* (1981). The consequences of this reorientation for the theory of the public sphere were not explicated until the late 1980s and early 1990s. The new conception was a combination of liberalist, republicanist and avant-gardist ideas. The paper will try to analyse in some detail how, in this new conception compared with the old one, the media are invested with possibilities but also with strict limits as to the realisation of political democracy. In consequence, it is the moral sensitivity and civil courage on which, in the last resort, collective self-rule is based.

Gregory Young (University of Gloucestershire, Cheltenham, UK)
Periphery: Critically Re-Positioning Meanings and Identities in Globalized Spaces

This paper will be guided by a new historicism perspective into what I feel is a need to move beyond the role of the public sphere as a domain/s where identities are communicated through an implicit centre periphery notion. Instead it attempts to examine how in fact there have always existed dynamic spheres of discourse which intersect in center-periphery relationships that are constituted entirely along circumferences; where every center is potentially someone else's periphery and centers are delineated or determined by points where such circumferences cross. This approach suggests that the instability

or inherent dynamics of identity referred to in much of the literature on masculinity and gender identity for example, actually renders their reliance upon the concept of hierarchies of masculinity as a useful but ultimately limited analytical concept. Instead it suggests that at this point in time it might be useful to consider the modified notion of center-periphery outlined above, one that borrows also from the psychological/sociological concept of positioning theory, in relation to national/local and indeed glocal identity and acknowledges the shifting nature of power the Internet is aiding in relation to community, nation and gender and their representations locally and globally. The modification suggests too that the traditional center-periphery concept, where the center is located in the center of the sphere, is by virtue of this untenable because, although there is a core to planet Earth, there is no actual center on the surface of geographical space as indeed there is no actual top or bottom to a sphere. Instead it is time to recognise that both of these are culturally determined and disseminated concepts that reflect discourses of power that attempt to position them as such at local, national and global levels through their intersections with other spheres of local, national and transnational discourses. Central to this approach will be a critical examination of the term globalisation and its assumptions of for example Americanisation in the later part of the 20th century. There is an inherent passiveness on the part of global, and increasingly interactive first person, media audiences within the literature on globalisation that carries with it an inevitability of the emergence of a monoculture. Clearly this is not happening; indeed the new media has ushered in clear examples of resistance to those processes and in parallel with its development regionalism has grown.

Annekaryn Tiele, Helmut Scherer
(University of Music and Drama, Hannover, Germany)
News Factors in the Global Press Coverage

Against the background of an increasing globalization, reports about foreign countries are now, in the beginning of the 21st century, of higher interest than ever before. In a time of a stronger coming together of states worldwide on political and economical levels, it is getting more and more important for a country, if and how much it is covered in the foreign media. For a country's citizens, the mass media are usually the only source for information about foreign countries. Therefore "nation-images" in the people's heads are affected strongly by media coverage. The actions of politicians and nations on the international stage in turn result from these mutual images. For this

reason, it is of a high relevance to analyze the international reporting about foreign countries and its influencing factors. For this purpose we have conducted a content analysis of newspapers from 127 countries which were collected in one week in September 2004. In our analysis we focus on the news factor "proximity". We combined data from our content analysis and external media data of our sample's countries. Results show that industrialized countries, primarily the USA and Russia, dominate the news flow in international newspapers. Developing countries such as e.g. Guinea, Suriname or Swaziland, virtually do not exist on the global press' map. Regression analysis and variance analysis indicate that the structure of international news flow is influenced by the economic, linguistic, political and geographical proximity between two countries. Among these, the economic relationship is the most important factor. Thus, today's global press coverage is mainly affected by economic means. In our opinion, this is the result of globalization which seems to have a substantial impact also on the coverage of international newspapers.

Mert Bilgin (Dogus University, Istanbul, Turkey)
Markets and Global Public Sphere:
New Challenges and Opportunities for Civilizations

Evolution of consumerism is not only the leitmotiv of Western civilization's transformation into what it is now, but also the catalyst of current mutation in Russia, East Asia, Africa and Islamic Middle East though with different levels. This mutation takes place with a sort of amalgamation between market and the public sphere on the favour of the values of the first. The result is distortion of value which makes civilizations what they are. Ideas to regulate global capitalism, and/or to attain a plural public sphere that is expected to impede the negative aspects of market expansion, can not go beyond unrealistic purposes because almost all of the institutions suffer from the necessity to adopt strategies compatible with the cultural logic of market in order to exist. Nevertheless it seems still possible to transform the pseudo-plurality of global market into a real pluralism among diverse civilizations within a global public sphere. Indeed, the only remedy to gain competitive advantage, which may also help perpetuation of a variety of civilizations, is to acculturate with the World economy by sustaining and/or extending the domestic market through:
1- Production and marketing of goods and services on the basis of real value, which is liberated from contemporary value adding through insincere image building. (Non-split flexible production)

2- Production and marketing of the broadest possible range of goods and services all accompanied by identities that reflect the use of the concerned commodity, rather than artificial identities that offers the consumer a temporary euphoria during the act of consumption. (Sincere split production) Within this perspective, it seems possible to attain a global public sphere consisted of various civilizations these types of production liberalizes the individuals from contemporary omnipresence of images and artificial identities.

Pattamaporn Busapathumrong
(Asian University, Banglamung, Thailand)
Modern Mass Media and Information Technology in Peace and Social Policy: A Case Study of Peace Organizations in Global Context

Modern mass media and the use of information technology have been contributed to the emergence of peace building and social policy in global context. According to the classical interpretation especially by Jurgen Habermas, the public sphere is considered to be the public area which becomes the accessible and sufficient zone of information. One of the results concern the rational discourse of mutually acceptable public standards. The zone promotes the flows of shared ideas, information and knowledge which is one of main features of democracy. This paper will focus on modern mass media and information technology in peace and social policy by using peace organizations in global context as case studies. Data and information will be collected from the websites of peace organizations and selected international organizations as their activities and programs have contributed to the development of public sphere which gives possibilities towards peace building in global context.

Yan Jin (Virginia Commonwealth University, USA)
The Role of Mass Media in International Crisis Communication and Conflict Management

Public relations, as a profession and research area in mass communications, focuses on the management of communication between organizations and their strategic publics. One of the challenges is to better understand the role of mass media in shaping and influencing public opinions in more ethical and effective ways: for example, how to utilize mass media and different communication strategies and tactics to provide equal information access to

different social groups and individuals, and how to facilitate dialogues between different groups, while achieving the organization's goals and objectives. Most of current studies on crisis management in public relations have focused on the local level, between the organization and its publics such as employees, stakeholders, the media, and the community, particularly when the organization appears to be culpable. However, few studies have sought to examine how crisis is communicated at the national level, between the government and its people, understanding the kinds of public relations strategies used by the government, and analyzing the response of its dynamic and varied publics. Further, researchers argued that understanding governmental response in a crisis is crucial when the threat requires promptness in response, and studies should delve into how governments can respond to crises when the culpability is unknown and when the locus of control rests externally. In related to "threat" as key factor in understanding international crisis and conflict management, this presentation will draw on the rich tapestry of literature from cross-disciplinary perspectives involving behavioral, business, and the communication sciences. A threat appraisal model will be presented to examine the fabric and faces of threat, and how it can be communicated, in the context of international crisis communication and conflict management. Results from two research projects (Jin, Pang, & Cameron, 2004, 2005) will be shared as case studies: 1) Comparative analyses of Singapore and Chinese governments' management of the perceptions and emotions of their multiple publics during the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) crisis; and 2) A threat appraisal model for terror alerts issued by the Department of Homeland Security.

Chiara Valentini (University of Jyväskylä, Finland)
Constructing Public Support:
EU Communication Challenges for the Process of Integration

The European Union in the last 5 years has concentrated its attention more and more in communicating its policies towards its citizens. The main common objective was: "to improve perception of the European Union and its institutions and their legitimacy by deepening knowledge and understanding of its tasks, structure and achievements and by establishing a dialogue with its citizens" (European Commission, 2004). This communication strategy aimed as well at increasing EU's reputation and support in order to legitimize its policy and integration process. EU's reputation continues to be quite low and this negative tendency correspond as well with the little public participation in European debate. Proponents of the

civic decline school often argue that these changes are caused, or at least aggravated, by communication. Different schools proposed different ideas of the role of mass media in democratic countries, however all of them admit the specific position that mass media have in every society. In the same line is the European Commission which recognized the importance and power of the mass media for the European debate. By informing and educating people about EU's activities and promoting common policies among all the member states, they hope to improve citizens' participation to the creation of a supranational democracy. Citizens' participation is one of the key factors of functioning democracy. Hence, enhancing public participation in European debate is extremely important and it requires all possible efforts from civic groups, NGOs and mass media as well. In this paper I will discuss about the role of mass media in enhancing public debate on EU, the reasons for having a public sphere within EU's framework and the current situation in the EU's member states. The role of mass media is also discussed considering previous works and research on mass communication.

Julia Hoffmann (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)
Re-thinking Democratic Legitimacy – Communication Rights
and Deliberation in the European Public Sphere

The organizational structure of the European Union has generated novel challenges to traditional notions of democracy and legitimacy that require scholars of international relations to question their paradigms and everyone to (re-)state the normative principles on which the newly emerging modes of governance ought to be grounded. One of the greatest challenges to the future of the European project is what has been widely referred to as the *democratic deficit* of its institutions and the political apathy of its citizens that flow from it. It will be argued that at the heart of the democratic deficit lie a lack of public deliberation and a deep detachment of citizens from the European levels of decision-making. These problems will have to be tackled by creating a truly European-wide public sphere, if the notion of European citizenship is not to remain a hollow concept. It is the task of the European regulator to enhance participatory opportunities, protect basic rights and create optimal conditions for active citizenship to emerge. The processes of (mass-) communication are the basis of most large-scale public deliberation. Thus, it is argued that mass media should be recognized as a tool for its facilitation and seen in the light of their potential for more active and inclusive citizen participation at the European level rather than as a mere commodity and instrument to push economic growth, employment and

international competitiveness. The implementation of Communication Rights is crucial to protect existing communicative spaces as well as to promote emerging ones. They must therefore be put into a larger context of new forms of democracy to emerge, in which deliberation not only takes place *within* decision-making bodies and includes not only those élite interest groups and 'stakeholders' that are already involved, but reaches out to potentially include all European citizens by means of mass media. Viewed in such a context, additional relevance of those fundamental human rights emerges as *citizenship* rights, essential to the future legitimacy of the European project. To what extent policy-making and case law at EU level facilitate Communication Rights and answers to the deliberative needs of European citizens will have to be subject of further analysis.

David M. Barlow (University of Glamorgan, Wales, UK)
Small Nation Blues: Wales and the Public Sphere

The establishment of a National Assembly for Wales (NAfW) was seen as a means of creating a new democracy and a new *Welsh* civil society. The NAfW responded by articulating its vision for a 'new' Wales, prioritising – amongst a raft of initiatives – the promotion of active citizenship, social inclusion and a general rejuvenation of democracy. While the electronic and print media were seen as key players in helping bring this 'project' to fruition, some critics argued that the media in Wales was a 'weak' element of Welsh civil society. This assertion was based on two inter-related arguments. Firstly, that the ownership, allegiances and orientation of the media in Wales continues to be unduly influenced from beyond its borders. Secondly, that because civil society in Wales had developed within a British context, its 'Welshness' was in doubt. This paper invokes the 'public sphere' as the communicative dimension of civil society. Here, three principles of the public sphere – independence, access and diversity – are suggested as 'benchmarks' in order to examine the relationship between the media and civil society in Wales. By focusing on the communicative dimension of civil society, this allows 'voice' to take centre-stage. 'Voice' is significant because this dimension of civil society is often overshadowed by the more popularly promoted characteristics of 'social capital', such as loyalty, trust and virtue that are commonly associated with 'third sector' voluntary bodies.

Frank Webster (City University of London, UK)
Self Representation in the Anti-War Movement: Examples from the UK

This paper reports on preliminary research undertaken on the adoption and use of ICTs by anti-war movements in the UK. It will highlight themes evident in the movements' self presentation in literature, in press handouts, and on electronic sources such as web site and blogs. The work will be framed by concern to conceptualise the changing information environment of war/conflict, one that is considerably more uncertain and complicated than previously. This involves consideration of changes in public spheres – in spaces for discussion and debate as well as sources of information that accompany the arrival of the 'information age'.

Robert A. Hackett (Simon Fraser University, Canada)
William C. Carroll (University of Victoria, Canada)
**Remaking Media: The Struggle to Democratize
Public Communication in the US and UK**

This paper summarizes the main themes of a book, scheduled for release in May 2006. It rides on a wave of political and scholarly attention to oppositional communication, triggered by the rise in the 1990s of the Zapatistas, Internet activism, and IndyMedia. This attention has mostly focused on alternative media and the "media strategies" of social movements – i.e., "democratization *through* the media". Our book concerns democratization *of the media themselves* -- efforts to transform practices and structures of media representation, as a distinctive field that is pivotal to other social struggles. What is the political significance and potential of democratic media activism in the US, UK and Canada today? We begin where other critical media analyses leave off. The book takes as its premise the existence of a massive "democratic deficit" in the field of public communication. This deficit propels diverse struggles to reform and revitalize public communication in the North Atlantic heartland of globalization. We focus on activism directed towards *challenging* and *changing* media content, practices, and structures, as well as state policies on media. The paper focuses primarily on the democratization of *public communication*: it highlights activism that is oriented towards the means of public communication, the "agenda-setting" media (especially journalism), the "machinery of representation," in Stuart Hall's phrase. The questions we ask about media democratization are concretely practical and more broadly political:

What strategic action repertoire and cultural-ideological frames does the movement employ, and how does it deal with the openings and opportunities, as well as blockages and opponents, that make up its political and cultural environment?

Where is democratic media activism situated historically and ideologically: is it reformist or counter-hegemonic; does it contest only the application of hegemonic codes, or has it developed fundamentally alternative conceptions of communication and democracy? Or, does the movement contain both reformist and transformative currents?

Does democratic media activism constitute the nucleus of a new movement, similar to environmentalism thirty years ago; or is it destined to be (at best) a bridge-builder between existing movements?

Janet Jones, Martin Royston (University of Wales, Aberystwyth, UK)
Crypto-Hierarchies and Technocrats: An Indymedia UK Case Study

This paper is based on the results of an exploratory empirical study into editorial decision making practices at *Indymedia UK*. Recent studies have tended to idealise the potential of on-line, open-publishing to revitalise news gathering and consumption along democratic lines. Many journalism-based social movements, such as Indymedia, have adopted the Internet readily with its promise of non hierarchical, open protocols. Building on the notion "crypto-heirarchies" proposed by Jamie King, we investigate the extent to which *Indymedia UK's* technological dependency affects its ability to distort the consensual decision making process that it aspires to. Over the summer of 2004 we were invited by one member of the inner *Indymedia UK* circle to conduct on-line research into its user/contributor base. The invitation was then debated through IMC Process over a six week period. We continued to monitor proceedings on the IMC UK Process pages into 2005. We kept a diary of all the on-line discussions and phone calls that ensued in an attempt to document the decision making process and looked for evidence to support or refute King's description of the minority exercising 'soft control' over the majority. We wanted to establish whether or not a philosophy of 'openness' actively disguises the tacit flows of power that underpin decision making. We conclude from this study that the reliance on technological elites effectively channels and centralizes power in the hands of a few and despite the potential of the Internet to facilitate consensual decision making, there is inevitably an aspirational element to the notion of open publishing which buckles under the constraints of the technological base underpinning *Indymedia*. We set our findings in the context of Habermas's theories on how flows of influence

may be organized so as to allow the most extensive democratization possible (the ideal public sphere) but also how communication is often subverted by systematic imperatives. This study suggests a new form of colonization with manifest causal links between the technological elite and the power base of *Indymedia UK* suggesting that Habermas's ideal public sphere, where a social space is generated by communicative action ***protected*** from systematic imperatives by separation, is not easily facilitated through this form of Internet publishing.

Asimina Michailidou (Loughborough University, United Kingdom)
Public Diplomacy and Democracy in the Cyberspace Era:
The Case of the EU Public Sphere

This paper looks at the EU's public diplomacy strategy from three theoretical aspects: the Habermasian normative approach of the public sphere, the theoretical discussion regarding the democratising potential of the Internet and key definitions of public diplomacy. The concept of citizens' participation is central in all these three theoretical contexts. Within this context, and following Leonard, Stead & Smewing's three-dimensional model of public diplomacy and the main areas which public diplomacy needs to cover if it is going to be successful (Leonard, Stead & Smewing 2002) this paper examines the content of the homepages of three official EU websites (Europa http://europa.eu.int, EU@UN http://www.europa-eu-un.org, EURUNION http://www.eurunion.org) over a period of 24 weeks during 2004 and 2005 and the official policies of the Commission of the European Communities regarding the Information and Communication strategy for the EU for the period 2000-2005. The results of the EU's online public diplomacy strategy analysis are then juxtaposed with the review of the official policies to reveal a gap between policy and implementation, with particular focus on the key issue of participation.

Gabriella Szabó (Institute for Political Sciences, Budapest, Hungary)
The Role of Internet in the European Public Sphere

The proposed paper will focus on the formation of European public sphere. The central question of the research refers to the potential contribution of the Internet to a European public discussion. The aim of the study is to explore the status of the Internet in the interactions between the main actors of European political communication. Transforming the triangle model of

Gianpietro Mazzoleni (political system – media – citizens) into the European level, the online appearance of the European Parliament (as a representative of the European political system), the Internet-based edition of only EU-related news channels (*EUobserver.com, EurActiv.com, Europe by Satellite*) and the online fora for open debate on EU affairs (from the side of citizens) will be examined. The research follows the method of agenda setting (Dearing-Rogers 1996) in order to find out what issues are on the European agenda in a certain period. Beside the topic list to be complied, particular attention will be paid to the characters of the issues (subject, claimants of the issue, dynamic of the issue, frames…etc). Given the inherently transnational feature of Internet and the possibilities for multi-lingual communication supply, it might help overcome some of the infrastructural and linguistic obstacles that have often stood in the way of the European public spheres. The research will contribute the better understanding how the Internet may affect patterns of political communication at EU level. The condition of European public sphere is related to transparency and legitimacy of the European integration, which refers to the often cited problems of *democratic deficit*. Finally, the discursive analysis might provide an alternative aspect of the ultimate question; what are the main features of the transnational political community, created by the European integration.

Anna D. Trakhtenberg (Institute of Philosophy and Law, Yekaterinburg, Russia)

"Public Sphere" on the Internet: Habermasian Ideal & Reality of Runet

In the classic case of representative democracy there must be free and independent mass-media that are supposed to be objective and unbiased (as far as it is possible) in their task of conducting the rational discussions and constructing the public sphere. Ever since Jürgen Habermas had described the decay of public sphere in late Modernity and the degeneration of the mass media into the instruments of shaping and limiting public discourse, the problem of revitalizing the public sphere became central in the field of the "critical" media studies. The Internet gave rise to hope that such revitalizing would be the direct result of technological breakthrough. But the reality of Internet communications is very far from the Habermasian ideal of rational discourse. Internet discourse is at its rational best on the official sites and Internet-versions of the traditional mass-media. Disputes on the unofficial sites and blogs look more like a semantic (and very emotional) guerilla wars against dominant cultural order than as an open discussions of all issues of general concern in which argumentation is employed to ascertain general

interests and the public good. Russian blogs of "LiveJournal" may serve as a very good examples. Moreover, Runet's discourse still preserves traditional features of the Russian public discourse which is based on two archetypical constructions: "denunciation" and "intercession" ("chelobytnaya"). So the discussions of all issues of general concern are much more rational in the traditional mass-media than on the Runet (in spite of their more than obvious "manipulative bias"). There is no direct correlation between the communality of Internet and the revitalizing of the classical code of rational discussion.

Marta Nunes da Costa (New School University, Astoria, USA)
Shaping the Public Sphere of Today –
Democratic Aspirations of the Internet Culture

John Rawls, Jurgen Habermas and Hannah Arendt have shown how public reason lies at the heart of democratizing processes and how decisive it is to the survival and good health of our political, social, economic and cultural institutions. The three authors share a common Kantian background, namely the universalist and emancipatory conception of moral autonomy, which lies at the foundation of an understanding of publicity and political culture. However, this background is going to be interpreted and used differently. This paper has three sections: In the first section, I will expose the common and divergent points regarding each author's assumptions; I will explore the formulation of their models of public sphere as well as the notion of public reason and public space. In the second section I will critically review the authors' positions. Having the Culture of the Internet as paradigm, I will argue that neither Arendt's ideal model of narrative action nor Rawls' liberal model which is trapped in its constructive formalism can account for the meanings of public sphere today nor its impact in reshaping the meaning of democracy and its practices. Even if the Habermasian model is the most satisfying, at least in a preliminary stage, insofar he locates the public sphere within the civil society itself, his model is incapable to provide an account of the wide public reason that is suited to political deliberation in contemporary pluralist societies. My question becomes: how should we define 'public sphere' today, in a world with increasing technology, where the category of 'access' replaces that of 'possession' and where the Internet appears as an particular culture that destabilizes previous models of social and political interaction? In the final moment of this paper I want to argue that the Internet represents the ideal space for democracy, despite the fact that we still confront the obstacles brought by the conditioning of 'accessability' and 'security'.

Alexander A. Kalmykov (Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow, Russia)

The Anthropo-Political Aspect of Internet Culture

To see the Internet as a cultural phenomenon is to understand that the Web generates new forms of culture and incorporates them into everyday life, rationalizing and globalizing economic, political, scientific and other types of relations between people and organizations. First step: of this process is the making of virtual life-like models (copies), Web communities for example which have all the necessary components and relations that a person needs. Cyber technological instruments: chat rooms, virtual casinos, Internet dating agencies and others are all functioning for these purposes. Second step: is the distribution of this Web culture. This culture expands to consume other types of human, non-virtual, culture and in turn digitalizes that other culture so that it can be incorporated into Web culture. On this cultural foundation a new ethics, language, and professions come into being. Third step: cultural simulation – the appearance of such subcultures as cyberpunks which combine within itself marginal intentions with the limitless possibilities of computer technology in order to achieve individual freedom. In this case the internet is a simulator of a person possibilities. Fourth step: simulation of communication with culture. This is a new phenomenon, in it the Internet is an exclusive link between an individual and broad human culture. The internet communities are experiencing this cultural influence. However this influence doesn't end here. It changes all forms of social life. The following are significant from a political anthropological point of view:

1.   The communicative informational arsenal of individuals and organizations is becoming a certain form of capital, which is completely convertible.

2.   A new communicative informational map is forming which has no relations with the political or economic world maps. There is a new, higher structure and it's relation with lower structures hasn't been studied. Traditional hierarchy and nationalities are begging to deteriorate and this raises the question and national and ethnic self-identification.

This is a massive cultural anthropological revolution which is forming a new type of person, the Communicating Individual. There is change in the algorithms of thought which is very significant when dealing with the formation and support of social institutes, especially: democracy, education, and law.

Johannes D. Froneman (North-West University,
Potchefstroom, South Africa)

**Expanding the Zones of Free Public Discourse in Post-Apartheid
South Africa, 1990-2005**

Prior to the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994, profound
changes to the media landscape commenced. This continued after Nelson
Mandela became president and the ANC started implementing its policies.
The change from an authoritarian system with a (nominally) Christian ethos
under a dominant white government, to a secular, (nominally) liberal-
democratic system under a dominant black government with a significant
Marxist component, has been profound. Today one can identify a whole
range of fundamental changes that have taken place in the past 15 years.
They include the state loosening its near-total monopoly on the broadcast
sector by

- selling a number of radio stations to private companies,
- allowing community radio stations, and
- licensing an independent, free-to-air TV station.

Likewise, the previous white dominated, privately-owned print media sector
has been transformed significantly, including black-controlled companies
gaining control of important titles. While these changes have been widely
accepted and could be regarded as an expansion of the public sphere, state
control of the dominant SA Broadcasting Corporation is still real.
Furthermore, print media have become overwhelmingly commercially driven.
This paper intends to discuss these realities and explore to what extent they
impinge on the growth of zones of free discourse. It will be argued that the
media changes cannot be explained by identifying which single normative
media model is dominant. It will be suggested that South Africa has shifted
from being a two-tier media system (for broadcast and print media, each with
its own characteristics) to a more complex system which can, to some extent,
be understood by carefully identifying the characteristics of the media, using
the normative media models as described by Denis McQuail as framework.
Concurrently, dominant motives can be identified, adding to our
understanding.

Fernando Lattman-Weltman (Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de
História Contemporânea do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)
Public Spheres, Institutions and Political Transitions:
The Role of Mass Media

The Brazilian political transition from military dictatorship to democracy, in
the 1980-s, has been exhaustively studied and interpreted by an extensive
group of researchers, from Brazil and outside the country, in the last two
decades. Calls attention in this literature, however, the systematic absence of
the variable "media" in order to enrich these available interpretations.
Especially if we take account of how much the relevance of this institution –
and the "public sphere" it addresses and nurture – has been demonstrated in
the most recent analyses concerning the functioning of the democracy
constructed in Brazil from the end of its military regime. This paper
constitutes, therefore, a theoretical approach of the possibilities envisaged by
an attempt to incorporate this variable to the historical interpretation of
transitions to democracy and the building of a new kind of democratic public
sphere.

John Ademola Yakubu (University of Ibadan, Nigeria)
The Mass Media as a Catalyst for Democratic Survival

The mass media usually referred to as the fourth estate of the realm has
become an established institution for the determination of how a nation has
come to terms with the ideals of democracy. A virile press is a sine qua non
for open debate and public enlightment. Where freedom of the press and
expression is denied democracy will be seriously threatened. Thus, modern
constitutions provide for freedom of expression and the press. The protection
of a journalist's source of information and liberal interpretation of the
activities of the press have been sufficiently developed for the purpose of
ensuing transparency in governance and survival of democracy. This paper
shall discuss the importance of the press in ensuring the survival of
democracy in any nation. Nigeria shall be used as a case study.

Olga Molchanova (Moscow State University, Russia)
Socialization Messages of the Mass Media

By the end of the 20th century the mass media got the leading role in
construction of the image of the world because of their ability to transfer

large amounts of information for enormous audiences. It is obvious, that today with universal distribution of mass media they became a powerful element of social life. This is even more important and actual in contemporary Russian society. From the early 90-s the degree of influence of mass media as agent of socialization has increased in Russia not only because of technical progress common to all countries of the world, but also because the content of the broadcasting has changed. Nowadays the mass media in many respects determine the character of Russian's political culture. Unfortunately, Russian mass media are not devoted to democratic values, and little attention is paid to the model of personal behavior within a civil society. Also it is possible to observe the effect that was called named 'effect of depolarization' by P. Bourdieu. This effect is caused by the following:

1.   The event that passes through the mass media receives more importance than it had in reality. The feeling that the world shown on TV is not designed for ordinary people results in impression that the politics is business of professionals. It contributes to the development of fatalistic view of the world and non-participation in the public life.

2.   In such a fatalistic view political life is seen as a dirty game which should be avoided if one does not want to be bored.

These two moments force the mass media to propose cynical vision of the politics as a well-known fact using political commentaries or questionnaires of interview, own cynical vision of the political world.

Leonid Isaev (State University – Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia)

Modern Mass Media and Public Sphere in Arabic World

Functions of modern mass media are wider than only distribution of the information. They represent «the powerful tool of formation of consciousness, feelings, tastes of huge weights of people and the tool of influence on them in spirit desirable for someone» (A. Zinovjev). As a result, the protesting view was formed in the society. The main object of influence of mass media is the political consciousness of people. The ultimate goal of the manipulation of the mass consciousness is to strengthen the passive attitude of the individuals towards public sphere. The mass media deprive the person of the perception of his/her own individuality. It is necessary to search ways to overcome these manipulation practices that with the help of the mass media generate conformism and consumership. A nucleus of culture of any society are its cultural wealth, common habits, traditions, and mentality that are peculiar for society as a whole. They result in formation of

the general orientation within of each national culture, gives rise in them to feeling of solidarity and the general destiny. In Countries of Commonwealth of the Arabian States of the Persian Gulf (CCASPG) cultural telecasts are produced according to these principles. They should be designed for wide sections of the population, and promote growth of a cultural level. They should help to revive Classic Arabic literary and scientific heritage and to favor development of creative and individual abilities. Strategy of cultural education should depend on a policy of the state, and the policy of the state, in its turn, cannot but be based on the supreme values. In Arabic countries public and individual life is based on the religious principles. Thus in CCASPG it is absolutely impossible not to take into account norms of the Koran. This fact influences greatly the situation in mass media in these countries. Mass media activity is limited and conditioned by the norms of the Muslim law. Thus, the mass media in CCASPG are not democratic from the point of view of the USA and the Western world in general.

Tatyana Evgenyeva (Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies, Moscow, Russia)

Spiral of Silence in Modern Society

Mass media is an instrument of manipulation that is used today for canalizing of mass moods into public opinion and political activity based on it. The beginning century showed the growing influence of mass moods on many social and political processes and events. The activity of the large masses of people based on the mood of discontentment can lead to the serious changes in the political system. Analyzing examples of system of manipulation of the mass moods using the mass media, German sociologist E. Noelle-Neumann formulated the concept of "spiral of silence" as a mechanism of the forming of public opinion. In her opinion a person looking at the behavior of the majority (real or illusorily) unconsciousnessly tries to join it. This concept can explain how the minority which got the possibility to organize mass activity and information about it in mass communication not only pretends to be the majority but really becomes it, persuading the silent majority to joint the illusory one. We could see the use of "spiral of silence" for political purposes in Georgia and Ukraine in 2004. Some months before the presidential or parliament elections there appears some youth organization with emotional name. It is organizing meetings and demonstrations that canalize mass moods of discontentment against future falsifications made by ruling political regime. After the victory of the rival candidate a well-prepared "crowd" occupies the squares. And specially prepared mass media

begin to demonstrate the image of large masses (majority) protesting against falsifications of "real" public opinion. With this pretext they block any possible expression of the opinion of the representatives of real majority. This illusory majority makes the hesitating persons change their opinion. Thus the minority step by step transforms into majority.

André Bourgeot (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, France)

Mass Media and Policy: The Cases of Post Soviet "Revolutions"

The aim of this paper is to show how media use to build information, create the event in the goal of identifiable propaganda. So, I shall based my analyses on three aspects:

1. *Semantical aspect*: The using word of "revolution", applied to different real time lead to a kind of ideological blurring which one deals with uniformal information, and impossible to verify. From an historical approach, it is the same term which is used for characterized French, Russian, Cuban revolutions, and nearer of us, Venezuelan one and the changing government in the ex-Soviet republics. Henceforth, "revolution" belongs to a vocabulary of making commonplace into the liberals unique thought, and this, in the same way as the expression "Soviet colonization", putting it on the same level of French, British, Portuguese, Spanish colonization which ones were a very important source of enrichment for the national bourgeoisie of this period.

2. *Political and institutional aspects*: The roles of NGO, too often assimilated with the loose conglomeration of civil society, in a context where political authorities and chefs *os d'Etat* of the old soviet political class. This last one needs to get a new legitimacy, democratic and elective, in the aim to maintain themselves in the power. Which kind of social, popular and financial controls is it possible to apply on these NGO, sometimes actor of manipulations of information?

3. *International aspects*: This power is submissive to the international constraints which ones touched to the national sovereignty. These institutions create social inequality and introduce a hierarchy conditioned with the geopolitical roles that the dominant powerful wait for them.

In the context of a unipolar world, can we speak about a development of democracy as an indicator of liberal globalization which wants to be universal and which kind of relations ships can rely these three aspects.

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Enayatollah Yazdani (University of Isfahan, Iran)
Democratic Reform in Central Asia: Why It Has Not Worked?

The five Central Asian republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan gained their independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Ever since then the issue of political reform has been a significant factor in theses states. Yet, the change from Soviet rule to independence has not resulted in flourishing political reform for these countries. Here one can point to the leadership cadres' role in the process of political reform in these societies. Political reform here means moving towards democratic institutions and system. Of all the numerous problems that the Central Asia's newborn republics have faced, after independence, the problem of leadership has affected the reform process in the countries more than any other problem. Since late 1991 these republics have been governed by elites whose mindset has been molded by the practices of the Soviet era. This Soviet legacy has, in a sense, deterred the political transformation of post-Soviet Central Asia. Surprisingly, all states in the region joined the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in 1992, and their leaders committed themselves to build, consolidate, and strengthen democracy as the only system of government. However, the republics have still refrained from implementing any fundamental political reform. This paper discusses the role that the region's ruling elites have played in political reform in their republics. To this end the issues of authoritarian tradition, personality cult, age and the role of political Islam will be addressed.

Lucie Hribal (University of Zurich, Switzerland)
Mass Media, Soviet Habits, and Cultural Traditions:
Competing for Supremacy over the Public Sphere

This paper investigates the differing impacts of mass media, cultural traditions, and kinship politics on the public sphere in post-Communist Kyrgyzstan. Based on the assumption that the formation of the public sphere in the post-Soviet space markedly deviates from how the public sphere constitutes itself in modern democracies, it first establishes major theoretical differences, and second focuses on effects typical for post-Soviet mass communication. The media being governed by particular interests antagonize an open and transparent public discourse, whereas in modern democracies they serve as major facilitators. Third, the paper explores communication patterns in Kyrgyzstan, which potentially interfere with the development of a public sphere as defined by Western standards. The research is based on

qualitative data from focus groups and interviews with Kyrgyz citizens after the political unrests in 2005, which ousted the former semi-authoritarian government from power, and continue to threaten the democratic consolidation. Central Asian traditions, such as clientelism exercised through kinship politics, and structural impediments like poverty and low access to conventional communication media in remote areas establish a pragmatic concept of public sphere. As a communication system, to which all members of society are expected to have equal access, and which allows for the identification and debate of socially relevant issues, the public sphere in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan is characterized by peculiarities such as a low threshold of access for unlawful public agitation, the resilience of parts of the population to dissociate themselves from habitual submission under dominant geopolitical interests, and the high status assigned to rumors when compared to the volatile trust in the mass media. The paper concludes that such interferences with the constitution of an open public sphere, are, in the context of the Central Asian republic, equally or more restrictive as the low freedom and professionalism of post-Soviet mass media.

Michael G. Sadovsky (Russian State Trade Economy University, Krasnoyarsk, Russia)
Alexander A. Gliskov (Institute of Biophysics, Krasnoyarsk, Russia)
New Comprehension of Elections: Neutral Equilibrium Model

Comprehension of mechanisms standing behind the individual electoral behaviour is still conspired from researchers. To answer this question, one must clarify what is a distribution of votes, when two candidates are racing in a stable homogeneous society, and besides the candidates seem to be almost similar. The key question is what "normal" distribution of votes looks like, if a choice is done freely, individually, and there are no rational basis for the choice performance. We believe, here the distribution of the votes should follow the golden section $(0{,}62 \div 0{,}38)$. This ratio represents an ideal situation where a voter fails to discrete two candidates rationally; the measure of discretion appears to be the same as for a reflexive choice executed by a person in the situation of a complete indifferent choice. In reality, the portion of votes gathered by a candidate is determined by numerous factors, including political preference of an audience, propaganda efficiency, mass-media influence, and so on. Meanwhile, the voting, from scientific point of view, must be evaluated as the pattern deviating from the "normal" votes distribution. In that capacity, an almost equal rating of two candidates should be considered as very specific case significantly rambling from the normal

distribution pattern. If several candidates take part in racing, then the approach remain valid: vote series would follow Fibonacci numbers. This approach is extended for the case of political parties election, if electoral system is based on the majority principle. The deviations from golden section rule mean a high electoral tension (close to equity voting) with the highest level of competition, or the mobilisation (strong leadership of a person) with absolute preference of voters. Numerous examples of the elections observed world-wide illustrate the key issue of presentation.

Preeti Das (Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India)
Representation of Ethnicity in the Mass Media

Flow of information globally is what is called International communication. The development of communication technologies leads to awareness and visibility among nation-states, institutions, groups and individuals. Increased flow of information both internationally and domestically leads to equal access to it. But the flow of information and easy access to it also must take into account the totality and diversity of channels and messages transferring information across national boundaries. Since Mass Communication plays a very important role in shaping the ideology of groups, individuals it becomes all the more important to see the subjective representation ethnic groups in the mass media. This paper would mainly focus on how ethnic minorities are portrayed by the Russian press. The paper also tries to explore to what extent well monitored government's policies on media can help preventing certain challenging issues pertaining to ethnicity. The manner in which the minorities are presented in the newspapers reinforces racial and ethnic stereotypes. If media portrays ethnic groups as weaker or insecure section of the society, it adds to the dilapidation of the issue. Globalization also to some extent has contributed in the growing scholarly and public interests in ethnicity and self-identity. But still issue of media and ethnic minorities remains at the periphery of socio-cultural studies.

Vadim Rakachev (Kuban State University, Krasnodar, Russia)
Ethnic Discourse in Mass Media:
Problems of Formation and Development

The influence of modern mass media on a society and on sphere of interethnic relationships is difficult to overestimate. In a modern society among variety of communications the information exchange plays the

important role, as without the information there is no communication, and without communication there is no society. Recently on pages of the Russian and world wide mass media the significant place is allocated to the ethnic information - publications about people and the countries, about national or ethnic customs and values, sphere of ethnic policy and interethnic interaction, and the information on ethnic economy, on sports and medicine, pedagogics and other spheres of a public life. At the same time, ethnics in mass media, is also the phenomena connected with the ethnic psychology of people: feelings, emotions, representations. Depending on orientation of the mass media, the maintenance, and the emotional loading ethnic information can be positive and tolerant, neutral or disputed. So, the ethnic information is capable to form mass representations of people in the field of interethnic relationships, it also brings up people the attitude to the 'ethnic' in general, to the ethnic or national advantage. Ethnic information can both integrate the polyethnical population, and to separate it. Treading on ethnic corns and advantage of people, provoking mass ethnic insults, it is capable to cause increase of intensity and animosities between representatives of different ethnic groups living together. Examples of not tolerant ethnic journalism have been revealed as a result of our research of the press in Krasnodar region (Russia) by a content-analysis method. This research has revealed a large number of materials containing the negative ethnic information, for example, concerning migrants staying in region, negative ethnic stereotypes, etc. Tolerant or disputed description of the ethnics, in mass media, is the actual problem both for a science and for practice. The public order depends on "correct" activity of mass media at this area, mutual understanding of people of different races, nationalities and confessions living in a multinational society.

Yaroslava Rakacheva (Kuban State University, Krasnodar, Russia)
Mass Media in Interethnic Dialogue in Krasnodar Region

This paper is based on the materials of our sociological research "The Role of mass media in interethnic dialogue in Krasnodar region". In our work we based on the idea that the mass media gives audience the information necessary for the formation of worldview, development of the certain norms, values, models of behavior, etc. Results of our research show that a degree of the attention of the press to ethnic themes, the number of problems and plots, frequency of corresponding materials can serve a good indicator of a social attention to the problem of interethnic relationships. In opinion of our respondents regional newspapers write more often about Armenians,

Russians, Chechens and Adighes, Turks-meskhetins than about other nationalities. Distribution of answers concerning emotional loading, character and orientation of the publications demonstrated considerable trends. Basically respondents gravitated to average values "neutrally". However some ethnic groups (Russians, Cossacks, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Adighes) have more positive connotations, while others (Chechens, Turks-meskhetins, Armenians, Gypsies and Dagestans) were referred to negatively. Our research has revealed an average level of respondent's trust to the publications about interethnic relationships and to the mass media as a whole. Three quarters of respondents consider materials of the regional press "not completely close to reality". The most common themes in local newspapers are interethnic conflicts, political economic activities of various ethnic groups, and ethnic migrations. In opinion of respondents journalists seldom write about culture, customs and traditions of different ethnic groups and their history. Thus the majority of readers are interested in such type of publications. It is possible to make a conclusion that the mass media today is the important element of ideological influence on mass consciousness and interethnic relationships.

Mortéza Monadi (Université Azzahra, Téhéran, Iran)
Immigration sans déplacement

Dans l'histoire de l'humanité, le phénomène d'immigration des individus de village au grand ville ou d'un pays à l'autre, se réalisaient, individuellement et même parfois, par une grand masse (diaspora). L'immigration avait et a toujours des différents conséquences, voir des changements profondes chez les immigrants. Les Immigrants changeaient leurs métiers, leurs connaissances et même parfois leurs habitudes et mode de vie, voir leur culture. Car l'immigration souhait et exige l'intégration. Dans certains cas, il y a aussi le changement de la religion. L'individu, en arrivant sur la nouvelle territoire, pour pouvoir communiquer tente d'abord, apprendre la langue, par la quelle elle apprend la nouvelle culture. Les immigrants pour qu'ils puissent vivre avec les autres et qu'ils soient considérées comme citoyen, volontairement ou involontairement sont obligés de s'adapter à la nouvelle culture. En quelques sort, petit à petit, ils changent ses habitudes et ses façons de vie. Ils acceptent donc, les valeurs, les règles, les lois, les habitudes ou la culture. Car, tous ces éléments se construisent socialement. Mais, dans l'ère de communication et dans l'espace de mondialisation, il y a un autre immigration que les individus ne sont pas physiquement déplacés. C'est-à-dire, les individus dans certains pays comme l'Iran, vivent physiquement dans

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leur société mais, consomment plutôt les médias étrangers (l'antenne parabolique). Par l'effet d'interaction (Mead 1963) avec les médias, ils changent de plus en plus, leur habitudes, leur valeurs et leur culture. Nous savons tous que, le média a une influence major et non négligeable sur ses interlocuteurs. Les résultats d'une recherche qualitative auprès de 84 jeunes lycéen de Téhéran par l'entretien, montrent que, plus de 50% parmi eux, utilisent l'antenne parabolique. Le fait que, ces médias propagent une culture occidentale (effet de mondialisation) autre que la culture locale, ces jeunes ont une mode de vie occidentalisé, alors qu'ils continuent à vivre dans leur société. L'intégration culturelle de ces jeunes avec la nouvelle culture, peuvent être voir dans leurs pratiques quotidiennes. Les pratiques occidentalisés de ces jeunes sont donc, à percevoir dans leurs quotidiennté avec des signes significatives tel que leur; vêtements, musiques préféré, sport, loisir, etc.

Grigory Lugovoy (Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow, Russia)
The Influence of Modern Mass Media on Turkish Diasporas in Europe

Today there is more than three million Turkish emigrants living in Europe that has the opportunity to address to Turkish mass media via the Internet, cable and satellite TV. Modern mass media uses modern technologies to spread information worldwide. This information plays a significant role in the transformation of the social structure of diasporas and national minorities in Western Europe. This influence consists of the following:

1. Incorporation of the Turkish Diaspora into the sphere of influence of the national media, which allows immigrants to receive instant and up to date information from the home country, react on them accordingly, take part in political life and influence Turkish progress.

2. Uniting all Turkish Diasporas in Europe in a whole structured organization, this is able to lobby its interests. Even those interests, which may come into conflict with the interests of the European countries on regional and international level. The Turkish government has the unlimited possibility to formulate public opinion inside the Diaspora in order to try to get its interests across.

3. Socio-cultural changes in the Diaspora, because the Turkish national mass media is a significant barrier standing in the path of Turkish assimilation and naturalization in Europe. They intensify national self-identification.

The growth of mass media goes hand by hand with globalization, which sets new priorities in the relation between society and national minorities. It's impossible to view the influence of Turkish mass media from a point of view other then globalization.

PANEL VIII

Networked Cultures:
Negotiating Cultural Difference in Contested Spaces

Convenor: *Peter Mörtenböck* (University of London, UK)

This panel aims to discuss the dynamics and potentials of newly emerging socio-political network structures and the ways in which they re-conceptualise socio-political organisation through innovative forms of spatial practice. It looks at contemporary spatial practices characterised by a dislocation and dispersion of contributors, participants and spectators, by processes of fragmentation and multiplication, by a shifting of perspectives from dominant centralities to networked peripheries, clandestine economies and virtual sites. In doing so, this panel intends to question the ways in which the local is reinstalled as a new sphere of activities which can only be understood through its network of relationships with other localities. Albeit an increasingly fictitious construct, urban space continues to be a central site of negotiation between conflicting cultural histories, narratives and values in Europe and between Europe and other world regions. Call centres, for instance, create the illusion of speaking to someone geographically close to the location of the client, they create a sense of 'hereness', whereas for economic reasons more and more call centres of the Western world are relocated to Asia. Territorial boundaries are both being undermined and upheld as is the case in the recently proposed building of Austrian prisons in Rumania or the British border controls on French territory. Both the contested geography and the contested imaginary described in these and in many other instances are indicative of a rapidly growing fragmentation and attempted re-stabilisation of space formed in and by the projection of dominant cultural narratives. These power moves challenge our traditional understanding of cities as sites of actual exchange: The exchange between communities is not bound to a material site any longer, it rather develops into a site of migratory co-existence and cross-cultural networking. What is at stake in these newly emerging communities of fleeting identifications and chance encounters is a new way of thinking through the problematics of an illusory 'hereness' in relation to an illusory 'thereness'. A crucial question addressed here is the extent to which we actually participate in these complexities of socio-political organisation and how we relate to concepts and images produced by culturally specific groups to which we belong or to which we do not belong. As participation can no longer be restricted to instruments such as memberships, polls and questionnaires, we have to look

at new modes in which collectivities (contact zones, nodes of intensities and communities) are developed. How do new forms of communication and representation, in particular virtual-spatial ones, change the social spaces where different cultures meet? How do public fantasies interact with the actual living conditions of citizens? How do constructions of an illusory 'hereness' relate to constructions of a similarly illusory 'thereness'? Contributions to this panel will consider different spaces of contested nature: spaces which exhibit or call for the potentiality of new forms of cohabitation and cross-cultural fertilisation. It will investigate how such networked cultures reflect and generate new epistemological models and intends to critically assess their potential for cultural dialogue.

Peter Mörtenböck (University of London, UK)
Crossing the Mediterranean: Fada'íat (Through Spaces)

In contrast to the rich and long-standing tradition of exchange between a number of cities on both coasts of the Mediterranean, such a Mazara (Sicily) and La Goulette (Tunesia) or Tarifa (Spain) and Tangier (Morocco), European governments are gradually stepping up techniques for offshore electronic border control to seal off European territories against unwanted immigration from the South. Effected by this response to flows of migration from the North African coast to Europe, the human geography of the Mediterranean is increasingly defined by a logic of exclusion and separation. Along this development contemporary art has addressed the Mediterranean as an emerging continent between Europe, Africa and the Middle East – a "solid sea" populated by different cultures and identities travelling between coasts for distinct reasons. The current waves of re-ordering and dis-ordering this space of layered ethnicities are characterised by a struggle between different networks: diasporic, self-organised digital networks counteracting the governmental network of control. Particularly, by considering art and media activism, for instance the hybrid academy event Fada'íat, this paper explores possibilities for a rearticulated geography of movement, contingency and flow. It looks at the battle between newly emerging spatial frontiers on the one hand and initiatives to transgress these borders by superimposing models of fluidity, temporality and networking on the other hand. How do these bottom-up networks transfer the Mediterranean? What kind of social/spatial common do they hope to install or fight? Why is map making so important to them in liquefying the fixedness and staticness of space? Through a particular notion of *Ersatz* I will discuss how spatial relations can be re-imagined, and instituted in the imaginary, to an extent that they actually transform the real.

Lee Rodney (University of Windsor, Canada)

You Have Left the American Sector / Vous-Etes sortie du secteur American

This paper aims to address the circumstances surrounding a recent controversy in a small unremarkable sculpture park in the small unremarkable border city of Windsor, Canada, the site of the one of the most active international border crossings in North America. Windsor is what Marc Augé would call a non-place, a place that one passes through on one's way to a more important destination. It sits on a physical threshold, the Detroit River, which forms the international boundary line between Canada and the US. Windsor's riverfront sculpture park lies immediately across from Detroit and forms a greenbelt promenade on the Canadian side, a view of the Detroit River and Detroit's impressive skyline. It is a viewpoint from which to contemplate Detroit's architectural façade as a spectacle of industry and commerce that masks its history as a site of racial tension and urban poverty. When the Vancouver-based artist, Ron Terada was invited by the Art Gallery of Windsor to produce a temporary, public work of art for the Windsor's sculpture garden, he responded by producing a road-sign that read: 'You have left the American sector' in both official Canadian languages, English and French. The sign faced the Detroit River and by extension, Detroit itself. The work functioned as a reference to the ambiguous nature of signs as well as the idea that the Checkpoint Charlie sign, from which it was modeled, has now become a tourist destination in Berlin. Although the work was approved by Windsor's city council, it was promptly removed after complaints from local businesses without consultation with Terada or the public gallery that commissioned it. While this would seem to be an instance of a small provincial skirmish between conservative city councillors and a 'left-leaning' arts community, the incident seems to speak to the deep-seated unease around cultural autonomy in Canada as well as a shift in terms of how the political landscape in North America can no longer be divided clearly among national lines. Canada has conventionally distinguished itself from its American neighbours through promoting a picture of a tolerant, compassionate, 'multicultural' society: 'a mosaic rather than a melting pot', it has been said, a champion of cultural difference. The rise of a reactionary, autocratic media culture has been challenging this picture in Canada recently. Similarly, the image of the US as a powerful machine of Republican ideology has been showing consistent signs of break down. In this paper I propose to investigate the nature of media exchange between the two countries in order to suggest that the founding national myths for Canada and the US are beginning to shift in ways that are neither unidirectional (the Americanization of Canada) nor entirely predictable.

Andreas Kofler (Vienna University of Technology, Austria)
The Greenland Problem

Due to the disputes that have been created by the return of Christopher Columbus, in 1494 Pope Alexander VI divided the world outside of Europe into an exclusive duopoly between the Spanish and the Portuguese along a north-south meridian west of the Cape Verde Islands. The lands to the east would belong to Portugal and the lands to the west to Spain. This so called "Tordesillas line' came into being at a time where it was not even sure if America was Asia or an entirely new continent, and was conjecturally signed on likewise uncertain maps. In 1569 the Flemish cartographer Gerardus Mercator devised a cylindrical map on which parallels and meridians are straight lines. As a conformal map, lines of latitude and longitude intersect at right angles; any straight line on a *Mercator map* is a line of constant bearing. Yet the *Mercator projection* creates increasing distortions of size as moving away from the equator, closer to the poles the distortion becomes severe: Greenland is shown as being equal to Africa's land mass (actually fourteen times larger than Greenland). Cartographers refer to the inability to compare size on a Mercator projection as "the Greenland Problem": a crucial issue of cartography, which among others the architect Buckminster Fuller tried to disengage through his "Dymaxion projection". Maps are never restricted to just show and/or account, but further manipulate, crop, state, define and distort, validate and create stashed hierarchies. Horizontal (resp. spherical) hierarchies are defined by maps, but concurrently the invention of the elevator (by Elisha Otis in 1853) flipped the perception of space and exploitation to the vertical, and correspondingly the underlying production of hierarchies. The unresolved *Greenland Problem* followed this reorganization of space like a bug: formerly visible as a line, (revolved by 90°) it is now restricted to a point and seems to have vanished, because it is no longer educible in vertical systems. Yet, "the Greenland Problem" is not disassembled, it actually is just not sustainably retraceable.

Petra Gemeinböck (University of Sydney, Australia)
Impossible Geographies

The paper discusses the mobile artwork "Impossible Geographies 02: Urban Fiction", an alternative, virtual fabric that overlays the urbanscape, using networked, location-aware and motion sensing mobile phones. Moving through and inhabiting the physical urban fabric with the handheld mobile phones, the participants will weave a fluid virtual fabric between their

locations and lace this web with images and sounds untied from local and remote places, archives and memories. Thus shifting and rewriting multiple urban geographies, the result is not an imaginary city but rather the city as it imagined by the multiplicity of its inhabitants, drawn to and fantasizing of the places and events they could potentially belong to. It is a tapestry of fragments of different resolution and traces of desire, whose co-existence not only is impossible to inhabit but also destabilizes the static grid of urban regulations. Interaction with this other, hybrid geography means negotiating alternative sets of relations between subjects, places and belonging. It is a narrative that blurs the lines of belonging and unbelonging by unweaving the threads of the known and the archived in order to produce a tapestry in whose niches and folds we can inhabit the multiple, hybrid and even the marginal. Here, in Donna Haraway's words, 'location is about vulnerability,' resisting the politics of closure and fixation but rather 'insatiably curious about webs of differential positioning' (Haraway, Donna, 'Situated Knowledge' in Simians, Cyborgs and Women, Routledge, 1991). The concept of the series of "Impossible Geographies" explores the contextual bondage between bodies and places, their movements and desires and the conflicts emerging from maps and archives with their structures of hierarchy and systems of significations. Maps have always been an instrument of territorialization and colonialization, essentially drawing boundaries that signify, separate and supposedly protect from the 'other outside.' Surveillance technologies have been developed in the same vein, likewise producing boundaries of control, only transparent to the authorized. The artistic use of these technologies then opens an ambiguous performative zone in which the conflictual signification of the mapped meets the uncertain emergence of the unmapped. "IG02: Urban Fiction" directly feeds from this paradoxical tension and, like a weaving and a sculpting instrument, quilts all these places and actors together, rendering the boundaries in-between fluid. It relates to the hierarchies of Cartesian cartography only by unmapping and distorting them in order to allow for the differences and ambiguities of unscripted desires and impossible fantasies that usually fall through the grid's uniform limits.

Cordula Gdaniec (Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany)
City within the City: Spatial Practices in and around the
Peoples Friendship University of Russia

The campus of the university that used to celebrate and embody Soviet ideology of internationalism and anti-racism is an almost self-contained city within the city. For students from developing countries it represents a capsule

which shields them from the city of Moscow as a whole. In this paper I suggest that the Peoples Friendship University campus is emblematic for post-Soviet fragmentation of urban space in Moscow based on systematic marginalisation and racialisation of certain groups. African students are afraid to venture out into the city for fear of the growing number of racist attacks. As a result, their personal Moscow, their mental map of the city is determined by aspects of safety and choice, or rather the lack of both. According to one of the interviewees what Moscow lacks is "a place for Africans". In terms of the city this state of affairs reflects a continuation of Soviet-style policy of separating "other" cultures from the public arena and token celebrations of the "exotic". It also highlights the interaction between appropriation of public space and carving out of private spaces which involves negotiations about contested spaces and services (geographies of fear) in which city agencies, such as the police, play a crucial role. This paper presents one of the ethnographic case studies within a research project examining urban culture and ethnic representation in Berlin and Moscow.

Helge Mooshammer (Vienna University of Technology, Austria)
Plan and Conflict: Networked Istanbul

In this paper I shall discuss the problematics around emerging rhetorics of self-invention by cultural cross-contamination as a future model of social organisation for the global city of the 21st century. Drawing upon a case study of the city of Istanbul I will question some of the myths surrounding notions of organic growth within nomadic formations on the one hand and modernity's belief in democratic planning on the other hand. In doing so, a topical point of departure is, among others, marked by the XXII World Congress of Architecture which took place in Istanbul in July 2005, officially promoted under the header of 'Grand Bazaar of Architectures'. This leitmotif of the bazaar conjures up an image of plenitude and a richness of the architectures of the world which allegedly create ever new spatial structures through processes of constant superimposition and improvised transformation. A different kind of bazaar appears underneath the elevated highway along the ruins of Constantine's city walls: Piles of old clothes, electronics and household goods spill out onto the naked ground surrounded by masses of people and, without any recognizable boundaries, disseminate into ignored leftovers, dusty rubbish and dirt while at the same time triggering secondary economies of food stalls, amusement games and minibus services to and from this meandering market(s). Here, improvisation is of a different kind. It does not follow a state *after* planning. Rather, it

means to occupy a space outside the regimes of planning as a whole. Improvisation in the form of illegal street markets is not the result of a desire for enriching harmonisation but of economic pressures that reveal existing conflicts. One central argument that emerges from these investigations revolves around the need to re-conceptualise architecture's role as an inter-mediator of cohabitation: Its future potential is increasingly dependent on the relations we manage to establish between space and conflict on an individual basis. Building upon the premise that architecture is more than a material artefact used in the struggle of cultural interests, rituals and their articulations, my contribution will focus on aspects of cultural and architectural production through acts of spatial inhabitation. Occupying architecture means to actively participate in the construction of its particular site – a challenge of or a conflict with the planned environment that, like the Foucauldian act of self-invention, results in a subtle inner change. Conflict, thus, articulates itself as a force that structures our understanding of the future in relation to the past.

Roxanne Easley (Central Washington University, Ellensburg, USA)
Colonial Extraction and Investment: People of Mixed Heritage in the Russian American Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870

All colonizing groups must balance, to some degree, the exploitative and civilizing strategies of their colonies. How the colonizing group determines the balance between these missions is based on its own national traditions and the nature of the colony. The study of people of mixed heritage, here meaning children of both European and Native American ancestry, shows this compromise in especially sharp contrast. Economic historians are accustomed to categorizing colonial strategies for maximization of material wealth in terms of extraction or investment. But colonial policymakers also viewed Native American people, their reproductive capacities, and their labor as part of a calculation for potential returns to the colonizers. A colony's treatment of its people of mixed heritage is the most direct evidence about its attitudes toward colonization in general, since these children represent the cultural and physical borderlands of indigenous and colonizing peoples. Mixed-heritage people belonged to neither group, and hence new means had to be devised to accommodate them into the social structure and worldview of Europeans. Mixed-heritage people also had to construct a cultural space of meaning and value for themselves. These means of accommodation afford a rare opportunity to study the ways in which colonizing peoples viewed their colonial mission and their own societies. It also allows for an investigation of

colonial cultures in their formative periods, and for preliminary conclusions on the coherence of post-colonial identities. This study will examine the policies of the Russian-American Company and the Hudson's Bay Company toward their mixed-heritage progeny in North America. Each company arrived in North American shores with different goals, and each carried with it the traditions and cultural values of its homeland. By comparing the treatment of people of mixed heritage within the context of these two enterprises, we can begin to construct a simple continuum on which we could place all colonial groups, according to the degree of extraction and investment they utilized in the formation of overseas colonies.

David Dibosa (Wimbledon School of Art, London, UK)
**Transcoloniality: Cultural Difference and
Contemporary Encounters with Urban Space**

As continued globalization in the 21st century stimulates migration, provoking rapid transformations of urban landscapes across the world, how do new inhabitants of multicultural cities engage with such cities' pasts? In the light of demographic shifts, is there a need for city museums to reassess their historical accounts of such rapidly changing urban spaces? Amid all the demands placed on cultural industries, is there room for a reinvigorated advocacy of urban museology? Does the proliferation of diverse viewing strategies, concomitant with heterogenous and migrant populations, render such recourse to urban museology inappropriate? I will explore such issues through an elaboration of the notion of 'transcoloniality'. In transcoloniality, I propose a more complex reading of temporalized modalities produced by and through those framed by cultural difference. As a supplement to contemporary critical concerns with haunting, memory and trace-work, transcoloniality invites a consideration of foresight in relation to urban encounters. The work of Black British film-maker, Isaac Julien, will provide a focus for the discussion. Particularly, by exploring works such as *Vagabondia* (2000) and *Baltimore* (2003), I address the importance of articulating new modes of temporality in respect of a reconsidered engagement with contemporary urban space.

Power and Identity in Multicultural Societies

Convenor: *Vassili R. Filippov* (Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow)

The panel is to consider the power and ethnicity interactions in political practice of contemporary multiethnic states and quasi-states. The following issues are to be discussed: the problem of ethnic groups as subjects of the law: collective rights of substantiated ethnic groups *vs.* the individual's right for free choice of ethno-cultural identity; political practice of the ethnic processes optimization in multicultural states; forms of realization of the individual's ethno-cultural identity in multicultural states; the ways of ethnicity's depolitization and politics' deethnization in multiethnic societies; paradigmatics of contemporary ethnological science and ideological substantiation of the ethnocratic regimes' legitimation; ethnic models of power legitimation in political practice of contemporary states and quasi-states.

Igor V. Sledzevski (Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies, Moscow)
Transformation of the Paradigm of Politics in the Contemporary Model of Multiculturalism

Игорь Следзевский (Центр цивилизационных и региональных исследований РАН, Москва, Россия)
Изменение парадигмы политики в современной модели мультикультурализма

Доклад посвящен трансформации представлении о политике (как политической категории как практических действий) под влиянием современной доктрины мультикультурализма. Делается вывод о том, что ключевые принципы этой доктрины - 1) обоснование групповых требований на основе статуса групп, а не свободного индивидуального выбора их членов; 2) превращение той или иной культурной идентичности группы в основание выдвижения таких требований - расходятся с фундаментальными либеральными принципами равенства граждан и индивидуального выбора идентичности. И, таким образом, качественно

изменяют содержание и образы политики. Признание групповых различий конкурирует с требованиями социального равенства, политика "идентичности различия" привлекают больше внимания в парадигме справедливости, чем политика перераспределения социальных благ, культурная политика отделяется от политики социальной, а групповые культурные практики - универсальных принципов гражданских свобод. Множество несопоставимых на первый взгляд социокультурных движений и конфликтов получают общее теоретическое и практическое измерение - право на идентичность. Анализируется теория мультикультурных прав и ее практическое выражение - мультикультурный институционализм, возможные последствия принятия "принципа различий" для развития саморегулирующегося гражданского общества.

Tunde Adeleke (University of Montana, USA)
Afrocentricity: Black American Model of Empowerment and Legitimacy

The black American quest for meaningful freedom and full equality has been through several critical stages since the dawn of enslavement. The demise of slavery, the Civil War and Reconstruction era, and the modern civil rights struggles, have all resulted in significant changes and transformations in the black American situation. Yet, the goals of full integration and true equality continue to elude blacks. The social, economic and political conditions of blacks have worsened significantly in the last two decades and half. The upsurge of right-wing conservative attacks on and erosion of the gains of the civil rights struggles has exacerbated the crisis of black alienation from America, and reinforced the cynical attitudes of cultural black nationalists toward integration. They view integration first as an illusion and second as inimical to black identity and survival. In response to powerlessness, many black cultural nationalists seek succor in a racial essentialist *weltanschauung*: Afrocentricity. Grounded in African cosmology and epistemology, Afrocentricity offers blacks a racialized paradigm of empowerment, a counter-hegemonic ideology with which to advance the twin processes of de-Americanization and re-Africanization of black consciousness. Afrocentricity has become a means of affirming positive African identity and consciousness against negative experiences and crisis of de-legitimacy in America. This paper examines the use of Afrocentricity by blacks as a weapon of waging a countervailing existential struggle against perceived persistence and strengthening of Eurocentric hegemonic interests. It discusses the growing

impact, influence and broader ramifications of Afrocentricity for black-white relations in America and abroad.

Vassily R. Filippov (Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies, Moscow)
Eight Steps on the Road towards De-ethnization of the Russian Statehood

Formation of federal districts and introduction of the institute of the authorized representatives of the President of Russian Federation in FD's in 2000 was "the overture of future reforms". At the time, the purposes of the novations were clear only to the initiator of the reforms. Political influence over presidents of the republics. Strengthening of the control over force structures in the regions. Formation of regional structures of "the party of the power". Cultivation of new (non-ethnic) regional elite. Preparation of reforms.

The reform of the Council of the Federation. Restoration of the principle of division of power in Russia. Discharge of presidents and governors from developing of federal laws. Deprivation of the status of the politics of the federal level. Destruction of the corporate integrity of regional elites. The perspective of liquidation of the supreme chamber of the Parliament.

The Change of the principles of budget federalism. Liquidation of budget exploitation of administrative-territorial units within the structure of Russian Federation by ethno-state subjects. Restoration of tax equality of the subjects of Russian Federation. Change of the structure of the profits' part of the budget for the benefit of the federal Centre.

Unification of the legislation. Restoration of a uniform constitutional field in the country. Liquidation of republican sovereignties. Redistribution of subjects of joint conducting in the regional legislation for the benefit of the federal legislation. Denunciation of bilateral treaties.

Appointmentability of presidents and governors. Restoration of a uniform vertical of the executive power in the country. Establishment of the control over the activity of republican ethno-politic elites.

Reform of the electoral system. Discharge of the leaders of republican nationalist parties and movements from participation in the electoral process.

Integration of the subjects of RF. Beginning of the process of liquidation of ethno-state subjects of RF. Destruction of the "matryoshka-like structure" of RF. De-ethnicization of the state structure of RF. De-politicization of ethnicity.

The reform of local self-government. Transfer of powers and finance from republican ethnic elites "downwards", to localities. Easing of the power resource of ethnocracy.

Geoffrey I. Nwaka (Abia State University, Uturu, Nigeria)
Ethnic Relations and Conflict Management in Nigeria

The paper tries to explain the recent upsurge of ethno-religious conflicts and violence in Nigeria, the rise of ethnic militias and youth vanguards, especially in the Muslim North and the oil producing minority areas of the Niger Delta, and the continuing tug-of-war between ethnic and national loyalties. It examines the main features and challenges of multiculturalism in the country, and the extent to which government policies have helped to contain or inflame inter-group tensions and hostility. It then considers the options that suggest themselves from the country's recent history for promoting ethnic accommodation and sustainable national integration. Nigeria is often referred to as 'a unitary state in a federal disguise', and appears to defy all known models of ethnic management and conflict resolution. The paper highlights the major flaws in the political and constitutional formulas currently adopted for sharing political power and economic resources, paying particular attention to the debates about the creation of many new states and local governments, the 'federal character' principle ostensibly meant to create ethnically representative and inclusive government , the question of revenue allocation/resource control, the zoning and rotation of political offices, and so on. The paper blames colonial rule, prolonged military dictatorship, over-centralization and over-dependence on oil for the poor functioning and declining legitimacy of the state which have in turn encouraged the growth of sub-national identification and hostile inter-ethnic competition to control political power and the enormous resources distributed from the centre. It concludes with some general reflections on the imperative of genuine decentralization and power sharing, the need for constitutional guarantees to allay fears of ethnic domination, discrimination and marginalization, and increased ethnic dialogue to achieve negotiated consensus on fundamental national issues.

Paul A Kruger **(**University of Stellenbosch, South Africa)
The Power of Perceptions: The Ancient Near East as a Case in Point

Our modern world is a living testimony of the enormous conflict potential lurking in political and religious ideologies of all kinds and the negative perceptions associated with the idea of "otherness". What is of significance, however, is that the perception of "otherness" is a universal human phenomenon with a long history. In this respect the anthropologist, Redfield, makes the following instructive observation, viz. that the worldview of each culture, or cultural group, mainly consists out of two binary oppositions, viz. "human/not human" and "we/they". These oppositions most often correlate as follows: "we" equals "humans" and "they" equals "not-humans". The "we" (one's own group) are accordingly endowed with every aspect that can be deemed as "cultivated", whilst the "other" is described in terms of the direct "inverse" qualities. The first examples of the power and destructive consequences of such perceptions are already evident in the cultures of the ancient Near East. The first part of this paper examines the psychological and cultural factors underlying the perception of "otherness" (in anthropology and psychology also known as "labelling/stereotyping"). The second part applies this framework to the relevant evidence from the ancient Near Eastern cultures. Examples of perceptions of ethnic, social and religious "otherness" are presented.

Nasser Fakouhi (University of Tehran, Iran)
Iranian Ethnic Structure and Economic Potentialities to Develop New Cultural Consumption Markets

Globalization, at least in its economic dimension seems to show a real attempt to cultural uniformization. This trend creates possibilities for huge mass production and increases the rate of benefits but constitute a dangerous threat for subcultures, community cultures and all the "peripherical" forms of cultural consumption. This is the main reason which justify and explain the resurgence and reappearance the new forms of ethnic cultures and the development of ethnic markets. These markets produce not only the real "identity items" representing a special culture (or community) for it's members or other people interested on that culture, but also make efforts by ethnic strategies (concerning forms and contents of products to attract the maximum of consumers for "ordinary items". Iran has very complicated and rich ethnic structures including Kurds, Azeris, Baloutchs, Turkmen, and Arabs etc. Many of these ethnics exist beyond Iranian borders with

sometimes-large populations. This paper based on a fieldwork on 4 Iranian ethnics discusses about the relevance of creating new ethnic cultural consumption markets using the ethnical richness of the country on different local, regional, national and international levels on three fields of food, media and Tourism.

Reetta Toivanen (Humboldt-Universitut zu Berlin, Germany)
Politics of Integration and the Unwanted Consequences for Minorities

The participation of minorities has become one of the powerful concepts in the vocabulary of the human rights movements. The users of the concept of effective participation in public life stress how important it is to include the potential victims of discrimination early on in processes in which decisions affecting the lives of minorities are negotiated. Thus, allowing minorities to participate in a full and effective manner in the power structures of a society is often presented as *the* solution to overcoming discrimination and inequality, or more generally as a solution to problems of democratic legitimation. This concept is used increasingly, especially in legal and other materials developed by intergovernmental organizations. This contribution discusses the concept of effective participation of minorities in public life from a feminist perspective and raises questions regarding the widespread assumption that problems of the minorities will fade away at the moment they experience a growing degree of inclusion. Building upon assessments by critical and feminist theorists, the argument is made that participation always means (evidently) that, in order to be allowed to take part, one has to adapt to the hegemonic system steering the process of participatory praxis. People wishing to participate need to find the correct 'mode' of self-representation in which the right to participation may be claimed. This mode must be understood and acknowledged by those already inside the sphere in which they want to participate. Fundamental problems arise when those wishing to participate in a society on an equal footing have to give up at least parts of their original agenda before becoming acceptable to those holding power and when minority representatives have to ask what the price of participation will be. Is it fair to expect of minorities that they voluntarily pay that price? Do minorities really choose to participate?

Elena O. Khabenskaya (Center for Civilizational
and Regional Studies, Moscow)
**"Ethnicity" in the Ideology of Radical Nationalists
and the Discourse of Human Rights Defenders**

Елена Хабенская (Центр цивилизационных
и региональных исследований РАН, Москва, Россия)
**«Этничность» в идеологии национал-радикалов
и правозащитном дискурсе**

В современном российском обществе остро стоит проблема ксенофобии. Мегаполисы (Москва, Санкт-Петербург) и крупные города (Воронеж, Новосибирск, Екатеринбург и пр.) захлестнула волна молодежного экстремизма, направленного против представителей меньшинств ("этнических" мигрантов, иностранных студентов, "неформалов"). Количество группировок и организаций, объединенных "русской идеей", замешанной на национал-радикализме, разрастается день ото дня. Ксенофобские идеи активно тиражируются в средствах массовой информации, еще более подогревая общественные настроения. Вследствие того, что сами журналисты несвободны от штампов обыденного сознания, предрассудков и фобий, даже страницы вполне солидных и читаемых СМИ переполнены неадекватными и некорректными интерпретациями «этнически окрашенных» сюжетов, вбрасывая в массовое сознание все новые извращенные «этнические» стереотипы и формируя у читателей негативные этноконтактные установки. Явному или завуалированному ксенофобному дискурсу массовой прессы противостоят достаточно многочисленные неправительственные (правозащитные) организации, использующие в качестве рупора свои печатные и электронные СМИ. Однако дискурс правозащитников, направленный на первый взгляд на борьбу с ксенофобией, провоцирует ее не меньше, а порой даже больше, чем массовые издания. Правозащитники, чаще всего являющиеся представителями меньшинств и носителями ущемленной «этнической» идентичности, в своей борьбе с праворадикалами последовательно интерпретируют как «этнические» сложные социальные и политические процессы и тем самым дают повод идеологам «коричневых» для аргументированной ответной критики, усиливая встречные фобии. Так, для правозащитников характерно преподносить как «этническое» насилие любые нападения на иноэтничных, в том числе и чисто криминальные. Это в свою очередь дает повод идеологам национал-радикалов криминальные проявления, например, мигрантов

представлять как направленные против "русского народа". Власть со своей стороны практически не участвует в борьбе с национал-радикалами, а в ряде регионов даже поощряет их деятельность, поскольку проявления радикального национализма смещают акценты, отвлекая общественность от социальных проблем (которые изначально и являются причиной социального недовольства). Социальный протест, направленный не на власть, а на некого внешнего «врага» (мигрантов, неформалов и т.д.), безусловно, выгоден и удобен последним.

Rahimbek S. Bobohonov (Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies, Moscow)

The Role of Men Clubs in Socio-political Life
of the Pamir Tajiks (1940s – 2000s)

The Tajik men clubs need detailed study as, first, the main part of Tajikistan male population from the mid-20th century has been spending there much of its free time, second, participation of many men in socio-political life started just with regular attending of the clubs, and third, the dramatic events in Tajikistan of the late 1980s – early 1990s were related directly to the men clubs' activities. In the 1930s and 40s the majority of mosques were closed all over Mountain Tajikistan. The appearance of men clubs in the Karategin valley in the 1930s and 50s was a population's response to this policy of the Soviet state. In every settlement there were several houses in which men over 18 living nearby gathered in a big room for supper in wintertime (November – April) when the agricultural season was over. At these meetings the socio-economic, political, familial, educational, legal and other issues concerning a ward (*mahalla*) or a whole settlement were discussed After supper the youth went home while the seniors remained to perform *huftan* (the final daily collective pray). The club members were state servants (local administration officers and the Communist Party nomenclature), intelligentsia (school teachers, physicians, accountants, engineers), agricultural workers. Among them a small but influential group of elders (men over 70) was distinguishable. These people were knowledgeable in the common law (*adat*) and controlled its observance. In the early 1990s the socio-political and spiritual role of the men clubs increased considerably in all the republic, including its mountainous part. During the civil war the men clubs became centers from which the ideas of Wahhabism were spread. Nowadays the clubs are returning gradually to their previous civil life. Most of the men clubs members do not support radical Islamic fundamentalism any

longer. In many clubs the process of consolidation of democracy-oriented opposition to the present power is on.

Nelli A. Romanovich (Russian Institute of Public Opinion, Voronezh, Russia)
Attitude of the Intelligentsia to the Authority

The modern researchers name Russia "a country of the people sick of authority". This illness has been affecting separate people and their masses at least for the last two centuries passing into the third century. First of all, it affected those whom we name "the intelligentsia". What are the characteristic features of the attitude of intelligentsia to the authority?

1. Opposition to the authority. There is a popular belief that the intelligentsia is an eternal oppositionist to the authority. That is, an intellectual is supposed to be true only if he/she criticizes the authority. However, concerning the attitude of the intelligentsia to the authority a certain "double bottom" can always be revealed behind the declared slogans. Thus, the first pair the dichotomic attitude of the intelligentsia to the authority is: opposition - cooperation.

2. The second pair the dichotomic attitude of the intelligentsia to the authority looks like: political apathy - political engagement. Despite of external aspiration to seem apolitical, to keep a neutrality in relation to the political groups, the Russian intellectual is involved into politics with all essence, including political occupation as some kind of his or her mission.

3. The third pair of the dichotomic attitude of the intelligentsia to the authority can be presented as: declaration of independence - financial dependence. Receiving the state money, the intelligentsia, nevertheless, tries to keep independence of the authority, but a few are able to manage that. The authority considers itself as having the right to supervise and to demand submission from those whom it finances.

4. The fourth pair of the dichotomic attitude of the intelligentsia to the authority is fear before authority and thirst of authority. The intelligentsia had always the reasons for being afraid of the operating authority as the latter saw a threat of own existence in the former.

Darima D. Amogolonova (Institute of Mongol,
Buddhist and Tibet Studies, Ulan Ude, Russia)
Discourse of Ethnic Ideology in Contemporary Buryatia

The current period of ethnodiscourse in Buryatia by its characteristics is the third one during the post-Perestroika epoch. This is conditioned by essential changes in the political climate of Russia. The unity of ethnicity and ethnic statehood which is the principal and universal ideologem, becomes an argument in opposition to fundamental transformations in the federal structure of the country. The period of proclaimed sovereignty was marked with unanimity among the creators of ideology - the ethnoleaders who were aimed at preservation and strengthening of previously acquired privileges by means of mobilization of ethnicity in the form of active *reethnization* or placing of ethnic identity on the first place in hierarchy of identities. Thus the political elite provided necessary legitimacy of propaganda while cultural elite thanks to possession of necessary knowledge (sacral ethnic cultural code) was responsible for its filling and propagation. During the present period the ways of elites have separated, as the politicians began to adapt to new conditions in which the ethnonational factor will not be so important any more for preservation of prestigious and profitable status. The principal position in the second period of modern ethnic revival was given to development of the Buryat national idea. This was being constructed within scientific discourse and concerned the basic institutional measurements - statehood, territory, religion, and language. Though the idea till now hasn't been formulated, looking for it promoted arising of a special language of argumentation which, being applied occasionally, includes the whole discursive set of ethnoideologems such as politized historical memory (implying privatized and archaized history), identification of ethnos and territory of its residing, defense of culture (especially language). The whole set of ethnodifferentiating factors in ideological understanding has become "demanded" at present when possible loss of ethnostateness comes into contradiction with political interests of elites.

Julia S. Misurkeeva (Institute of Mongol,
Buddhist and Tibet Studies, Ulan Ude, Russia)
Reproduction of Ethnicity in Educational System of the Buryat Republic

The epoch of globalization is inevitably accompanied by the crisis of identity. In Russia this process is aggravated by the consequences of Soviet Union disintegration which has actualized ethnic mobilization in the national

regions. The regional political and intellectual elites with governing powers are involved in the process. Politization of ethnicity has brought to life new social practices and made intellectual and political elites design ethnic identity, reflected in the processes of national - cultural revival. The appeal to the historical past gets its peculiar character when it is necessary to develop the theory and ideology of struggle for the national interests and priorities. It makes the history the major part of ethnic identification. People build up and design the past, first of all, taking into consideration existing sociopolitical reality and values and interests related to it; and secondly, so as to make projects for the future basing on the past interpreted in appropriate way. The rewriting of history accompanying any serious political changes is connected to this phenomenon. In this context educational system is one of the major institutional resources of designing Buryat ethnicity: the national - regional component becomes a part of the curriculums focused on an in-deep process of national - cultural revival. Appreciable place in translation of constructors, modeling borders of Buryat ethnicity, is given to school and high school textbooks in a history of Buryatiya in which discursive practices of the national past legitimate imagine creation are mostly reflected. In any national history the attention concentrates on the periods of ethnogenesis, formations of statehood, nation formation, struggle for independence, and as personalities which have played a key role during the certain moments of the history.

Irina Yelaeva (Institute of Mongol,
Buddhist and Tibet Studies, Ulan Ude, Russia)
Clan-territorial Communities in Constructing of Buryat Identity

Since 1990-es in Buryatia *zemliacheskiye* (country-fellowship) relationships have activated and got organizational and institutional forms. Being the sphere where a person acquires and represents himself as *ethnic* in the public discourse, *zemliachestvo*s become the marker of ethnic identity. In other words, *zemliachestvo* is a referent group which is forming ethnocultural attitudes and strategies of ethnic mode of consumption. Therefore it's worth to discuss a multilevel nature of Buryat ethnic identity implying belonging to one nation and simultaneously to one of local groups. The level of clan and local identity is most of all situationally mobile and is being actualized depending on a concrete context; it is being reflected mainly as a special form of social interaction in which a position and the status of cooperating subjects is being legitimized. We distinguish two aspects in functioning of clan-fellowship relations: as an organizational structure and as a social institute. In

the organizational sense the *zemliachestvo*s are the open communities accepting anyone who wishes to be a member of the community. Simultaneously, in institutional respect strategies of clan-*zemliacheskii* membership is as if of "compelled" character. In Buryat culture there are certain steady configurations of social interaction which can be named "the subculture of *zemliachestvo*". This is both the reason and the consequence of clanship: being a phenomenon of history and a component of historical memory "the culture of *zemliachestvo*" at the same time plays an active role in constructing of modern social reality.

 "The culture of *zemliachestvo*" determines life-style practices and through this determination comes back to itself, for "the culture of *zemliachestvo*" is reproduced by these practices. Clan-fellowship practice implies both conscious activity, and implicit, to say habitual, reproducing of social background and social form of "*zemliachestvo*'s subculture".

At the same time the activization of clan-territorial relations brings to a situation of social competition inside the Buryats.

Marina Bell (Center for Civilizational
and Regional Studies, Moscow)
Processes of Structuring in Moscows' Ethnosocial Sphere

Investigating ethnosocial processes in Moscow, one is confronted with the evolving structure of complex systems. The study of these processes of structuring allows one to specify the strategies of integration specific to each of the ethnic minority groups living in residential dispersion in Moscow, and the related mechanisms of their realisation. This, in its own right, enables one to estimate the consequence of integration from a social, strategic point of view. The ethnosocial processes are dynamic, as Moscow's ethnic groups are internally multi-layered, conflictual and segmented by a number of distinct criteria. Moreover, many of the features to investigate are lying in the shadows, situated on the level of informal contacts and bonds. Therefore, a central problem to the intended study is the deficit of valid empirical data. It is proposed to also use narrative information taken by interview from various groups of experts. The process of internal structuring in Moscow's ethnosocial sphere has a long history, although the character of this process has undergone significant change in the course of time. The prevalence of a limited number of ethnic minority groups in certain spheres of local administration, science, medicine and art was a commonly known fact in Soviet times. However, the systematical shift and the increase of migration from the 90's onward changed the character of the segmentation and social structuring, affecting Moscow society as a whole and the involved ethnic

minority groups in particular. Alienation between more recent and ‚older’ segments of migration seemed to be finally overcome as a result of the economic crash in 1998, when different social groups thought of a new level of consolidation – for the sake of survival.

Svetlana Paitchadze (Hokkaido State University, Japan)
The Role of Education in the Process of Integration of Multicultural Societies (Bolivian Case)

In many countries the idea of multiculturalism does not only recognize the right of the different linguistic groups to use their mother tang, but also consider the integration of the country and the formation of a national identity based in their multicultural diversity. However, independently of the multicultural policy of each state, the possibility of integration and the formation of a national identity are topic of political and academic debate. In developing countries, this debate is intensified by the "superposition" of ethnic and social structures, the difference of status between the majority and minority languages, and the lack of social mobility for the speakers of nonofficial languages. Furthermore, there is also the problem of the lack of economical support to multilingual institutions. Bolivia, as many other Latin American countries, has since ancient times been a region of many languages and cultures. Inside the country there are currently 30 different original ethnic groups with as many original languages spoken. There are also immigrants from many countries around the world, such as Germany, Japan, Russia, and many more countries of Europe, Asia and Africa. Since the Bolivian revolution of 1952, the problem of national integration and the formation of a national identity remains current. In my presentation I will show that, in Bolivia, one of the most important methods of integration is education. I will analyze both the 1955 and 1994 Bolivian Educational Reforms; I will also show that the basis for integration has changed from "Castilianization" to accepting cultural diversity. My analysis will show however, that the implementation of the 1994 reform has been applied only to groups of indigenous people, and not to the groups of immigrants. I will also analyze, why only indigenous people are object of the Bolivian multicultural policy, and why not including other national groups to the process of integration and the formation of a national identity will only lead the Bolivian society to further polarization between "indios" (aborigine) and "blancos" (Creole people).

PANEL X

Power and Ideology in the Northern Maya Lowlands

Convenor: *Justine M. Shaw* (College of the Redwoods, Eureka, USA)

The Northern Yucatan, including much of the modern Mexican states of Quintana Roo, Yucatan, and Campeche, has been the location of a series of recent and ongoing archaeological projects. Some of the primary objectives of these ventures have been to simply locate and date settlements in the region, due to the paucity of prior research and the pressing need to document sites that are increasingly threatened by modern development. However, sustained investigations are beginning to allow archaeologists to test hypotheses concerning the roles of past ideologies in structuring and legitimizing power, the nature of political organization, and the purpose of economy in socio-political processes. While the past and present occupants of the Northern Lowlands are commonly referred to as the "Maya", this label belies the cultural diversity within the region, as well as the enormous amount of culture change that has taken place during the approximately 2,500 years covered by studies in the region. One area in which these changes are most evident is that of ideologies, which have been continuously manipulated by a series of powers within the region, starting from the first kings through Spanish colonial times to the present. Even where writing is not present, archaeologists have been able to call upon architecture, art, and the distribution of relatively common artifacts in order to make inferences about the cosmological programs of particular factions. While kingship is assumed to be the norm for ancient Maya political organization, an examination of the scale and distribution of settlement within the Northern Lowlands makes it clear that, if such kings were the leaders of sites, they were not all equal. Settlement pattern shifts through time reveal that certain centers, which might be called regional capitals, were able to attract substantial populations, while other settlements retained few-to-no residents. Examinations of the distribution of artifact types and architectural styles provide insights into the actual terrain that such rulers might have controlled, the strategies that they used to attract and retain followers, and the degree to which their leadership extended into economic realms. These forces did not disappear with the Spanish conquest. Aspects of ancient symbolism and cosmology as well as religious ritual persist to the present, illustrating the resilient nature of local populations in the face of foreign dominance.

William J. Folan, María del Rosario Domínguez Carrasco,
Armando Anaya Hernández (Universidad Autónoma de Campeche,
Campeche, México)

Calakmul, Campeche, Mexico: Development and Decline in the Northern
Peten: 1000 B.C. to A.D.1600

Over 25 years of interdisciplinary investigations indicate that Calakmul is
one of the largest and most powerful regional states in the Classic Maya
Lowlands with an urban, administrative capital that exceeded the population
of the core area of Tikal, Guatemala. Its major architectural features
including its intra and interstate sacbés up to 38 km long between Calakmul,
El Mirador and Tintal indicate Calakmul and El Mirador represent a central
place during the Preclassic as did Calakmul during the Classic. Through the
application of Geographic Information Systems it is possible to estimate the
extent of Calakmul´s Regional State during the Late Classic by taking into
account the physical environment and the effort involved in moving along it.
A greatly weakened El Mirador became one of Calakmul´s tributary sites and
Tikal became one of Calakmul´s greatest rivals after the fall of El Mirador in
A.D. 250 up to the beginning of what was to be a major drought between
A.D. 750 and 950. It is believed this drought was one of the major causes of
weaker, less powerful states and, finally, the Maya Classic Period collapse in
the Peten and elsewhere. The analysis of archaeological materials through
physical and chemical techniques has added important information regarding
the production process of ceramics within the Calakmul Regional State. It has
also provided us with insights on the ceramics and Calakmul´s sociopolitical
development.

Philippe René Henri Nondédéo, Marie-Charlotte Arnauld
(Maison de l'Archéologie et de l'Ethnologie, Nanterre, France)

Political Organization System and Social Complexity in the Maya Río Bec
Archaeological Zone: From a Micro Regional Settlement Pattern
Perspective to Intensive Excavations in Río Bec Group B

Since its beginnings in 2002, the Río Bec Archaeological Project has been
conceived as an ambitious fieldwork program with two main goals: first, to
study the atypical settlement pattern of the eponym "site" through the
extensive survey of a defined micro-region of 100 km², and second, to
understand the regional socio-political structure through intensive
excavations in Groups A, B and D. In this paper, we will first present the
results of the archaeological survey carried out in the micro-region, along

with mapping, description, test-pitting and iconographic analysis of the fifty architectural groups discovered in 2003. The preliminary results bring new data which help elucidate the political organization of the Río Bec region. Second, thanks to the excavations done in Río Bec Groups A, B and D (2003-2005) and to the analysis, still in progress, of architecture, plans and associated artefacts for 14 structures, it seems now possible to state the probable functions and symbols of the multi-chambered buildings which apparently played a key role in the organization of each group. This, in turn, helps reconstruct part of the social complexity and household relationships in several typical Río Bec settlements. Given the absence of a unique, regional, political center, clearly identified as the seat of a centralized power, both perspectives (micro-regional and local, survey and excavations) combine to draw a new image of the Río Bec socio-political organization based upon power dispersal.

Thomas H. Guderjan (Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas, USA)
The Nature of Power, Legitimacy, and Authority Within a Maya City

The Maya site of Blue Creek is examined through the lens of World Systems Theory, which focuses attention on the economic and political interaction of leaders. Blue Creek is composed of bounded residential components, each of which had internal local leaders. The interaction among local leaders and royal elites reinforced and enhanced both of their claims to power, legitimacy and authority. Not only is this true of Blue Creek, but other sites as well. Though most sites have not been as well surveyed as Blue Creek, sites such as the Becan-Chicanna-Xpuihuil complex, the Dzibanche-Kinich Na complex in Quintana Roo, and Baking Pot in Belize also exhibit elements of such relationships.

Dominique Michelet, Pierre Becquelin
(Maison de l'Archéologie et de l'Ethnologie, Nanterre, France)
Forms and Foundations of Power in the Puuc Region

In the Puuc region different kinds of political organization occured and, possibly, even coexisted: shared government (somettimes labelled multepal), especially in Xcalumkin before 725 A.D. and probably during the Early Puuc (725-800), petty seigneuries, apparently autonomous (in the Xculoc region between 750 and 950), large-scale kingdoms (in the case of Uxmal in the

reign of Lord Chaak), shadowy dynasty in Kabah. After having documented all these forms of power, we must examine the bases on which each of them was founded. According to the archaeological record, in the economic sphere little can be put forward apart from tribute collection. On the contrary, ideology offered various means of legitimation. In the Puuc region, the sacred kingship model of the southern maya lowlands kept to be in vogue in some cities, but transformations in public architecture and iconography may the signs of changes in the ideology-politics connection. On the one hand, the ancestor veneration, so fundamental in the Classic kingship system, seems to have faded; on the other, secularizattion of political authority was perhaps in process in some places.

Julie Eve Patrois (Maison de l'Archéologie et de l'Ethnologie, Nanterre, France)

Contribution of Stone Sculptures to the Understanding of Power in the Puuc Region

This paper presents a first approach to understanding of the political organization of the Puuc region during the Classic period, as it can perceived through the images carved in stone. This iconography of power being very little known, the first part of our work consisted in an exhaustive inventory of the anthropomorphic figures from literature or field surveys. They were next compared to the well-studied sculptures from the Central Maya Lowlands, with the objective of identifying members of the elite in the Puuc iconography. These data were then connected with the information provided by archaeology, in particular these regarding the function of the buildings associated with the monuments, the hierarchy existing between the different sites and their respective localization. It appears from the results of my doctoral dissertation that the Puuc iconography of power has evolved through time and that different political systems, two in particular, have coexisted: one principal system based upon a sovereign, unique and powerful, holding political and religious powers and another one that seems to have been of a collective nature, power being shared between several individuals.

Fabio Esteban Amador (National University of El Salvador,
San Salvador, El Salvador)
A Revision of the Cultural History of the Northern Maya Lowlands

A revision of the northern Maya lowlands cultural history is needed given the new ceramic evidence provided by recent archaeological research conducted in northern Quintana Roo. This paper presents a new perspective of chronology and culture throughout the Northern Maya Lowlands from the early settlements of the Middle Preclassic until the Postclassic reoccupation of the region. The new information was gathered from surface collections from 30+ sites, caves, and other cultural features as well as 51 excavations at eight sites located throughout the Yalahau wetland region located in North-eastern Quintana Roo.

Jeffrey Glover (University of California, Riverside, USA)
Ideology, World View, Practice, and Power: Investigations into the Built Environment in the Yalahau Region, Quintana Roo, México

This paper will focus on the ever-present questions surrounding the role played by the material world, in particular the built environment, in how social inequalities, positioned within ideological structures, get negotiated in society. What can the distribution of architectural styles and site planning templates employed by the ancient Maya tell us about the historical circumstances in which power was negotiated at both the inter and intra-community levels? The people who constructed these monumental buildings were neither mindless automatons nor were they forced to do so at the tip of a whip. These buildings represented something extremely meaningful to the community. They were the locus of rituals such as ones insuring agricultural fecundity. As important places on the sacred landscape, they were also ripe for contestation, a conscious act. While the built environment served in many ways to naturalize the existing inequalities through its associated ideology, there was a conscious moment when this ideology was first adopted, quite possibly under the guise of a cult. I will first address the concept of ideology, specifically as it is embedded in the built environment. Second, I will address shortcomings of Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* and *doxa* as applied to archaeological data. These concepts fail to grant adequate consciousness to the social actors. Through a critical use of world view, I hope to create a dialogue for actors' practice to be mediated between conscious and naturalized knowledge not present when following a practice theory perspective focused on *habitus* and *doxa*. Finally, using the case study from

the Yalahau region of northern Quintana Roo, Mexico, I will show how a social theory based on practice and the critical use of the above concepts can enlighten the historically situated negotiations that were operating at the community and inter-community levels.

Justine M. Shaw (College of the Redwoods, Eureka, USA)
Power and Ideology Evidenced in Settlement Pattern Shifts in the Cochuah Region

For five seasons, mapping and excavation efforts have focused upon the Cochuah region of west-central Quintana Roo and eastern Yucatan. As a result of this research, it is possible to begin to describe the general population movements that took place from the Middle Formative through the Postclassic in the region. Investigations by the Cochuah Regional Archaeological Survey have shown that Maya populations were well-distributed during Formative times, nucleated at the regional centers of Yo'okop and Ichmul during the Early and Late Classic, and dispersed again during the Terminal Classic and Postclassic. Sociopolitical, ideological, and environmental factors have conditioned these settlement shifts, as well as a number of continuities in settlement location through time.

Tatiana Zelenetskaya Young (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, USA)
Hierarchical Structure of the Settlement Pattern in the Ejido of Sacalaca, Quintana Roo

During the field seasons of 2003, 2004 and 2005, one of the foci of the Cochuah Regional Archaeological Survey was documenting and dating the occupation of sites in the *ejido* of Sacalaca, Quintana Roo. This research examined the hierarchical spatial distribution of sites in the given area. Whether outlying groups were a single aggregate or interacting separate communities can be hypothesized based upon investigation of architectural features, structural design elements, occupation time spans, territorial extent, and the planning and location of sites. Significant characteristics of the landscape such as *cenotes* and caves played an essential role in the political superiority and ranking of the sites. Variation and categories in the hierarchical levels can be hypothesized based upon spatial and temporal relationships of the sites of the Cochuah region.

Dave Johnstone (Humboldt State University, Arcata, USA)

Kings Rule – NOT:
Changes in Ancient Maya Religion in the Cochuah Region

The Cochuah region contained a number of independent regional centers that acted as capitals of larger supporting areas. One means of administering the population was through the manipulation of religion and religious symbolism. Through the medium of public monuments, the kings portrayed themselves as gods engaged in life sustaining ritual for the betterment of their people. By the Postclassic period however, the nature of Maya religion was substantially transformed. Gone were the god kings and arcane rituals of intersession. In their place arose a vibrant folk religion that has persisted to the present. This paper will examine the nature of those religious transformations.

Johan Normark (Göteborg University, Sweden)
Virtual Ideology Among Actual Materialities at Ichmul

Ideology is often seen as the "capability of dominant groups… to make their aim sectional interest appear to others as universal ones." (Giddens 1979:6). For Foucault, this power comes from discourse since when a discourse is formed it automatically leads to exclusion. This power does not exist other than in relation to other powers. However, this discourse is supposed to be shared, as something external to the past agents, and then interiorised through socialization and finally affecting people's behaviour or practices. As a contrast, a habit related perspective on ideology needs to discuss human consciousness. Rather than following Zizek's Lacanian inspired ideology, I rely on Bergson's distinction between two different tendencies of consciousness: instinct and intellect. These in turn rely on the differentiations of the virtual multiplicity into actual multiplicities. The attempt of this paper is to reach a notion of "sharing" that belongs to virtuality, or memory. In the process of becoming, the fluidity of the world actualises into the statics of language and representations that are manifested in an assumed shared ideology that has been explained as an external quasi-object by social scientists. However, the foundation for ideology lies within us from the beginning and it is not linguistically or semiotically based. In the encounters between humans and materiality, this virtuality actualises itself along different tendencies, some of them represented in the causeway system at Ichmul. An *assumed* externally shared ideology may have helped to

consolidate relations of power to force different habits into similar action during the Terminal Classic. However, archaeological remains should not be seen as representations of a shared external ideology, but rather as actualisations of a virtuality that differentiated according to inner qualities. The dynamics lies within the virtual, not in the static actualisations that has been dealt with in earlier ideological studies.

Alberto Flores (ENAH, Mexico City, Mexico)
The Christ of Ichmul: Religious Syncretism with a New Faith

The origin of one of the most venerated Catholic images in Yucatan, from Colonial times until today, is linked to the small town of Ichmul, Yucatan, which possesses numerous Prehispanic and colonial archeological remains. The CRAS Project's recent investigations at the site have documented a *sacbe* (Maya causeway) network, whose members' trajectories converge upon the same point in the main plaza, where there lies a colonial religious complex and where supposedly the miraculous apparition of the Christ occurred. Its origin could be related to religious syncretism used by conquers as a strategy of legitimation of a different cultural ideology, a new faith.

Alexandr V. Pakin (Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies, Moscow, Russia)
"Mother Names" of the Yucatan Maya on the Eve of the Spanish Conquest

The nature and function of the first, or "mother" name still remains an unresolved problem of the social organization of the Yucatan Maya (as it was, for example, pointed out by T. Harada). Roys's opinion on the nature of this name as the evidence of the double descent met criticism from W. Haviland. However, Roys's statistics of the Yucatan personal names shows the pattern well-known among the highland Maya, testified by various researchers in the mid-20th century. The highland Maya (Tzotzil and Tzeltal) used two sets of names – one, indigenous for the lineage, and another, Spanish for groups of lineages. Their attributes, crucial for the final definition in anthropological terms, such as exogamy/endogamy are variative. For higher levels of the society, built as the hierarchy of the lineage structures, this feature is still quite common, and might not be a result of cultural shift only. It seems possible that this system is a vestige of the pre-Columbian one, that might well exist among the Yucatecs prior to the Spanish Conquest.

PANEL XI

Social and Historical Dynamics:
Patterns, Trends, Mechanisms, and Mathematical Models

Convenors: *Andrey Korotayev, Daria Khaltourina*
(Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies, Moscow, Russia)

The recent decade has evidences the transition from verbal theories of social and historical dynamics to the empirically testable mathematical models of these processes. The standard scientific methods have been shown to be applicable to their study. The panel is aimed at discussion of both the further ways of the introduction of scientific methods into the study of history, and the concrete results achieved within this direction by the moment. The panel addresses the issues of general theory of social evolution as well as its applied aspects. A special attention is paid to the mathematical models of historical processes; however, the papers not applying such models are also welcomed.

Svetlana R. Bekmuratova (Krasnoyarsk State University, Russia)
Michael G. Sadovsky (Institute of Biophysics, Krasnoyarsk, Russia)
What Do They Really Watch? Content Analysis of Up-to-Date Regional Broadcasting in Comparison to the Federal Channels

Televison is the key issue in mass communication. It both represent a reality, and produces it. The Soviet mode of TV broadcasting yielded in a peculiar pattern of perception by the audience. The Russian society still inherits a lot from it. Development of independent bradcasters results in an improvement of the reception pattern at the up-to-date Russian audience, while some inportant peculiarities are still conspired both from the broadcasters, and media research community. We studied the typical, most stable and integral patterns and presentations peculiar for various broadcasters, both regional and federal ones. The explore both the word frequency pattern and carried out the content analysis of the texts of the news. Firstly, the bi-modal distribution of news episodes over their duration was found. Secondly, the sets of the most frequent words were compared, for various combinations of broadcasters. It was found, the broadcasters differ in the pattern of such words distribution; a classification of the boradcasters was developed over these patterns. Thirdly, the sets of unique (or specific) words were studied,

for each broadcaster. The sets observed over the same event reported by the individual broadcaster allow identifying them, and yield the basis for content analysis of the messages. The content analysis exhibits its own distinctive pattern of the broadcaster proximity in the space of concepts, differring from that one observed in the space of word frequency. Besides, the content analysis reveals the archetypes of some concepts of the organisation of social institutions persisting at the modern Russian society, e.g., _power_, _state_, _violence_, _charity_, _leadership_, and some other. Comparison of regional broadcasters to the federal ones carried out due to content analysis reveals the violence exposure level the broadcasters admit in their news reports.

Sergey N. Grinchenko (Institute of the Problems of Informatics,
Moscow, Russia)
History of Civilization as Meta-Evolution Process of the Hierarchical Search-Optimization System of Humankind (Cybernetic Model)

It is offered to investigate historical process of the Civilization formation on Earth, considering Humankind as hierarchical system of a special kind (search-optimization) and concretizing this representation on the basis of the terminology, concepts and formal toolkit of technical cybernetics language. Namely, _the mechanism of hierarchical adaptive search optimization_ of power character target criteria) is examined as "internal" (immanent) mechanism of Humankind hierarchical system organizing it adaptive behaviour. The "meta-evolution" concept – procedure of escalating of levels/circles number in system in a course of its natural development is entered. This procedure forms as hierarchical ideal "carcass" ("skeleton") of social-technological system ("man-artificial" nature), and ideal "benchmark points" of its occurrence historical process. It is postulated, that the social-technological meta-evolution "primary factors" are the information factors: for herd of before-hominid (calculated sizes of "ideal" hierarchical _system_ in a range from 64 m down to 28 cm) – "before-social communications", for bottom Paleolithic community (from 970 m down to 1,8 cm) – "public proto-memory", for middle Paleolithic / Paleolithic and Mesolithic community (from 15 km down to 1,2 mm) – "proto-speech/proto-language", for Neolithic community (from 222 km down to 80 microns) – "proto-writing", for industrial community (from 3370 km down to 5 microns) – "proto-technology of the information duplicating" (typography), for information-1 (computer) community (from 51 thousand km down to 350 nanometers) – "computer proto-technology", for information-2 (network) community (from 770 thousand km down to 23 nanometers) – "network proto-technology",

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information-3 community (from 11,7 million km down to 1,5 nanometer) – "proto-nanotechnology", etc. Thus, within the framework of offered model to each of the specified communities there corresponds the hierarchical system distinguishing from others by number of tiers and by the typical (determined by calculated manner) spatial and temporary (behavioural) characteristics.

Leonid E. Grinin (Uchitel Publishers, Volgograd, Russia)
The Periodization of World History and Mathematics

The mathematical approach has been long in use in history. However, the usage of mathematical methods for the periodization of World History has been disregarded although *time* as a factor of social development is quite suitable for mathematical analysis. After all, time cycles of different duration are actively studied, for instance, in economics. And the cycles underlying the periodization of history are not fundamentally different from other time cycles with regard to the possibility of their mathematical analysis. The search for mathematical dependencies in the already existing periodization can serve a proof of its productivity and also be the basis for some discreet forecasts. It is convenient to present the historical process as four stages of evolution, with production revolutions – agrarian, industrial and scientific-informational ones –serving as boundaries. Correspondingly the first stage is connected with societies with subsistence economy, the second – the agrarian-trade one, the third – industrial, the fourth stage – with scientific-information economy. The duration of the first stage (between 40-10 thousand years ago) is about 30 thousand years; of the 2nd one – from 10 thousand years ago to the mid-fifteenth century – for about 9,400 years; the 3rd stage lasted from 1430 to 1950s (i.e. 550 years); the duration of the 4th stage – is about 130-150 years (it is not over yet, by now it has lasted for 50 years and presumably will last for more 80-100 years). Thus, the periodization under my consideration is based on the idea of repeated cycles of development, each following cycle, however, being shorter than the preceding one because of the acceleration of historical development. Every stage of historical process has its own cycle of development consisting of 6 phases. At the same time: a) the unfolding of each stage in time has some repeated peculiarities presented at the graphs as exponential curves; b) the progress of the whole historical process expressed in the indicated four stages can be also presented as an exponential dependence; c) there exist some persistent mathematical proportions between the duration of phases within each stage of historical process; d) the analysis of the cycle demonstrates that at each stage there are repeated points of acceleration of development

connected with production revolution and the increase of general acceleration of historical development. And this can be clearly seen at the graphs; e) the analysis of stable proportions and peculiarities of the cycle allows some forecasts of the future (the 4th stage and in particular the duration of its phases).

Daria Khaltourina (Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies, Moscow, Russia)
Reconsidering Weber: Literacy of the Spirit of Capitalism

Max Weber suggested that Protestant (especially Calvinist) ethics was a significant factor of capitalist transformation. We suggest that Protestantism has promoted the economic development with insisting on the necessity of reading the Bible in native languages and, thus increasing literacy rates. There is a strong and significant correlation between the literacy rate in the beginning of modernization era and per capita value of GDP in the respective countries in our days. The relationship between literacy and economic growth explains the economic success of the followers of other versions of Protestantism (in addition to Calvinism), as well as Judaism, Confucianism and some branches of Buddhism.

Alexandr A. Kazankov (Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies, Moscow, Russia)
Factors of Ethnic Identity Formation

Military defeat of a side in ethnical conflict creates the situation of the possible bifurcation in the development of the social norms. Before detailed consideration of this bifurcation though we ought to give a definition of the ethnic group and ethnos. I suggest to call a group of people having the structure of a population within which a set of structured collective behavioural stereotypes is passed from generation to generation an ethnic group. An ethnic group members of which are united by a quasi-populational group identities I suggest to call an ethnos. Such a quasi-populational identity I would call an ethnic identity. The paper presented here will deal with the formalization of the factor of the military defeat acting on the formation of an ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is formed by multiple factors which can be grouped in a number of clusters.

1) factors of natural character, e.g. ecology forming subsistence mode, e.g.–Russian agriculturalists versus Kypchak pastoralists (both groups retaining the corresponding traditions from the ancient past).

2) Factors of political character which interest me in the paper.

Example: in the past an ethnic group defeated in the military conflict and subjugated into a joint social system with the conquerors was normally forbidden to carry arms. Such a group would lose the system of explicit or implicit devices (e.g.–rituals) forming belligerence and courage in its youths. This will change the behavioral stereotypes of individuals. An individual psychological quality can be measured experimentally, unlike the integral sum of responding qualities in a large-scale society. A procedure of a random selection from the general population can be organized instead. This paper is aimed to be a part of the general formalized theory of ethnicity, having in mind that ethnic identity is a kind of a function from a political system.

Svetlana Kobzeva (Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies, Moscow, Russia)
Discourse-Analysis in Conflict Prevention and Early Warning Models

A. Event Data Analysis for Conflict Monitoring and Early Warning

During the last two decades, quantitative event data collectors have made enormous progress: in popularity and especially in the means by which the information data is caught and coded. The modern progress in Hi Tech and information technologies made scholars overcome coding data by hand and go towards computer collecting and coding systems. The individual collections such as Rummell's Dimensions of Nations, the Conflict and Peace Data Bank (COPDAB) and it's continuation Global Event – Data System (GEDS), the Behavioral Correlates of War (BCOW) project, McClelland's Word Events Interactions Survey (WEIS) during 1980s and 1990s had been widely used as data sources in the academic community. Automated data approach as an independent source of event data collecting and coding has appeared recently on the basis of advances and know-how in computational linguistics, computer software and the speed of hardware. In accordance with the development of automated data collecting and coding systems, the new models of monitoring and early warning has emerged.

B. Conflict Monitoring and Early Warning Systems

Contemporary field of international Peace and Conflict Studies presents the following systems of data analysis, developed by the leading nongovernment organizations, involved in peacebuilding, conflict resolution, crises monitoring and early warning:

1. Tool for Rapid Assessment of Complex Emergencies (TRACE) / Intellectual Research Design and Methodology of Virtual Research Associates.
2. Fast Monitoring and Early Warning System / Swiss Peace Center Research Methodology and Update.
3. Conflict Assessment System Tool (CAST) / Fund for Peace Methodology for Analytical Framework.
4. Humanitarian Early Warning System (HEWS) / UNOCHA Kanzas Event Data System/PANDA Protocol.

Andrey Korotayev
(Center for Civilizational and
Regional Studies, Moscow, Russia)

Mathematical Models of Social Macroprocesses and Periodization of the World System History

Recently developed mathematical models of the World System development suggest the following periodization of its history:
1. the macroepoch of hyperbolic growth (blow-up regime development), up to the 1960s – 1970s;
2. the macroepoch of the withdrawal from the blow-up regime.

Within this context the 1960s – 1970s could be regarded as a transitional period between the two macroepochs.

On the other hand, the blow-up regime development macroepoch can be subdivided into two relatively independent epochs of hyperbolic growth (the Older Hyperbola and the Younger Hyperbola), the border between which appears to be marked by the end of the Axial Age.

Igor E. Moskalev (Russian Academy for Civil Service
by the President of Russian Federation, Moscow, Russia)
Dynamic Modeling of Innovative Processes

Our society, being an object of governmental management, undergoes constant changes. The dynamics of social processes is often faster than it could be accommodated by the rigid structure of the state apparatus, which is no longer adequate to the changing social realities. The conception of innovative governmental management is suggested as an alternative to reformation or revolutionary transformation of the existing system. This

conception is based on the idea of dynamic modeling of social processes and on the effective use of innovative potentials of the two connected systems: the state and the society. Social innovations are the products of social self-organization processes. Innovation is a certain divergence from evolutionary dynamics of a social system development. In our opinion, the methodology of sociosynergetics lets us describe the mechanisms and the principles of social innovation. Innovation is a new element that actively embodies itself into the existing structure of social system. However, a truly new items cannot be described in terms of stable systems and approaches. They contain elements of unpredictability and contingency, and they also do not fit the existing standards and criteria. Thus, innovations open a system, bring there elements of unpredictability and contingency; new possibilities are accompanied with new risks. An adequate expertise of innovative processes requires not strict just boundaries and selection instruments, but the methodology of dynamic modeling of innovation processes, as well as playing different scenarios. Information base for modeling and expertise of innovation processes should be monitoring system, which should identify the dynamics of positive and negative changes in a society. This requires the formation of a system of innovation processes indicators.

Sergey A. Nefedov (Institute of History and Archeology, Ekaterinburg, Russia)
The Theory of Demographic Cycles and Russian Revolution

Neomalthusian theory of demographic cycles approves, that a growth of population causes a fall of consumption. When the consumption comes nearer to a hungry level, the society enters into a zone of social instability and the population demands a realization of social reforms for a increase of consumption. A poor harvest or a war aggravate the situation and a revolution occurs, if the government refuses to make these reforms. Had Russian revolution malthusian character? The diagrams of consumption from my report speak that it was so.

Evgeniy A. Shinakov (Briansk State University, Russia)
Mechanisms of Hierarchy Formation
and Power Legitimation in Ancient Rus

In the process of comparative study of different types of historical sources two groups of mechanisms of hierarchy formation and power legitimation in

the Ancient Rus were defined: 1) "plutocratic" (trading), genealogical, military-resistance, treating (contracting), military-integrative mechanisms; 2) military-repressing ("ritual conflict"), legislative, military-conquering, marriage-relative, ideological, military-defensive, integrative-demographical mechanisms. Mechanisms of the first group functioned during the period of consolidation of different types of chiefdoms into "barbarian" power with two-level hierarchy (second half of IX century). Mechanisms of second group appeared during the process of transformation of "barbarian" power to the early state (second half of X century). The first group is connected with the struggle between the Varangians that exploited tribes and chiefdoms ("kniazeniya") along the "East Way" and local nobility for treasury and sovereignty. Ancient Rus was created as a result of treaty between the local elite and part of the Varangians and was greatly expanded during Oleg's reign. Second group of mechanisms begins by the "ritual" massacre of seceded Drevlian' chiefdom and was immediately followed by reforms of Olga. The centralizing activity of two sons of Swiatoslaw was followed by complex reforms of Vladimir I and was finalized by legislative activity of Yaroslaw the Wise that finally formalized social structure and hierarchy of Old Russian early state.

Vitaliy G. Sholokhov (Russian State Commercial and Economic University, Moscow, Russia)
Phenomenon of Force in the Authority Structures

Despite interdisciplinary the nature of such sciences as the theory systems, cybernetics, the theory complexity, the theory of the networks they proved to be incapable to open the concept "authorities". But the concept directly it is connected by concept "force". Force of authority, the pole of force, armed force, and also the force of spirit, the force authority, the force of morals and many others expression, using the concept of force, frequently they are encountered in our daily life. By force everything appears that that it produces change in peace in the space and time. Therefore the determination the force it coincides by the determination reason. Hence productive forces exist the reason - attractors human activity. Development (motion forward) always it occurs in the conditions some limitations. In its totality they are realized as production the relation people. People strive to remove these limitation. This process and there is, in essence, progress. However, in each the specific moment the time the limitation they represent by itself necessary the condition existence society. Contradiction between by the tendency to remove the limitation and them by the observance it is solved through the

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establishment the institutes authority. Authority it directs its forces on the observance of the expedient limitations. It appears the equilibrium forces. And although the force of the order frequently they adapt by authority for the guarantee indicated conditions, nevertheless the main body the authority it is connected basic by the purposes (by attractors) society. Reasons the evolution of society, established in its time by Aristotle, they appear hidden by variables - by the attractors any stochastic ensemble.

Tatiana G. Tourkina (St-Petersburg State University, Russia)
**On the Problem of the Yoruba Traditional Ruling Models:
History and Evolution**

The paper is devoted to specialities and features of the political system of the Yiruba till pre-colonial time. By Pre-colonial period there were several types of governmental systems at the Yoruba settlements which were not appeared one from another. According to the Yoruba well-known tradition, ruler ("father", "master") and especially sacred one was a personification of the political constitution, symbol of the community well-being, mediator between the people and ancestors. Nevertheless in reality power and political functions of even the sacred rulers were various. Institute of "tsars" at the diverse places of the Yorubaland was in different position concerning other ones and the ruler not always had power over the other political forces. According to the Yoruba materials it can be founded the special norm: the more powerful political constitution was governed the crowned ruler the more power functions were controlled with under-monarchic institutions (so-called "secret societies", chiefs and titled nobility, and so on.). Ancient traditional power institutions didn't absorb into the "monarchy" and palatial organization due to the fact that they are differing with ability for vertical adaptation. These institutions come to act as a part of the governmental system and their authorities were increased. Because of very versatile mentality of the Yoruba it was possible don't take the innovations as a change or violation of social norms. Thus both the high level institutes, mediate and basic ones developed in common during the very long term and they supported each other in the context of single hole. Historical dynamics and major items of evolution and perspectives of such systems in Yorubaland will be analyzed in the report.

Sergey V. Tsirel (VNIMI, St. Petersburg, Russia)
The Problem of Hyperbolic Growth of World Population

One of the mysteries of the history of humanity is the hyperbolic growth of the world population (N) witnessed since prehistoric times up to 1960s expressed by $N=A/(t_0-t)$. This formula together with the well known interpretation "the number of inventors is in direct proportion with the world population" leads to no less than four questionable conclusions.

1. The whole history of humanity is programmed and $t_0=2005-2025$ as the date of the doomsday (or, cautiously, as the tentative of modernization and change of the law of the population growth) was set long before Christ.

2. The humanity as a whole has represented system for, at least, five thousand years (? at one million years).

3. The efficiency of innovations and fraction of inventors in the humanity have been constant during for the above period.

4. For the same period information propagation in the whole world has been very quick and innovations has been repeated at the same rate.

Detailed analysis of the problem has shown.

1. The approximation is substantially worse than it is shown in most publications. There exist other (less convenient) formulas which for the approximation of the data with the same degree of accuracy.

2. The formulas do not yield the date of the doomsday and would function if the history of the mankind were different.

3. During the 18th-19th centuries with the formation the modern world system the law of population growth has somewhat changed. The change is screened by the quick growth of China population in the 18th century.

4. There exists a number of other mathematical models which demonstrate a similar law of world population growth.

5. The only necessary condition is the intensification of the relative growth speed in process as the number of people in different communities grows.

6. The approximate simultaneity of various civilizations development allows for the choice of the most adequate models.

7. Those models include demographic cycles and increase in intensity of contacts between closely situated communities as their population grows.

PANEL XII

Power, Theory and Evidence in African, Ancient and Modern Slavery

<u>Convenor</u>: *Mark J. Goodman* (York University, Toronto, Canada)

This panel examines issues of power and hierarchy in African, ancient, and modern (United States) slave societies, with particular focus on issues of authority and ideological hegemony and of challenges to power expressed through forms of rebellion and resistance, including slave revolt and social banditry. Theoretical issues involved in comparing slave systems across time and place and in situating literary expression in relation to historical evidence are also examined.

Martin A. Klein (University of Toronto, Canada)
Slavery and the Early State in Africa

A central problem in understanding the early State is how some men are able to establish their authority over others – how they are able to coerce those others into yielding a new authority or through the distribution of rewards persuade those others to yield. My argument is that the acquisition of slaves and the use of slaves as instruments of royal power permit the state to assert itself in opposition to its rivals. A part of this process of evolution is also the conversion of captives into slaves, which creates a class of people who are permanently subject to others and can be used either for labour or as the king's men, devoted and often powerful instruments of royal power. Royal slaves, because they depend on their masters for their privileges, are often dependable and loyal, and because they receive nothing by right, are often faithful followers. To the degree that the would-be monarch often originates as a military leader, he often has privileged access to the captives taken in war and can select those who will be his most effective instruments. The paper uses data from different parts of Africa to make this argument.

Enrico Dal Lago (National University of Ireland, Galway)
Constantina Katsari (University of Leicester, UK)
Hierarchy, Power and Rebellion in Slave Societies:
Comparing the Roman World with the Antebellum American South

Among the relations of power and hierarchy that have characterized human

societies from the beginning of history, slavery has been justly considered the most extreme. Following O. Patterson's model of slavery as 'social death', it is possible to devise a number of comparisons between slave societies in different areas of the world and at different points in time. Such a 'diachronic' comparison between an ancient and a modern slave system would highlight the specific features of each system and lead to a better understanding of the ideologies and practices that characterize the master-slave relationship. We propose to implement such a 'diachronic' comparative approach, focusing specifically on two of the best-known slave societies, the Roman world and the antebellum American South. The paper examines the ways in which the relations of power that underpinned the two slave systems came to be changed, or at the very least strained, by the occurrence of particular instances of slave rebellions. Although neither Rome's nor America's slave societies ever ran the risk of being overthrown by such instances, their occurrence generated fear and uneasiness in the two master classes; and fear and uneasiness led to widespread methods of suppression or rebellious activities. At the heart of these fears lay the fact that slave rebellions had the potential of overturning the hierarchical relations that are the very basis of the social systems, because of tradition, custom and, most of all, economic convenience.

Mark J. Goodman (York University, Toronto, Canada)
Hegemony and Violence in the Antebellum South

This paper discusses attempts to offer a theoretical explanation for planter dominance in the antebellum South, focusing on arguments advanced by Stanley M. Elkins and Eugene D. Genovese. These influential accounts, it is suggested, depend for their argumentative power and continuing interest on a highly-charged reading of Freudian and Gramscian theory, and a particular understanding of the role of psychological violence in dominating the enslaved. The place of these accounts in US cultural history and the historiography of American slavery is also examined. It is suggested that the notion of overmastering psychological power advanced by Elkins, in particular, is indicative of the anxious political climate in which he wrote, and provides a window into the tensions and preoccupations of the period. In the conclusion, resonances with the current political climate are considered.

Niall McKeown (University of Birmingham, UK)
Comparative Evidence and the Ancient Slave: Reconstructing the Past, or Constructing It?

Comparative evidence provides us with a way of broadening our minds when approaching the evidence and forcing us to ask new questions of it, but there have been few explicit considerations of the use of comparative approach. However, Thomas Gruenewald's *Raeuber, Rebellen, Rivalen, Raecher* (1999) criticizes the manner in which rebels in the ancient Roman world (including slave rebels) have been read. He notes that while some historians feel that Eric Hobsbawm's model of social banditry can be vindicated by reference to ancient texts, others see it as an ahistorical set of "literary" clichés which do not become more historical through repetition. This material is examined with particular regard to slave rebellions and current debates between post-modern theorists and those influenced by Marxism.

Giovanni Salmeri (University of Pisa, Italy)
**From Satyricon to Marius the Epicurean:
Slaves in Ancient and Modern Novels**

The paper is organized in three sections. The first section discusses the presentation of slaves in Latin and Greek novels. Special attention is paid to the sexual abuse of male and female slaves and to the practice of prostitution. The second section of the paper takes into consideration the presentation of slaves in a few nineteenth century novels which deal with the ancient world (for example, *Quo vadi*s by Sienkiewicz, and *Marius the Epicurean* by Pater). The sources of these presentations are also investigated. The final section of the paper examines the use in nineteenth century French and English novels of some clichés concerning slavery taken from ancient literary production.

PANEL XIII

Status, Socium and Accusation:
Forms of accusation and inquisition
from Antiquity to Renaissance period

Convenor: *Nadejda Selounskaia* (Institute of World History, Moscow, Russia)

The project of the session deals with the concepts of *culpa, accusation* and *inquisition* in the number of social and social contexts. The goal is to indicate the specific features of the concepts of culpa and accusation. We are going to deal with the concept not only from the perspective of the history of law but also to analyze the phenomena in the context of the social hierarchy. It intends to pay the special attention to the secular and religious conflicts and the interests of the members of the *socium*. Our task is to analyze the variability of the perceptions and the representations and the interaction of the secular and sacred components of these concepts. The goal is also to demonstrate the role of the written and the oral forms and performances of the process of the accusations and the possible data of the historical sources for the interpretation of the phenomena. The received proposals for the session are focused on the patterns of social behavior in the situations of accusation and the proving of the status and the rights in the worlds of Antiquity, Medieval and Renaissance. It would be interesting however to include in the framework of the session not only the case of Roman Antiquity and of the Christian European civilization (Latin West and Byzantine Empire) but the broader historical context , and to compare the research cases with the different socio-historical contexts.

Joseph J. Hughes (Missouri State University, USA)
Cicero: Man of Constant Self-Exculpation

Seen through the eyes of the statesman, defense lawyer, and philosopher Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 BC-43 BC), the Roman Republic raised the game of inquisition and exculpation to a new level. In 63 BC, Cicero attained the highest public status Rome had to offer, the office of consul, and spent the rest of his life defending it vigorously. His year as consul was marked by his suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy. Although provided by the Roman Senate with a Final Decree empowering him to take whatever actions he saw fit, he was attacked even before his term was over for executing the

conspirators without appeal to the Roman People (*provocatio*). He justified his actions in public addresses, edited versions of earlier speeches, letters, poetry, and even a public oath. In 58 BC, Cicero was driven into exile by a People s Tribune on the predictable charge of executing Roman citizens without appeal; his Palatine house was torn down and consecrated to the goddess of Liberty. Returning the next year, he again utilized every means of self-exculpation written and verbal - to restore his status, without offending the triumvirs. Although Cicero s years of political compromise with the triumvirs were productive in a literary sense, he still continued to justify his actions privately. When Cicero returned to politics after Caesar s murder in 44 BC, his valiant fight for the moribund Republic required yet another round of public self-exculpation. Examination of Cicero s techniques of self-exculpation and his choice of venues will be inform our appreciation of the interplay between inquisition and exculpation in Roman Republican politics, society, and religion.

Nadejda Selounskaia (World History Institute, Moscow, Russia)
What the dead-man said: Accusation de jure and de facto and the last will in the medieval Lucca

The paper deals with the last wills of the medieval Lucca citizens, which created the tension and controversy between the traditional parish churches and the new Franciscan church and resulted in the excommunications of the former parish-union members. It intends to analyze the number of the appellations to the Holy See of the Lucca' citizens and the inhabitants, men and women and their procurators and to report the materials of the process held in Florence 1286 devoted to the problem of *jus sepelendi* and the last wills expressed by the laic parish church members. The goal is to explain the facts of the excommunications and the problem of *jus sepelendi* in the context of the social history of the medieval city commune.

Olga Togoeva (World History Institute, Moscow, Russia)
Charge without Any Proof: Early Witch Trials in Medieval Europe

The paper deals with the early witch trials in Western Europe in the 14th-15th centuries. Its main purpose is to find out the regional peculiarities of such trials, particulars of perception of witchcraft in different regions, including France, Switzerland, Italy and Germany by both population, judges and the accused themselves; to look out into how an accusation of witchcraft could

be brought about at the time when there were no explicit criteria for such a notion as "witches' conspiracy", "witches' sect", "Devil's pact" and so on; on what "scientific" ideas the accusers and judges based their indictment if they had no demonological.

Julia Ighina (St Petersburg State University, Russia)
Anti-witchcraft Legislation in the England:
Guilt and Punishment of Witches

The English anti-witchcraft legislation was active during the period from 1542 to 1736. Five Anti-Witchcraft Laws were enabled and promulgated in this period: the Bill 1542 of Henry the VIII; the Bill 1547 of Edward the VI; the Act 1562 of Elizabeth the I; the Act 1604 of James the I; the Act 1736 of George the II. The focus of this study is the legal aspect of Witchcraft which reflected perception of witchcraft as specific kind of crime by medieval society and state. The conception of witchcraft as a specific crime, guilt and punishment has undergone long evolution in the English legislation. This evolution is directly linked to the development of demonological theory and judicial practice. The early Anti-Witchcraft Law dealt only with witchcraft actions linked only to an everyday damage. At first the witchcraft phenomena labeled as a deed of felony. The climax of the anti-witchcraft legislation was to consider the crime of witchcraft as an evil spirits contract conclusion – a deed of religious misbehavior overburden by an approach to a demon worship as a new form of heresy. In England witchcraft was persecuted by secular royal courts. Court records and historical documents provide a chance to describe the reshaping of religious crime into treated by state law. Therefore, the juridical conception of witchcraft was laid down in English law at the beginning of XVII century. The anti-witchcraft acts of the Tudors and the Stuarts were raised from an idea of a reality of witchcraft and damage does it and established number of punishments for witchcraft actions. The Repealed Act 1736 classified witchcraft phenomena as a delusion dispersed by those who trusted and convinced the others into reality of magic. From then on the crime of witchcraft was treated as quackery or cozenage. Thus, new juridical conception of witchcraft crime was formulated in the decline of "Witch-Hunt" because a late "witches" nevertheless were considered as a worthy punishment criminals by new act. To sum up, the English legislation on witchcraft has passed from a recognition of witchcraft existence and establishing reality of harm that could be done to the classification of the witchcraft phenomena as a delusion. During the "Witch-Hunt" era two

different juridical witchcraft conceptions were formulated in England, but either considered witchcraft phenomena as a crime against social community.

PANEL XIV

Structure of Power and Hierarchy in Chinggis Khan Empire: A Cross-Cultural Perspective

<u>Convenor</u>: *Nikolay N. Kradin* (Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography, Vladivostok, Russia)

The problem of the Mongolian conquest and role of Chinggis Khan empire in the world-systems history has recently received a new sounding. Activation of research into this topic is connected with approximation of the 800th anniversary of declaration of the Mongolian empire in 2006. The fundamental problem which will be discussed in this panel is the structure of authority and hierarchy in Chinggis Khan empire, as well as the problem of why the Mongols grew from a small, little-known people into a powerful empire. What role has Chinggis Khan played in these processes? What were the reasons for creation of the Mongolian and other nomadic empires? What was the basis of Chinggis Khan's authority? What were the features of the hierarchy structure of the Mongols and other nomadic empires? Was the Mongolian empire a state or a chiefdom? What was the place of the Mongolian empire in the world-systems processes?

Thomas D. Hall (DePauw University, Greencastle, USA)
The "Permanent," Yet Variable Frontier: The Roles of Central Asian Pastoralists in Historical Processes.

Until some time in what Wallerstein has labeled the time of the "modern world-system," that is, since ca. 1500 C.E., nomadic pastoralists have formed and maintained a more or less permanent, yet highly volatile, and in Thomas Barfield's terms a "perilous" frontier with all the states which abut the Central Asian Steppes. These supposedly peripheral peoples did succeed, under Chinggis, in building the largest land empire ever known in human history, along with many smaller ones before and after. While frontiers pose a perennial problematic: (1) each frontier zone is unique; yet (2) most frontiers share many common social, cultural, economic, political, and historical processes. This paper will probe that duality, finishing with a few conclusions, more speculations, and many more unanswered questions, both about Central Asia frontier zones, and frontier zones in general.

Peter Turchin (University of Connecticut, Storrs, USA)
A Model for the Formation of "Mirror Empires" on the Steppe Frontier

One of the most powerful macrohistorian regularities is the temporal correlation between the rise-and-fall dynamics of agrarian empires and nomadic imperial confederations. Thomas Barfield argued that a powerful agrarian empire exerts an integrative influence on the nomadic societies of the steppe, who must unify in order to become powerful enough to raid the settled empire, or extract tribute from it (the "xenocratic mode of production" in Nikolay Kradin's words). However, the raiding pressure from nomadic confederations also exerts an integrative influence on the agrarian empires. I will present a mathematical model of interactions between settled and nomadic societies across a steppe frontier. The model describes a kind of an "arms race": an autocatalytic process in which increased military power of the nomads triggers centralization in the agrarian society, which in turn forces the nomads to unify, and so on. The centralization dynamic operates on both sides of the steppe frontier, and is brought to an end only one, or both polities reach space limitations (run out of space, or become limited by logistic constraints).

Nikolay N. Kradin
(Institute of History, Archaeology
and Ethnography, Vladivostok, Russia)
Chinggis Khan's Stateless Empire
in Afroeurasian World-System Evolution

Thomas Barfield has discovered a system correlation between the processes of growth and decline in agricultural world-empires and in the steppe semi-periphery. The Han Empire and Hsiung-nu power appeared over one decade. The Turkish Khaganat appeared just at that time when China has been consolidated under the dominion of the Sui and T'ang dynasties. The Chinggis Khan case contradicts with this idea. But besides general principles of nomads and civilizations interactions other more accidental factors (ecology, climate, political situation, personal features of political leaders and even luck) have played a part sufficient to determine the course of historical development in each particular case. It is quite possible that it is an explanation of the Mongolian example. The Chinggis Khan Empire had the typical features of nomadic empire: multi-hierarchical decimal social organization, wings principle of division, coachman yam service, ideology of Tenggeri, institution of co-government etc. The stability of empires has

directly depended on the skill of the supreme power at organizing the production of silk, agricultural products, handicraft articles and delicate jewels of the settled territories. Chinggis Khan has distributed all trophies among his friends and *nökörs*. The Mongolian conquest coincided with a new period of moistening in Mongolia and the steppes of East Europe and with a demographic and economic upturn in all parts of the Old World and became a culmination of the history of pre-industrial world-empires. The Mongols merged a chain of international trade into the united complex of land and sea routes. For the first time, all great regional cores (Europe, the Muslim area, India, China, the Golden Horde) proved to be united in the first World-System. At the beginning of the 15th century, the first world-system disintegrated.

Tatyana D. Skrynnikova (Institute of Mongolian, Buddhist,
and Tibetan Studies, Ulan-Ude, Russia)
**Struggle for Power in the Mongol Ulus
at the Turn of the 12th and 13th Centuries**

We suppose that the process of politogenesis in Threeriver (the Onon, Kerulen, Tola) in the beginning of the 13th century was connected with struggle for power between two leading groupings: the Mongols and Taijiuts. Genealogies give evidence of two intermarriage groups expressed with different codes: a relation with *wolf*/*dog* is marked by the patrilineage (*Börte čino – borjigin – čino – nukuz*/noqai/*šira noqoi – tayiči'ut*) and with *doe* by the matrilineage (*Goa Maral – nirun – kiyat – mongol*). So, we see that the accessory of descendants could be defined both by the mother's and father's line: first-borns built genealogy on patrilineal principle, and the subsequent children belonged to the mother. In the context of not only union but also opposition of Mongols and Taijiuts the recurrence of Temujin's installment becomes clear. While his declaration as khan in 1201 meant that the Mongols chose him as a military leader before the war with the Taijiuts, the repeated installment was connected not just with the victory over the Naimans and Merkits, but also with defeat of the coalition led by the Taijiuts (Jamukha). The necessity of the installment's recurrence was conditioned by the necessity *to legalize* the ruling powers through *assuming* (= Mongolization) of the sacral center – Khorkhonakh-chzhubur on the Onon where the second announcement of Cinngis Khan as the *khagan* took place in 1206. The use of double-words ethnonyms in which *mongol* and *kiyat* appeared in the first place, gives evidence of *mongolization* (in the political sense) of the groups included into the Mongol *ulus*; this fact being fixed in the identification practice of the ever widening limits of the

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commonness. The final fixing of power over the Mongol *ulus* for Chinggis Khan and his descendants, the fact of *mongolization* of the *Tayiči'uts* and the confirmation of unity of both parts of the pair, was reflected in Rashid-ad-din's constructing of the limits of *own* commonness through modeling of the concept *nirun*, in which alongside with the *Mongols* there also was a place for the *Tayiči'uts* and ethnic groups ranked to them. The name *mongol* as well as the name *kiyat* began to be transmitted through the male lineage and this was retrospectively related to the whole genealogy beginning from the forefather – Borte-Chino.

Stanislav A. Ugdyzhekov
(Khakasia State University, Abakan, Russia)
On Common Symbols of Power in the Eternal El of the Turks and the Great Ulus of the Mongols

Among the Great Mongol *ulus* heraldry a series of positions that show succession of signs of supreme power of the Empire of Chinggis Khan and his descendants to the signs of royalty accepted in nomadic empires of Ancient Turkic civilization can be singled out.

1. Regal clothes. The *kagans* of Ancient Turks and rulers of the Kyrgyzes wore specific regalia on their clothes and headdress. The investiture of the *khan* among the Mongols made wearing of specific "imperial"-style clothes obligatory.

2. Specific food. Exclusiveness of the Kyrgyz sovereign was confirmed by the fact that he had the possibility to diversify his meat-milk diet with starchy foods and wine. It is known that a similar holy drink among Mongol grandees was *kara-kumys*, the recipe of which is lost.

3. Cult of the royal clan. This concept was based both on belonging to a particular, sacred clan of continuous descendants of the deity, or "adoption" by the deity. Genealogy had played a considerable role for an ideological basing of supreme power.

4. The banner. The Turks' were represented their totemic ancestors were depicted on their banners. For the Mongols the banner was related to the soul (*sulde*) of an ancestor.

5. The *khan*'s charisma. For the ancient Turks possession of supreme power was determined by the presence of a gift of Heaven (Tengri) – *kut* of *kagan*. Heaven gave "power" to a ruler. The rulers of the Mongol Empire increased their power with the help of Heaven. The notion of *suu jaly* (power or patronage of flame) was vitalized in the initial formula of the Mongol sovereign. It refers to the name of patron spirits among Turkic peoples.

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Shamans took part in installation of the ancient Turks *kagans*. Chinggis Khan received his sacred title from the hands of the supreme shaman Teb-Tengri.

Thomas D. Hall
(DePauw University, Greencastle, USA),
Vladimir Kostyukov
(South Ural State University, Chelyabinsk, Russia)
On the Administrative and Political Structure of the Juchi Ulus

According to the Turkic-Mongolian tradition, the territory of the Juchi *ulus* should be divided into three (the center, the left and right wings) or two (left and right wings) parts. Nowadays most scholars recognize the two-part scheme (the White Horde – the right wing and the Blue Horde – the left wing) as the basic units. However, we are inclined to conclude basing on written sources, that during isolation of the Juchi *ulus* its structure consisted of three parts: besides possessions of Batu and Orda-Edjen, there was the third division – the Shiban possession. The difficulty caused by transition to Shiban of the territory to the east of the domain of Batu is settled by recognition of situational judgment about investiture made at the moment when the ultimate goals of the western campaign has not yet been achieved and Batu had to prepare for the probable military conflict with Guyuk. In this situation the Juchid's personal qualities and their loyalty to Batu the Juchid's personal qualities and their loyalty to Batu were taken into account at distribution of territories first of all. The military merits of Shiban (marked by early sources) and joint with Batu management of the main corps of the Mongolian army in Hungary predetermined the assignment to Shiban of protection of the east flank of the Juchi *ulus*; at the same time the rights for possessions in Central Europe, probably, were kept behind him. By one of the versions of Guyuk's death Shiban coped successfully with the first of the tasks assigned to him. The second task soon lost urgency as Shibanids had taken active part in the Iranian campaign of Hulegu, but then together with Batuids concentrated on the struggle for rich southern countries.

Yuliy I. Drobyshev (Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, Russia)
The Climate and the Khans

Ю. И. Дробышев (Институт востоковедения, Москва, Россия)
Климат и ханы

В докладе предполагается осветить два вопроса (акцент будет сделан на втором):

1) взаимосвязь климатических изменений и исторических событий в средневековой Монголии;
2) восприятие народами Центральной Азии, прежде всего монголами, различных погодных аномалий как признаков приятия или неприятия Небом того или верховного правителя.

Данные по влиянию изменений климата в XIII в. на сложение Монгольской империи противоречивы. Источники намекают на такие изменения, но их роль в историческом процессе едва ли столь значительна.

Легитимный хаган, наделенный харизмой и правящий с соизволения Неба подобно получившему «небесный мандат» китайскому императору, упорядочивает социальные и природные явления. Напротив, хаган, захвативший власть незаконно (против воли Неба), не может служить посредником между Небом и Землей, что ведет к хаосу. Небо активно выражает свое неприятие такого властителя, в частности, посредством погодных аномалий. Классический пример – катаклизмы времен правления Гуюка, использовавшиеся его оппонентами для доказательства его нелигитимности.

Заслуживает также внимания трактовка некоторых обстоятельств жизни минского императора Ин-цзуна (1435 – 1449) в монгольском плену китайскими и монгольскими летописцами, сообщающими о разного рода благоприятных знамениях и признаках его защиты со стороны Неба.

Средневековая монгольская концепция верховной власти будет также рассмотрена на ряде других примеров в «климатическом» преломлении.

PANEL XV

**The Cossack Communities, Identity and Power on the
Eurasian Space in the 16th – 20th Centuries**
Convenor: *Sergey M. Markedonov* (Institute for Political and
Military Analysis, Moscow, Russia)

During the last 10 or 15 years the history of the Cossacks has been arising a considerable interest of both academics and politicians. It is manifested in numerous publications and conferences on the Cossacks. The conferences have revealed the subjects, dealt with the history of the Cossacks, predominantly in the context of the events in this or that separate region (Ukraine, the Caucasus, Siberia, the Far East) or in the context of military or socio-economic history. Moreover, the Cossacks are considered as a completely Russian historical phenomenon, while the Cossack communities existed not only on the territory of contemporary Russia and within the boundaries of so called "Slavic area" but also as a part of the Crimea Khanate, the Ottoman Empire, Qing China. Thus, it is possible to ascertain that in the public and academy there are still absent an integral notion of the Cossack phenomenon and its evolution, a typology of the Cossack communities, etc. The main purpose of the panel is to accumulate papers on the history of the Cossacks given in the vein of the civilization approach and regarding the regional factor, implying the research emphasis on the interrelationship between the individual/community and the state, on the specific features of culture (in the ethnographic and civil-national meanings) and psychology, on spatial and symbolic geography, etc. within the chronological frameworks from stable Cossack communities formation in the 16th century to the 20th century, the period when the Cossacks existed in different language and cultural milieu (in the Soviet Union and in emigration) and enjoyed revival in the post-Soviet states. The following points for discussion may be outlined: the political and judicial institutions of the Cossacks and their evolution; the relations between the Cossack communities and the Moscow state, Russian Empire, Ottoman Empire, Poland-Lithuania, etc.; the Cossacks as a phenomenon of intercultural dialogue (the history of non-Slavic ethnic component in the Cossack communities); the image of the Cossacks in history (cultural stereotypes of their perception by other peoples); self-identification of the Cossacks, the mechanisms of its transmission, the ghosts of the Cossacks' "nationalism" and separatism; the Cossacks as a political myth and political ideal in social thought of Russia, Ukraine, and other European states; the "Cossack question" in the official

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policy and public opinion of the Russian Empire in the 19th – early 20th centuries, contemporary Russia and other post-Soviet states.

Sergey M. Markedonov
(Institute for Political and Military Analysis,
Moscow, Russia)

The Cossacks: Unity or Diversity (The Problems of Terminology and Typology of the Cossack Communities)

Analyzing the history of those Cossacks who used to serve Muscovy and the Russian Empire, the historian Svatkov urged his colleagues to stop the "merging of notions" while studying the Cossacks. This idea expressed in 1927 is as never before actual at present. Consensus in terminology is not characteristic of the historiography of the history of the Cossacks. It is not an exaggeration to say that a great number of books have been written on the history of the Cossacks, but scholars practically still did not pay any attention to the question whether it is fair to unite all the diverse groups of the Cossacks into a single notion "the Cossacks" (*kazachestvo*).

In this research we chose the term "New Cossacks" (*neokazachestvo*) to characterize the modern (since the late 1980s) Cossack movement. The reasons for the usage of this construction are the following:

- Almost 70 years have passed between the historical community of the Cossacks and the modern movement for its revival;
- The Cossacks as an integrated community (a pattern for "revival") ceased to exist on the territory of Russia in 1920 after the liquidation of the Cossack class and the Cossacks army structures and territorial formations;
- The "historical" Cossacks had undergone considerable changes, caused by the revolution, the Civil War, emigration, by the Bolshevistic policy of collectivization and elimination of the Cossacks. The Cossacks (*Kazachestvo*) had lost its immanent social, economic, political, provost functions;
- The initial community appeared to be "scattered" over almost all the social groups of the Soviet society (workers, collective farm [*kolkhoz*] peasantry, intelligentsia, military personnel);

The only way to identify the descendants of the Cossacks of the Russian Empire is their "mobilized memory".

Vladimir V. Koloda
(Kharkiv State Pedagogical University, Ukraine)

Living Standard of Sloboda Cossack Regiment in Ukraine in the 17th – 18th Centuries (Based on the Materials of Saltov Settlement in Kharkiv District)

Slobozhanshchina is an ethno-geographic region that includes modern Kharkiv district (*oblast'*) and some adjoining regions of Ukraine and Russian. This region appeared at the interfaces between wild steppes and aboriginal Slav territories at the relative borders of three European states of the 17th – 18th centuries: Russia, Rzech Pospolita, and Crimea Khanate. The determinant for the history of this land was interaction and cooperation between the Ukrainians and Russians. Finally it took the shape of such an ethno-cultural phenomenon of modern Ukraine as Slobozhanshchina.

Planned settlement of the land began at the end of the 16th century in the time of Moscow sovereign Boris Godunov and was aimed at the enlargement of the state and feudal landownership to vacant fertile territories and making the buffer zone between the central region of Moscow Kingdom and Crimea Khanate. Most intensive the migration was in the second half of the 17th century when people were escaping from Polish oppression and the Ukraine-Polish war of 1648/76.

The factor of military-political stabilization was in the heart of Russian actions. Ukrainian settlers contributed significantly ethno-culturally. According to recent archaeological research in Kharkiv *oblast'*, new people came here to develop new territory. Fundamental habitable and household buildings, almost ubiquitous used tiled for facing stoves and intensive development of all spheres of material production testify to it. Wide trade connections are fixed based on findings of coins from Moscow Kingdom, Poland, Lithuania, Sweden, Crimea Khanate.

We can draw the conclusion that living standard of the Slobodas was higher than in neighboring lands. The reasons for this were the protecting politics of Russian government, the coming of settlers with their material resources, and mutual cultural enrichment of the Ukrainians and Russians.

Ravshan R. Nazarov, Viloyat R. Aliyeva
(Institute of History, Tashkent, Uzbekistan),
Djanan M. Yunusova (Tashkent Institute
of Irrigation and Melioration, Uzbekistan)

Cossack Subethnic Groups as Bearers of the Eurasian Idea

Cossacks represent an ethno-culturally interesting phenomenon. The Ural, Siberian, Semirech'e Cossacks have absorbed many elements of the surrounding Turkic peoples' cultures. Life in the steppe granted the Cossacks with unique features in appearance, manners, mentality, material culture. They were occupied predominantly by cattle breeding, the traditional occupation of the Eurasian steppes' inhabitants. In the composition of the Cossack troops of the Urals, West Siberia, Semirech'e, besides the traditional Russian-Ukrainian background, there were representatives of such peoples as the Mordva, Belorussians, Kazakhs, Tatars, Bashkirs, Kalmyks, Chuvashes and so on; 3 % of the Ural and Siberian Cossacks were Moslems. The situation with other Cossack troops was similar. In the composition of the Don and Astrakhan Cossacks there were many Kalmyks, there were many descendants from the Caucasus (the Osetinians, Kabardins, Circassians) among the Kuban and Terek Cossacks. In the composition of the Eastern Siberian and Far Eastern Cossack troops (Transbaikal, Ussuri, Amur) there were many representatives of Siberian peoples: the Buryats, Yakuts, Evenks, etc. Not only by their ethnic origin but also in many other respects the Cossacks began to differ significantly from other Russians. Life on the periphery of Russia, in the non-Russian linguistic and cultural milieu contributed to the formation of the unique, purely Cossack identity, realization of its difference from "non-Cossacks". For this very reason the Cossacks repeatedly faced the problem of the right to put down "Cossack" in the graph "nationality" in documents.

It is necessary to note that the Cossacks of different regions differ significantly from each other in the ethno-cultural sense, since their ethnic backgrounds and influences of other cultures were different. However, it must be stressed that all Cossacks can be considered as one of specific Eurasian subethnic groups.

PANEL XVI

The Ruler and Socio-Cultural Norm in the Ancient and Medieval World
Convenor: *Alexander A. Nemirovskiy* (Institute of World History, Moscow, Russia)

The panel is designed to bring together papers on a rather specific topic. One of the main questions we face while studying the phenomenon of hierarchy as a means for a society's (self)organization is redistribution of activities and competence (both nominal and real) between rulers on the one hand and the whole society on the other hand, especially with respect to the problem of how social norms are maintained, modified and introduced. Every society functions according to some rules, guaranteed by the society on the whole and, specifically, by its political hierarchy. This hierarchy holds at its disposal some opportunities and rights to change and interpret old norms, to introduce new ones or to ignore them both on some extraordinary occasions and to some degree; the norm itself recognizes and sets forward some rules at this point. It would be a complicated but useful task to determine and understand nominal and real limits of these rights and opportunities, and the panel is just aimed at contributing to this field. In this respect ancient and medieval civilizations share some specific traits: it is precisely at these stages of socio-cultural development that new-born hierarchies penetrate into the sphere of creation, manipulation and use of norms especially actively and in various ways; on the other hand, this problematic is thought upon, realized and developed very eagerly, but the society (contrary to the modern period) usually does not codify or regularize the corresponding collisions; it defines only the recommended vectors of behavior for the situations when it deals with these collisions, but it does not create a system of concrete and formalized mechanisms, institutions, or rules for their resolving. It means that while exploring the essence and functioning of norms in antiquity and middle ages we must look more for precedents and cases (and their evaluation by society) than for laws or edicts.

Mikhail Petrov
(Rostov State University, Russia)
Democracy and Despotism on the Threshold of Civilization

The definition of the inner characteristics of every state feature can be one of the most effective ways of finding a solution to the problem of transition from chiefdom (prestate) to state. In my paper I would like to take

into consideration such a feature of the state as depriving people from public power.

According to common wisdom, societies with powerful personalized leaders and without regular participation of commoners in political life have always been interpreted as undemocratic. Meanwhile, a more objective study of ethnographic evidence shows that this viewpoint is not proved perfectly to be correct. In many chiefdoms and early states the right of the commoners to depose the government traditionally served as a powerful counterbalance to the supreme despotic power.

The reasons for "public impeachment" could be both absolutely rational (military or political failures, cruel forms of government) and religious (breaches of different taboos and ill omens). The last group of reasons made the status of a ruler unpredictable and unstable. It mostly forced him to take into consideration the commoners' interests and moods.

Examples of this sort are also interesting as a combination of extremes of the democratic and despotic structures, the most vivid of such examples being provided by the *dime* society of South Ethiopia.

Thus, with regards to the aforesaid, only such changes in public ideology that condemn any encroachment on supreme power (no matter how massive it is) can be considered as a true sign of final separation of people and public authority.

Ivo Hristov (Sophia University, Bulgaria)
Traditional and Modern Law – Historical Disparity of Legal Regulations

The legal regulator differs greatly in traditional and modern societies. While regulation through legal norms is inherent for the modern world, this is not so for traditional societies.

Traditional norms are directly "merged" with the social action they must regulate. Therefore they do not need fixation to become obligatory. Traditional norms are "casuistic" and a "case" never becomes an abstract relationship. Traditional norms are not differentiated normative complexes grouped into different fields because different fields do not exist in social reality. The "legislation process" is a creation of "new rules dressed in old clothes" as it follows the logic of reproduction of the society itself reflecting its basic characteristic feature – that a social innovation is an exception, not a rule. Traditional normative complexes have no problems with legitimacy as essentially they are a reproduction of accumulated social experience, which acquires the quality of "normative" becoming a rule for behavior because it had already proved its usefulness for individuals and society. The legitimacy

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of traditional norms comes from their sacredness – a specific justification of their usefulness. Besides, the direct sanction of social group is a sound means for securing obedience to the rule. However, the sanction is mostly a supplementary source of legitimacy. It is not by chance that organized oppression, monopolized by the bureaucratic state, becomes a necessary ingredient of legitimacy only in the New Times when disintegrating society starts to undermine the moral and sacred foundations of traditional regulators.

The characteristics of the modern law are the opposite. A legal replica of the emergence of modern society is the growth of objective (codified) law. The structural and functional diversity of the modern society is reflected in "separation" of legal rules. The permanent production and re-production of the modern society is reflected in the constant process of legislation which reproduces a variety of social balances and disbalances. The emancipation of social action from the "actor" correlates with legal personification of social action and by a person's right to "enter" the action by using normatively prescribed roles – legal rights and obligations. To the "activist" character of the modern social action corresponds the instrumental character of law-making as a means for achieving political goals. To the "linear-vector" architectonics of the action corresponds the description of the "law" as a system of legal "programs" designated for the future and modeling the social media, often by using the power of the modern state.

Yuri M. Kobishchanov (Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia**)**

**New Research into the Gafol Complex
in Ancient and More Recent Societies**

Ю.М. Кобищанов (Институт Африки, Москва, Россия**)**

**Новое в исследовании комплекса полюдья в древних
и более поздних обществах**

Если до 60-х годов XX в. ученые интересовались лишь отдельными функциями полюдья, притом исключительно на материале средневековой Европы, а в 1960-х – 1970-х гг. изучением полюдья как социально-исторического комплекса занимались единицы, то в последние два десятилетия явления типа полюдья были открыты в различных государствах, многих регионах мира, в разные периоды истории. Можно говорить о рождении нового направления исторической науки: исследования социально-исторических комплексов, в частности комплекса полюдья.

Ф. Вильгельм открыл полюдье в государствах хурритов, В.Г. Ардзинба – в Хеттском царства, А.А. Немировский обратил внимание на неизвестные прежде упоминания комплекса полюдья в хеттских источниках и египетских источниках периода Нового Царства. Н.Ю. Чехонадская, сравнивая самые ранние данные о полюдьи у кельтов, германцев и других народов, ставит вопрос о возможном существовании полюдья у древних европейцев. Возможно существование полюдья у древних иранских народов (персов при ранних Ахеменидов, а также аланов и др.). Раньше мне удалось доказать распространение полюдья в той или иной форме в Египте первых династий и Древнего Царства, в Куше, Аксуме, европейской Скифии, древних Индии и Китае. Работа Д.Д. Беляева о полюдье у майя открывает собой исследование полюдья в доколумбовой Америке. А.Б. Юнусова показала, что т.н. ясачные отношения у башкир были комплексом полюдья. Сегодня мы значительно больше, чем прежде, знаем о полюдье у народов Сибири, Кавказа, Азии, Африки, Океании.

Теперь мы видим, что развитые формы полюдья складывались не в ранних (раннефеодальных), а в развитых феодальных и колониально-феодальных обществах. А.Н. Кутишенко обнаружила, что известных авантюрист Типу-Типп ходил в полюдье вместе с правителем государства Луба (в центре Африки), Т. ван Мейл открыл, что национальное движение маори (Новая Зеландия) "Маорийский король" приняло форму полюдья. К. Симмс показала, что в Ирландии вплоть до XVI – XVII вв. сохранялись весьма живучие элементы полюдья, как и в тогдашней Московии и Франции при Генрихе IV.

Anastasia A. Banschikova
(Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies,
Moscow, Russia)

The Image of the King in Ancient Egyptian Literature:
From Axial Background Functions to Fully-Engaged Object of Action

Pharaoh is a normal character of virtually all Ancient Egyptian literary genres. Throughout their development over three millennia his functions in literature changed considerably. First, his involvement in the action of the narrative modified: in the Middle Egyptian literature he is the character of the story that determines the development of the plot, corrects it but actually is not incorporated in it as its wholesome hero; in the New Egyptian and late texts he becomes such a hero and his involvement in the plot and impact on its modeling is much greater. Second, the evaluation of the Pharaoh's

activities becomes more explicit: in the Middle Egyptian literature his major and immanent characteristic is his royal status while his image cannot be patterned as either positive or negative; eventually his moral evaluation becomes possible, and a Pharaoh can be labeled as a wrongdoer, a liar, or a coward. The story *Merire and Pharaoh* is most important in this respect: the king is depicted negatively though the responsibility for his wrongdoings is transferred to his advisors. The motive of the king's responsibility for his actions and the welfare of his country and subjects, well-attested in the earlier didactic literature, is now introduced explicitly in fiction as well. Generally, one can speak about two interdependent processes: king's becoming a really active character of the stories and this character's absorbing some features and qualities, initially inappropriate to his status. This humanization of the king's image, the possibility of king's failure and revealing of his negative features indicate the penetration of disappointment with the royal power, typical of transitional periods and times of foreign domination, into the Ancient Egyptian fiction in the course of its development. Thus, the evolution of the Pharaoh's image shows its absorbing negative characteristics, and this process is governed by the gradual loss of trust in the royal power as such.

Anastasia Kalyuta
(Russian Museum of Ethnology, St. Petersburg)
The Lip, the Jaw of Our Lord, Smoking Mirrow:
The Ruler in the Prehispanic Nahuatl (Aztec) Society

The paper examines socio-cultural and ideological aspects of the status of the *tlatoani* (ruler) in the Nahuatl (Aztec) states of the Basin of Mexico in the second half of the 15th – first quarter of the 16th centuries, *i.e.* in Late Prehispanic period. The examination involves a large group of sources, including: 1) the Prehispanic artifacts; 2) conventional images of the indigenous pictographic manuscripts; 3) relations of Spanish conquistadors, participants of the conquest of Central Mexico in 1519 – 1520 and missionaries; 4) historical accounts written in Nahuatl by native chroniclers, descendants of the Prehispanic rulers in early colonial period. Special attention is paid to the Nahuatl notions of origins, nature, and significance of rulership (*tlatocayotl*) as a social institution, socio-cultural norms, applied to the ruler's behavior as well as to their manifestations in daily life of the rulers of the most important Late Prehispanic centers, such as Tenochtitlan and Tezcoco.

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Claudio Cioffi-Revilla (George Mason University, Fairfax, USA)
Politogenesis and Origins of Social Complexity in Mesoamerica:
The Rubber People and the Cloud People

Following earlier parallel studies on politogenesis in West Asia and East Asia (Cioffi-Revilla 2001; 2002), this study reports on an initial database of polities in the Olmec and nearby regions of Mesoamerica, starting with San Lorenzo Tenochtitlan after 1500 BC. The database is part of the Handbook of Polities in the Ancient World, Vol 4 (Mesoamerica), which is the survey of political actors that supports the warfare datasets in the Long-Range Analysis of War (LORANOW) Project. This particular database, using FileMaker Pro 6, draws on comparative data from field site surveys, publications and reports by recent Olmec scholars (Cyphers, Diehl, Gillespie, Grove, and others) as well as field visits conducted during the summer of 2005. An important thrust of this effort is to provide comparable data on significant polity dimensions across time and space. Besides its intrinsic value, such systematic data could provide a basis for testing hypotheses or modeling long-term dynamics.

Marianna Shakhnovich (St. Petersburg State University, Russia)
Power Discourse in Roman Epicureanism

According to Epicure, the wise man does not participate in political life because it involves disturbance. A person expects from political life power, fame and wealth, which are, according to his doctrine, neither natural nor necessary pleasures, and hence are destructive. The slogan of the Epicureans of Ancient Garden is the famous motto "Live hidden!".

In Rome of the late 1st century B.C., in the Golden Age of Roman Epicureanism, the situation was quite the opposite. The power discourse plays a very important role not only in the Stoics' but also Epicureans' writings. Philodemus in "On the Good King according to Homer" (PHerc. 1507) argues that Homer in his poetry provides hints on how a ruler should act. Philodemus tries to show his patron Piso that there is a possibility for those who bear the sweet burden of power to find out the practical usage of the famous poems. According to Philodemus, Homer presents a range of the rulers who differ in goodness. On the one hand, there are suitors who are not only unjust but also approve political murders. On the other hand, there are Nestor and Odysseus who try to settle matters peacefully. Philodemus stresses the necessity for the ruler to be gentle and conciliatory, and his activity in solving political problems ought to be based on the positive

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examples. Philodemus and his disciples break down the image of Epicureans as indifferent to politics, as they had the wise and just ruler as the political ideal. The paper is aimed at dissecting the evidence on politics and power discourse in Philodemus's works.

Ravshan R. Nazarov, Viloyat R. Aliyeva
(Institute of History, Tashkent, Uzbekistan),
Djanan M. Yunusova
(Tashkent Institute of Irrigation and Melioration, Uzbekistan)
Ethnic Policy in Central Asia in the Epoch of Amir Timur

The power of Timur occupied territories populated by many peoples: Mavarannakhr, Iran, Iraq, Azerbaijan, Afghanistan, a part of India, etc. Therefore ethnic policy and control over the interethnic relations was very urgent for him. Timur combined two systems of state administration – Turk-Mongolian and Arab-Persian, haven synthesized them, he created an effective administrative system of his own.

Multilingualism was spread at the Timur's court. He himself spoke the Turkish, Persian, Arabic, Mongolian languages. Turkish, Persian, Mongolian, Chinese, Arab songs and dances were performed at weddings and other ceremonies.

In Samarkand there lived craftsmen (gunsmiths, jewelers, carvers and so forth) from Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Asia Minor, Azerbaijan, etc. In all political centers there lived poets, musicians, scientists, artists, architects, calligraphers from different countries. Claviho noted that all over the state of Timur there lived weavers, gunsmiths, potters, glaziers, masons, jewelers who were descendants from Turkey, Iran, China, Russia, Europe, India, the Caucasus.

People of different ethnic origins served in Timur's army: Turks, Iranians, Afghans, Mongolians, Arabs and so on. While nomads formed the basis of cavalry, representatives of settled peoples of dependent countries formed infantry, artillery, intelligence officers. In the battle with Biased Timur took prisoners thousands of Turkish, more than 20,000 Serbians, many Armenians and other Christians. So, a lot of representatives of peoples subjected to the Ottoman Empire joined Timur's army.

The "Packing Code of Timur" contains rules that determined the state's ethnic policy and were aimed at regulation of the interethnic relations. It is noted in the "Code" that the essence of that policy was in popularization of the state and its army in the subjugated regions.

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PANEL XVII

**The Structure and Legitimation of Power in Ancient
Societies of North-East Africa, the Near and Middle East**

Convenors: *Ivan A. Ladynin* (Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia), *Dan'el Kahn* (Haifa University, Israel)

The proposed thematic scope of the panel includes the evidence from societies belonging to a single *Kulturkreis*. The major factor of its development can be defined as the strong political and ideological influence of the great rivers (the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates) civilizations. The regions of this area represent all the three variants of social and political evolution in the typology established by Igor Diakonoff (relative preponderance of the state economy and "despotic" political structure – Southern Mesopotamia, early South-Western Iran – Elam; total preponderance of the state economy and "despotic" political structure – Egypt; the economic preponderance of rural communities, which also had a strong influence on the royal power of mostly military character – Sudan, Eastern Mediterranean, the Armenian Upland, the Iranian Upland in the time of formation and heyday of ethnically Iranian political structures, Asia Minor). However, the doubtless historical leaders of the whole area, as to the formation of the earliest polities (4th to early 3rd Millennia B.C.E.), their regional entities (early to mid-3rd Millennium B.C.E.), and expansion to peripheral regions (actually, also from 4th Millennium B.C.E.) were the regions of the great rivers' valleys – Egypt and Southern Mesopotamia. Hence, their civilizations were bound to lay a guiding imprint not only on their immediate periphery but also on more distant areas that happened to fall into their scope (*e.g.*, copper-mine regions of Asia Minor that became a victim of the Mesopotamian Akkadian empire's aggression as early as in the 24th – 23rd centuries B.C.E.). The scope of the panel is supposed to comprise the whole extend of the area's ancient history, up to its early medieval period including the time after the Macedonian conquest when the area became a formative zone of the syncretic Hellenistic civilization (*ca*. 3rd century B.C.E. – 3rd century C.E.). Such chronological and territorial boundaries permit to study within the panel a vast variety of interrelations between societies of different types (all forms of social evolution in the Diakonoff's typology plus classical Greek city-states) and their respective ideologies and cultures in the sphere of construing and legitimating political structures.

Walburga Maria Wiesheu (National School of Anthropology and History, México D.F., México)
Hierarchy and Power in Early Mesopotamia

Far from considering the Early Dynastic city-states of Mesopotamia as highly integrated and centralized in their political and economic organization, as was assumed in the traditional view of a "temple-state" and in different management theories of the origins of complex society in general, in the last decade a perspective based on a conflict ontology has been gaining momentum, leading to formulation of more flexible models, by which it is tried to document the diversity in institutional arrangements within dynamic and contingent power relations and an emphasis is placed on the heterogeneity of the social landscape that conformed as a result of divergent interests pursued by groups competing for the access to strategic resources.

In this paper I attempt to contrast the integrative and totaling view of a monolithic hierarchical structure, with a reinterpretation guided by a conflict model, in order to draw attention to the organizational limits of the early state government within the urban and rural domains and to indicate the potential arena for social conflicts when the centralizing strategies of elites and the dominant institutions like the temple and the palace were confronted with centrifugal tendencies of other sectors of the society; to a certain degree, the latter remained autonomous and frequently opposed resistance to attempts of central control by the "great organizations". Because several activities had to be duplicated, a dual structure characterizes the early state organization during the Early Dynastic Period.

Alexey A. Tishkin (Altay State University, Barnaul, Russia)
"Double Best Specimens" in Ancient and Medieval Societies of Eurasia: Prospects for Study of the Phenomenon Basing on Archaeological Evidence

Nowadays researchers (archaeologists, historians) often turn to the study of social organization and political arrangement of ancient and medieval societies basing primarily on archaeological evidence. With respect to this we want to draw attention to such a phenomenon of nomadic societies as "double best specimens".

It often happened in antiquity that not numerous but warlike peoples seized large territories with large population. In such cases, on the one hand, supreme best specimens consisting of conquerors exist inside a new political

union, but, on the other hand, there develops a best specimens consisting of autochthonous people whose representatives reach high positions in social hierarchy. Interethnic stratification can be rather varied. There are many cases in which nomads established their domination over settled peoples with their own power system and stable political organization. As a result, nomadic bosses sometimes became so called "double best specimens" with regard to the ruling class. They openly appropriated the surplus product and took an active part in different spheres of life.

The mechanism of this situation's formation was complicated but there are possibilities for revealing the forms and defining the content of different interrelations among peoples basing on archaeological evidence. Particularly, it is possible for Pazyryk culture of Mountain Altay in the Scythian time, the northwards expansion of the Munns, the process of Turkization of the Ob river basin population, the creation of the Mongolian Empire, the results of the Russian colonization of Siberia and so on.

Petr K. Dashkovskii, Alexey A. Tishkin
(Altay State University, Barnaul, Russia)
"Best Specimens" of the Mountain Altay Nomads in the Scythian Epoch

The available sources on, and modern methodological approaches to sociogenesis of ancient societies give an opportunity to make the preliminary conclusion that already in the Early Scythian epoch (late 9th – 3rd quarter of the 6th century B.C.) in Southern Siberia and in contiguous territories there existed large population units with a definite system of power delimitation. This assumption is based on the existence of "royal" barrows. The study of burials with such barrows in Altay will give an opportunity to fill with concrete content the materials about best specimens of Biiken archaeological culture.

With regard to the next, Pazyryk, period (third quarter of the 6th – 2nd centuries B.C.) it can be argued confidently that at the head of nomads there were leaders of tribes and tribal unions. All the religious and administrative supreme power was concentrated in their hands. As applied to "Pazyryk people" and a range of other cattle-breeding societies of Eurasia of the Scythian time, it is rightful to point at sacralization of a leader, who could appear to be a personification of the unity of all people and stability in world order. After deaths of their "supreme leaders" Sacks and Scythians dramatized chaos, destruction and disharmony of the world. After that the

order should have been reestablished. However, there are no grounds to regard those leaders' power theocratic.

The evidence of the burial-funeral rites show that nomads of the 7th – 2nd centuries B.C. enjoyed a hierarchic social organization, high degree of militarization and the beginning of the army formation. Taking into consideration peculiarities of the surrounding, the level of economic development, the demographic situation, and hierarchic character of social structure of the "Pazyryk people" we can arrive at the conclusion that the nomads were on the way to the early state formation. However, eventually this form of political organization was not reached by them.

Mehmet Tezcan (Atatürk University, Erzurum, Turkey)
**Trade and Commerce between the First Turkish Qaghanate
and the Near Eastern Empires, and its Importance
as a Means for Legitimation of Power in the 6th Century**

From the most ancient times, trade and commerce became a means for power-showing for the states which territories were located on the main trade routes and which gain very important revenues thanks to it. The Near East is situated in the crossing point of several important trade routes, including the Royal Road and Silk Road. The Sogdians were the main intermediaries of the silk trade between China and the Near Eastern countries, who, though they lived in Sogdiana had also founded some trade colonies in many countries. In the mid-6th century there were three main empires in the Near East: the Byzantine in the West, the Sasanians in Iran and the Central Asian Hephthalites in the East. Towards the 550s and 60s this political case in Central Asia changed, and the Hephthalite Empire was replaced by the first Turkish Qaghanate in the consequence of the attacks of the Turks and Sasanians, and its territories were divided between the two. The Sogdians applied to their suzerain, Stembis Qaghan of the Turks so that he puts in order the political and especially trade relations with Khosrow I Anushirevan. Although Stembis even gave his favored daughter to a prince of the Sasanian *shahanshah* and dispatched a few envoys with lavish gifts along with silks, Khosrow showed no respect to those gifts having them burnt at the envoys' eyes, and did not permit the Sogdian traders to pass through Iranian plateau via land and sea route. And Stembis had to contact with the Byzantine Empire, sending an envoy under the head of Maniakh the Sogdian. Being in need of the Sogdian silk and of an ally at the rear of the Sasanians,

the Byzantine came to an agreement with the Turks, in turn, dispatching an envoy to them at the head of Zamarkhos of Kilikia. Upon this agreement between the two empires, the land commercial routes along with northern areas of the Black and Caspian Seas were re-opened and thus, the wars just started against the Sasanians, the Byzantine from the West, and the Turks from the East.

PANEL XVIII

**Transitions, Transformations and Interactions of
Hierarchical Structures and Social Nets in the
Late 20th – Early 21st Centuries**

Convenors: *Alexei G. Loutskiy* (Moscow Government, Russia),
Oleg I. Kavykin (Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies, Moscow, Russia)

The goal of the panel is to cover in the course of discussion the following topics:
1. Transference of a part of power functions from hierarchical structures to social nets;
2. Institutionalization of subcultures and their subsequent transformation from net organizations into hierarchical structures;
3. The pathways of hierarchies' and nets' transformations;
4. The complimentary principle in functioning of the nets and hierarchical structures;
5. Global and local trends in formation and transformation of hierarchical structures and social nets.

Dmitri M. Bondarenko
(Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies,
Moscow, Russia)
***Local Civilizations at the Face of Globalization: Contemporary Theoretical
Approaches and the Future of Non-Western Cultures***

There are two concepts often seen as the opposite poles of the spectrum of contemporary social and culture theories: globalistic world-system and particularistic civilizational. I demonstrate that it is wrong to oppose them; furthermore, by not so doing we may better understand contemporary processes. It is illegitimate to reduce globalization to its economic aspect – the "supra-national market economy" formation – and the political aspect derived from it – consolidation of multiparty democracy worldwide. Taking of the cultural aspect into account allows to look at globalization more sensibly. This aspect might be examined within the civilization approach framework. The process of globalization could be represented not as recent and essentially economic, but as that of the global civilization's continuing formation due to the long-lasting intercivilizational interaction. The global

civilization's explication no way means disappearance of local civilizations. Culture traits that separate civilizations are supplemented by new traits that become common for all. However, some features of a civilization may contradict those imposed; as every civilization is distinguished by a unique complex of cultural characteristics, each of them has specific globalization limits. In the socio-cultural realm, the correlation between the individual and society is the key problem both in the global civilization and in local civilizations. Here the basic difference between contemporary civilizations of "the West and the rest" concentrates. Every local civilization will elaborate an own new version of this correlation but in all of them it will have to become more balanced. So, globalization is not equal to Westernization, there will be changes in the codes of all civilizations. I discuss the prospects of the African, Russian, and Muslim-Arab civilizations for contributing to the global civilization's code.

Maksim Tsvetovat (George Mason University, Fairfax, USA)
Emergence of Local Polities: How Individual-Level Cognitive Dissonances Shape Global Network Patterns

Theories of formation of social networks are abound – from physics-inspired theory of preferential attachment to psychological theories of homophily and social contagion. Most of these theories make predictions of micro-level decision processes of individuals based on macro-level patterns observed in empirical networks. In this paper, I present a reversal of this paradigm – an individual-level process of cognitive optimization and minimization of perceived dissonances.

Working within the social network frame of analysis, individual-level processes such as need for socialization, need to preserve strong family ties and need to be informed work to strengthen individual network ties. In the same time a number of other processes – such as need to minimize cognitive pressures, and need to establish power over other individuals - act as counter-forces that push network nodes apart.

Every one of the forces tackled in this work is well-grounded in social network analysis literature, yet never been studied in conjunction with other processes, and thus represent a reductionist view of social network phenomena. Via a multi-agent simulation, constructionist multi-theoretical results are feasible, and produce as output a multitude of network and organizational forms, from dense family patterns of early societies to wide distributed polities of the modern age.

Elena Kharitonova
(Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies,
Moscow, Russia)

***Social and Psychological Aspects of Power:
On the Role of Intellectual Resource***

Might and stability of power is measured by the volume and quality of "resource" (the term used in political science) which power has and rests upon. Resource is understood as a total sum of assets which, being used, provides effective influence on "the subject of the ruling" according to the objective of the process of ruling. Availability of resource scope and ways of its augmentation and rational use provide the quality of ruling, its steadiness and predictability of its results.

Among such resources of power as financial and economic, political and legal, the informational and psychological aspects can be distinguished. The information resource should be understood as knowledge in the sense of cultural and historical experience concentration and its administrative aspect and as scientific, including psychological, knowledge in its theoretical and empirical forms. Structuring of this knowledge by means of the system development concept makes modeling of processes possible.

The psychological resource of power is a set of psychological technologies as ways of purposeful predictable influencing individual and mass consciousness and social settings in their emotional, cognitive, and behavioral aspects. The aim of psychological technologies' use is getting necessary cognitive, emotional and volitional reactions from "the object of ruling". Psychological technologies are based on comprehensive knowledge and taking into account of the "psychological factor".

Psychological research data make it possible for a politician to pattern his/her behavior taking into account the mood and expectations of voters during an election campaign. They can represent a closed base of his/her public image constructing or be used openly at an intercourse with voters. References to research results lead to a shortening of the psychological distance and help set emotionally warm contact with people. Power based on "open" communication in contrast to "closeness" associated with "black market technologies" in election campaigns is perceived as less engaged in unjust activities.

Ngeta Kabiri (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, USA)
***Dispersing Environmental Governance Authority in Africa:
The Role of NGOs Reconsidered***

The current wave of environmental policy and legal reforms in most African countries can rightly be attributed to the role of NGOs. NGOs were at the forefront in shifting powers of environmental governance from the state other social structures such as communities local to the natural resources. During the period when the state resisted the devolution of environmental governance authority to local communities, NGOs and local communities worked in concert against the state. At this stage, NGOs can be seen as sponsors of the transition of power over natural resources from the state to local communities. Since the "capitulation" of the state, however, distilling the role of NGOs in the implementation of policy and legal reforms has become a problematic. While the pro-community advocacy role of NGOs continue to be feasible in policy and legal reforms, NGOs have also come be seen as a fetter to community empowerment as well. Consequently, there are now voices in both state and community circles depicting NGOs as bullies running roughshod over the legitimate owners of natural resources. Yet, in spite of seeming anti-NGOs sentiments both among communities and the state, NGOs continue to dominate environmental governance arena and their power is not about to recede. What is the basis of this NGO power? And, are the NGOs themselves emerging as another center of power thereby leading to more hierarchies of power rather than less? Data for this paper is based on research conducted in Kenya and Tanzania (2003 – 2004). Data was gathered through oral interviews, participation in seminars and workshops as well as from NGO and government documents. Secondary literature on NGOs and state-donor relations in Africa will also be utilized.

Svetlana V. Gritsay (Institute of World Economy and
International Studies, Kyiv, Ukraine)
***Traditional Society and State Institutes in Sub-Saharan
Africa: Levels of Interaction***

Postcolonial development of political life in Sub-Saharan Africa is characterized by a loan of political institutions of the Western countries among which I shall allocate the state, parties, and parliament. During decades the non-correspondence of the traditional African way of life to the principles on which functioning of the Western state institutions is based, can be observed. Both political leaders and the population recognize the state,

parties, parliament as necessary public institutions but brought from the external world. Thus, the authority of a person depends not only on a position but it is also consecrated by the tradition, an accessory up to an ethnic group or faith. So, traditional political institutions serve as a link between people and the state. The basic methods of board are based on personal or ethnic communications. Therefore in the majority of African countries the tendency to disorder, not to development, of institutional structures is observed as a result of personification of authority and formation of new patrimonial ties. A strong personality is a basis of authority and the government, and the state institutions turn out unable to cope with a complex of acute political, social, and economic problems. Thus, the traditional culture of board in the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa has triumphed over the borrowed style of government and has resulted in wreck of the state on the African soil.

Aida N. Moseiko (Center for Civilizational and
Regional Studies, Moscow, Russia)
Africa: The Hidden Power. Paradoxes of Modernization

The problem of "the strange alliance" between African modernization and rise of magic and its use in contemporary economics, politics, military conflicts under the circumstances of Africa's rapid inclusion in the orbit of globalization has been widely discussed for the two last decades.

The avid disappointment in Western democracy, which does not quite suit the African society and African world-outlook moved African intellectuals to turn to the so called "African democracy", based on "the ancestors' wisdom". Its essence derived from the traditional African "palabre" – discussion of chiefs, elders, wisemen.

Besides intellectuals – university graduates, educated and working in the framework of Western knowledge, there exists the intellectual elite of the traditional society: wisemen, keepers of esoteric knowledge, healers, griotes, priests, etc. Many politicians, state figures still have relations with the traditional elite of their own clans and ethnic groups. They are supported by it in many ways and regularly take a piece of advice from it while making serious state decisions. Moreover, many political and party leaders, outstanding intellectuals hold leading positions in traditional hierarchies and perform their duties taking hold of official and secret power. Thus, the structure of secret, hidden power fills all the African society.

So, in the epoch of globalization and modernization Africa is turning actively to its traditional indigenous values, the values of transcendent secret

power, which has never disappeared, to the rules and methods of magic and traditional healing, to the revival of "traditional democracy".

Oleg I. Kavykin (Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies, Moscow, Russia)

Friendship and Tolerant Attitude of African Tanzanians toward Tanzanian Immigrant Minorities*

The paper is based on the results obtained by the russian expedition to the united republic of tanzania during its second fieldwork season in the year 2005. The author asserts that the attitude of african tanzanians toward immigrant minorities (arabs, asians, and europeans) is influenced by relations of friendship (*e.g.*, see the *table*). The paper examines the attitudes to minorities in this context. The influence of friendship on the african tanzanians' opinion about the due principles of political organizations formation (should they be based on ethnic and racial origins of their members or not) is also examined.

Table

Have you any friends among Tanzanian Indians? * What is your personal attitude to Tanzanian Indians?

	What is your personal attitude to Tanzanian Indians?					
	Very bad	Bad	Indifferent	Good	Very good	Total
Don't have friends among Tanzanian Indians	27 9,5%	32 11,3%	92 32,5%	87 30,7%	45 15,9%	283 100,0%
Have a few friends among Tanzanian Indians	9 4,7%	15 7,8%	53 27,5%	85 44,0%	31 16,1%	193 100,0%

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Have many friends among Tanzanian Indians	5 5,4%	4 4,3%	25 26,9%	33 35,5%	26 28,0%	93 100,0%
Total	41 7,2%	51 9,0%	170 29,9%	205 36,0%	102 17,9%	569 100,0%

Mònica Martínez Mauri
(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain;
Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, France)
Mediation and Cultural Identity in Kuna Yala (Panamá 1925 – 2003)

In recent years, anthropologists have been concerned with the ways in which history and cultural symbols have been manipulated in the recreation of ethnic identities and organizations. The role of the "cultural-mediators" is central in view of elucidating these cultural transformations. In order to better understand their role, I decided to study the cultural and political mediation in Kuna Yala (Panamá).

The Kuna of Panamá are among the most successful indigenous peoples of Latin America. Since 1938 the coast has been a legally recognized indigenous reserve, now called Comarca de Kuna Yala. By law, the Kuna control access by non-Indians to the *comarca* and enjoy a considerable measure of autonomy. The *comarca* has been governed since 1945 by semi-annual Kuna General Congress and three *sahila dummagana* or *caciques*.

The role of native secretaries was essential to obtain autonomy from the national government. At the beginning of the twentieth century, a group of Kuna boys gained a few years of schooling. Some of them rejected Kuna culture and promoted modernizing change, but quite a few were co-opted as secretaries to village and confederacy chiefs. In this role, they mediated the Indian-government relations, defending native autonomy.

Today, the Kuna deal with the government, national society and international agencies through a variety of channels and organizations. Like in the beginning of the last century, today the intermediaries live between two different social and cultural structures. However, the evidence collected in Kuna Yala suggests that configurations of power are more numerous, more diversified and more unstable. These

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configurations therefore leave a greater margin for socio-political maneuvering to the mediators. Using an anthropological approach, this paper elucidates the transformations in ethnic identity in connection to the change in political discourse of Kuna organizations, especially among the Kuna NGOs.

Deasy Simandjuntak
(Universiteit van Amsterdam, the Netherlands)

"Who Shall Be Radja?" Competition and Networks of Local Elites within the State-Decentralization Process in North Sumatra, Indonesia

Following the financial crisis in 1997, Indonesia is forced to accommodate demands of governance-reform. The authoritarian-centralized state is seen as causing ineffectiveness in redistributive policies as well as hindrance to democracy. Agencies such as the World Bank see decentralization as obligatory, arguing that decentralization empowers the civil society vis-à-vis the central state and consequently ensures democratization.

The paper questions the argument that decentralization necessarily empowers the civil society and ensures democratization. What was overlooked is the lack of professionalism/expertise in the local policy-making. Decades of centralization had left the local governments as mere executors of Jakarta's policies, while civil societies lack organizational strength to assume any significant role. This unfortunate incapacity ultimately opens the door for local ethnic/religious elites vying to fill the vacuum in local politics. Under the "civil-society" banner and mobilizing followers using ethnicity/religion, they compete for local leadership. They may be descendents of colonial's aristocracies succeeding into conservative bureaucrats, seeking to maintain access to local economy; or new political entrepreneurs creating new districts by collaborating with politicians in Jakarta.

What is evident in Indonesia's new local politics is the functioning of local elite networks undermining the formal centralized power hierarchy. As ethno-religious cleavages determine political loyalties, so intensify the congruence between the central and local elites. The central elites designate the local elites to extend central control over regions' resources, while the local elites pursue central compatriots to acquire access to State resources.

The paper focuses on North Sumatra, where the major ethnic groups are the Batak and Muslim-Malay, and the governmental elites are Muslim. The Batak comprises several subethnic groups, the majority being the Toba and Karo. The competition manifests in District-Head Elections, and the

proposal of new Tapanuli (Toba), East Sumatra (Karo) provinces. Different churches of the HKBP (German-Lutheran Toba), the GBKP (Dutch-Reformed Karo) denote the influence of colonial missionaries in the shaping of the Batak's ethnicity in North Sumatra.

Peter Simonič (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia)
Celebrating the Transitional State – Political Rituals in Slovenia

Classical ethnology and anthropology neglected or overlooked political symbolism and rituals in developed societies. Social sciences preferred to look in the past or other (non-European) societies where irrational layers of community could presumably be studied better. Situation changed in the second half of the 20th century. Industrial societies have long ago proved similar affiliation toward political symbolism and ritual. Rites in ex-socialist countries and Hitler's Germany were of course an important reference to the subject. Later the same theme spread all over the academic community. New theories of society and power emerged.

Another important scientific flow for the analysis of political rituals was a reaction to West European unification processes and East European economic and ideological revisions of societies. At the turn of millennium the civil society was one of the basic tools for re-integration of two European geopolitical subunits. In Slovenia, newly established European state, one could witness the increased flow of goods, projects, managers and representations from the West implemented to reinvent and empower the civil network and change their attitude toward government.

The paper presents post-socialist and pro-EU orientated Slovenia. Conceptualization and management of Slovene Independence Day were under permanent revision, willing to establish some kind of continuity and identity. Slovene politicians and artists have put a lot of efforts in constructing appropriate celebration of the state. Trying to form a yearly public event, they have been faced with numerous ideas, interests, obstacles, physical conditions, and inhibitions. Who represents the civil society? Who owns the past? How should truth and order be constructed in pluralized society? How many people and money should we put in the celebration of the state? How do ritual place and time correspond to political society? Where is the line between politics and art and how should they interact? What is the role of mass media, especially television? What makes the Slovene case specific, anyway?

Florian Muehlfried
(University of Hamburg, Germany)
Post-Soviet Feasting – A Case Example from Georgia

For the time being, Georgia is the only "success story" for the US foreign policy in Eurasia. The "velvet revolution" in November 2003 was ideologically and financially backed by American institutions like the Open Society Institute. Due to this bloodless transfer of power, a new elite took over the strategic key-positions in politics and economy. The new elite is young in age and often educated in Western countries.

As the new leadership is widely regarded as being independent of social networks stemming from Soviet times, Georgia is sometimes labeled a "post-post-socialist" country these days. This label indicates that the Soviet "heritage" has become history. However, in my paper I argue that cultural practices shaped in the Soviet times still dominate the social behavior of most Georgians. Over decades, mistrust of the state and written orders strengthened the role of face-to-face communication and verbal skills. The highly ritualized Georgian banquet (*supra*) is a crucial social institution where networks are created and reinforced, information and opinion is exchanged, and the "art of speaking" is trained.

My paper is based on a one-year fieldwork in Georgia in 2002 and 2003 on "Post-Soviet Feasting: The Georgian Banquet in Flux" (Ph.D. thesis). Besides participant observation, my data is drawn from interviews, free listings, pile sorts, and formalized analysis of networks. The main tools for analyzing my data are the discourse and performance analysis. The theoretical framework of my approach is based on contemporary debates on ritual, performance and discourse.

Alexei Loutskiy (Moscow Government, Russia)
Social Nets as a Factor of Political Instability on the Post-Soviet Space

Although on the first stage of political reforms in the Soviet Union in the late 80th –early 90th the civil political activity was rather high and "small worlds" (social nets in terms of V. Sergeev), representing different strata (such as intelligentsia or miner workers) were a good source for social support for ethnic mobilization, property repartition and other political and economic transformation processes, later those social nets degraded and some of them fell apart as a result of such processes.

After the collapse of the USSR the political power in post-Soviet states was mostly taken by a part of former Soviet political elite (excluding

the Baltic States, where elite circulation moved upward such different leaders as, for example, A. Brazauskas or V. Freiberge), which propagated the new market ideology and sometimes used the ethnic factor as a tool for achieving its own political ambitions. In many cases the political elites formed "cliques" (in terms of E. Mayo and L. Warner).

The vertical social nets, which dominate after the authoritarian Soviet rule, stand for the financial and industrial groups' clan structure and are closely intertwined with political leaders' activity. The political sphere in the former Soviet republics is monopolized by leaders and parties which do not represent interests of different social strata. The horizontal social nets which take on political functions are built mostly on radical ideology (movements of active social protest, nationalists, nazis). The exclusion of population from the mainstream political process leads to political instability and, as a result, to outer induced political cataclysms in the post-Soviet states (Ukraine, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan).

Viktoriya Hryaban (University of Vienna, Austria)
The Politics of Identity and Transformation of the National Identity's Symbolic Representations in the Urban Landscape of Ukraine

As one of the major principles of legitimization of nations is symbolic representation, the newborn states, including Ukraine, carry out a purposeful reorganization of public space and urban landscape.

During the history of mankind, the erection of monuments and statues was one of the basic forms of materialization of political aims and a means of influence for constructing a national identity. Changes in the politics of cultural landscape in the Russian empire, the Soviet Union, and today's Ukraine allow to observe the dialogue within the symbolic changes, defacement, alteration, and displacement that is taking place.

The use of the image of the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko – "the father of the Ukrainian nation" – who replaced Lenin as a topos of statues, busts, and national adoration, serves as a typical example of applying the pedestals like a chessboard where figures as well as the names of cities and streets vary according to a change of authority and open political recognition. The purpose of such "transformations" is obvious – to get rid of "an ideological cargo" of the past and to approve new priorities.

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Cerasela-Stefania Radu (Research Institute for
Quality of Life, Bucharest; University of Bucharest, Romania)
An Historical Explanation of the Roma
Social Stratification and Differentiation in Romania

The paper's goal is to answer the following question: why did certain Roma groups adapt successfully to the post-socialist environment while other groups of the Roma were trapped into poverty? Based on historical and field research data the study questions the relation between the Roma stratification and assimilation/modernization processes applied to the Romanian Roma throughout the history. How did different political and economic systems affect the socio-cultural and economic life of the Roma? I account different political regimes developed in different historical regions of current Romania from 18th century to the present. The post-socialist stratification could be a result of the way in which assimilation and modernization policies were applied by different regimes. The Roma population was not subject to the same political and economic regulations. Many Roma accomplished to preserve their traditional way of living, while the others changed their lifestyles, identifying themselves with the majority. The former seem to be those who were always involved in the informal economy and who proved to be, in post-socialism, the most prepared Roma for the economic challenges. Their autonomy comes from their capacity to convert a traditional lifestyle and occupational skills to the post-socialist economy's requirements. Unlike peasants, they were not landowners but commercial skill "owners" and social capital "owners". They are those Roma who are involved in the actual informal economy with high earnings. On the other hand, the poor Roma seem to be those who were assimilated by the majority populations and who were always dependent on the state and local actors. To sum up, I try to emphasize the Roma stratification and to identify a model of explanation for the actual socio-economic situation of different Roma groups in Romania.

PANEL XIX

Free Communication Panel

Subpanel 1
Hierarchy and Power in the History of Pre-Modern Civilizations
Convenor: *Dmitri D. Beliaev* (Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies, Moscow, Russia; Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow)

Herbert Barry III (University of Pittsburgh, USA)
Cultural Customs Associated with Violence
in a World Sample of Communities

Frequency of violence by individuals was measured in a world sample of 102 diverse communities. Violence combines ratings by Carol R. Ember and Melvin Ember of homicide and assault from ethnographic descriptions of the communities. Nine variables are each reliably associated with frequent violence, independent of the associations of the nine variables with each other. The multiple correlation with frequent violence is .70. Four measures of child training, associated with frequent violence, are (1) advocating aggressiveness by boys shortly before adolescence and, for boys at an earlier age, (2) advocating competitiveness, (3) permitting disobedience, (4) advocating excellent performance. Three uses of material possessions, associated with frequent violence, are (1) animals or vehicles for land transport, (2) gifts associated with marriage, (3) indigenous money. Two customs that weaken social control over behavior, associated with frequent violence, are (1) dispersed rather than compact settlement, (2) polygynous marriage, which detracts from cohesiveness of the nuclear family. The associations of child training with frequent violence imply that a remedy for the excessive violence in contemporary nations might be training young children for obedience instead of competitiveness or excellent performance and training older children for cooperation and kindness instead of aggressiveness.

Lidiya P. Groth (Luleo, Sweden)
Hierarchy of Authority and Matrilinear Tradition of Inheritance

To understand the origins and development of political institutions

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in general, and of supreme authority in particular, it is important to study such principles of political organization as patrilinear and matrilinear traditions of inheritance of power. Studying the matrilinear tradition in history of different peoples, the author has revealed a number of its characteristic features.

1. This tradition is most ancient and primary compared to the patriliear one. Legitimation of Pharaoh's power in Ancient Egypt proved to be true through his mystical marriage with his sister; the Trojan Enej became the King of Latins only after he had married Lavinia, the daughter of the local King Latin. The ancestor of the Scythian royal dynasty Targitai was considered as the son of the daughter of the Borisfena river, hence he inherited power on the maternal line.

2. The genesis of the matrilineage goes back to the tradition of divinizing womanhood traced as early as in the Upper Paleolithic. In the beginning the female hypostasis was seen as the ancestor of all living, and later it became the mother of clan who provided interaction between the clan and the nature, then – the ancestress of totemic groups in the image of either a deity or the spouse of a totemic ancestor. During the following periods the cult of Mother-the-ancestress transformed into the cult of Great Mother (Kibela in ancient times) and generated the idea of universal authority in the image of Sovereign of the Universe (Gekata, Makosh); cultures of the Neolithic create the cult of Mother-the-Earth and the idea of "our land" *vs*. "other's land". It may be argued that in the bosom of these cults the idea of power inheritance, originally from mother to daughter, was established. See ancient myths of Mother of the Universe and her daughter – two heavenly Mistresses of the World and ancestresses. The idea was inherited by the Indo-Europeans (see the myths of Demetra and Persephone, Leto and Arthemida, Lada and Lele, etc. Images of the two Mistresses – mother and daughter, though not Heavenly but Underground, have remained in "The Ural Tales").

3. The Patrilinear tradition is believed to originate in the form of authority's transfer from mother to son / husband, and only later the patrilineage was established. Both of the traditions are traced, *e.g.*, throughout the European history. Functionally, the patrilineage became the basic "operative" form of inheritance of power and authority while the matrilineage settled down in extraordinary situations like intersection of the paternal line or formation of a new dynasty at merging of two old ones. For example, legitimacy of the legendary Skyldung dynasty, from which according to the legend the dynasties of Danish Kings originated, is proved by the myth of the female deity Gefyon, the envoy of Odin. Gefyon married a local "giant", then took up with the Odin's son Skyld, and their descendants established the Skyldung dynasty.

4. Studying the forms of interaction of the matrilinear and patrilinear traditions in history allows to shed new light on many aspects of political evolution.

Albert I. Davletshin
(Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow)
Huge Effigies of Great Chiefs: Common Polynesian Imagery Makes the Easter Island Stone Statues Understandable

The "great stone images" *moai* of the Pre-European Easter Island are known worldwide and unique in their appearance, sizes and numbers. More than 600 statues of the same general style display little variation in treatment making it impossible to derive meaning from them. Their imagery is very different from that of wooden sculpture and rock carvings found on the island. The data gathered by early visitors and obtained by ethnographers are too uncertain to rest on. Thus, the true significance of the stone statues is unknown.

A comparison with various sculpture traditions of Western and Eastern Polynesia that is comprehensible for us much better, not merely explains some artistic conventions and treatment of particular motifs but reveals the meaning of the Easter Island stone images. Any representational motifs – traces of red paint, general outlines of figures, large black topknots represented by the *pukao* hats, accentuated faces, exaggerated abdomens, pursed whispering mouths, flexed avian arms clinging to the bust with the hands near the protruding navel, etc. – even the placement of statues on the *ahu* outdoor altars and their orientation regarding the sea turn out significant. These images represent great chiefs as progenitors, in the primeval state of creation, as the source of abundance and fertility, as those who came from the *Hiva* ancestral homeland.

We can call them deified ancestors who become tutelary deities, and describe as proto-Polynesian **tumu* "origin", "base" and "foundation" of the society and its members, and the World itself, embodied in this society.

Alain Testart (College de France, Paris)
A New Hypothesis on the Origins of the State

Current hypotheses on the origins of the state have generally overlooked that in many ancient and non-bureaucratic kingdoms the king has strong political support from personal faithful followers, sometimes organized as a specific

force. It was so in pre-colonial Black Africa, in most of the Islamic world, or in pre-Columbian states of the Americas. It can be shown from ethno-historical data that such faithful followers were also important in the so-called chiefdoms. From this, it can be argued that, 1)°kinship, although important in pre-state societies, is perhaps not so important as the social relationships based on personal links and loyalties; and 2)°these loyalties can be seen as a basis for the formation of the state.

The paper sums up some of the argument of the author's book published in 2004: *La servitude volontaire* (2 vols.): I, *Les morts d'accompagnement*; II, *L'origine de l'Etat* (*Voluntary Servitude* [2 vols.]: I, *Following the Master in the Tomb*; II, *The Origins of the State*), Paris: Errance, 264 p. & 140 p.

Dmitri D. Beliaev (Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies, Moscow, Russia; Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow)*,*
Albert I. Davletshin
(Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow)

Political Organization of Teotihuacan: A Reconsideration

Before the 1960s Mesoamericanists viewed societies of the Classic period as pacific theocracies contrasting the Postclassic militaristic monarchies. Since those times the picture has changed considerably, especially for the Maya area and Oaxaca. But this tradition is still dominant in Teotihucan studies. Teotihuacan – a largest Classic-period Mesoamerican metropolis in the Basin of Mexico – is viewed as an anomaly or archaism. The majority of the scholars are convinced that Teotihuacan was ruled by collective government or even "oligarchy". This conclusion is based on the absence of royal tombs and "corporate" iconography focusing on the processions of several actors and not on the individual protagonists. Teotihuacan pantheon was headed by so-called "Great Goddess".

However, epigraphic studies in the Maya area showed that Middle Classic Teotihucan rulers were described in the Maya texts as analogues of the Maya divine kings. These observations are confirmed by recent archaeological research in the metropolis.

Our analysis focuses on Teotihuacan iconography and epigraphy. First, in contrast with previous views we see that royal theme is well represented in the iconography of the Classic period, especially in the murals. Second, re-assessment of the writing systems of the Central Mexico let us think that in Teotihuacan there are dynastic texts recorded with local hieroglyphic script.

Our main conclusion is that Teotihuacan political model fits well Mesoamerican civilizational pattern: 1) it was ruled by the dynasty autocratic kings; 2) the kings were considered to be representatives and impersonators of the Rain God ("Tlaloc"); 3) the main symbol of power at Teotihuacan was so called "tassel headdress" that represented the crown of the Rain God; 4) Teotihuacan elite consisted of a number of hierarchical groups with royal lineage and non-royal nobility being the most important.

Alexander V. Safronov
(Moscow Lomonosov State University, Russia)
System of Political Alliances among the Late Classic
Maya Kingdoms of the Western Lowlands

Numerous epigraphic sources from the Western Maya Lowlands (the Usumasinta Basin) contain evidence of fierce struggle between Maya kingdoms of the area in the 6th – 8th centuries. In that time the political landscape of the Western Lowlands was very fractional. We know at least 30 different polities on the area of more than 25,000 sq. km. Only five kingdoms played an important part in the political and military struggle in that area: Baakal, Yokib, Pa'chan, Saktz'i', and Popo', and the system of alliances formed around them. About 15 polities took up subordinate positions and were allies or vassals of the dominating states, but they could pursue independent local policy. Other polities were tiny kingdom which displayed political activity very random.

The most important events of that struggle happened in the Upper and Middle Usumasinta valley. In the 6th century Pa'chan and Yokib, a vassal of Kanul – the greatest Maya power of the Central Lowlands in the 6th – 7th centuries, became the main antagonists. The end of the 6th century was the period of Yokib's decline but Pa'chan was submitted by Kanul and took part in a large-scale campaign against Baakal. The new rise of Yokib by support of Kanul began in the mid-7th century, an alliance of Baakal, Pachan, and Saktz'i' being their enemy. After the fall of the Kanul power in the end of the 7th century Popo' – the polity located in the Ocosingo valley, became a new Yokib ally. The end of the 7th – beginning of the 8th century was marked by a series of wars in the area of modern Lacandon Selva. As a result the system of alliances changed: Popo' and Baakal became weak, Yokib was defeated by Saktz'i', and both kingdoms confronted with Pa'chan. In the 2nd half of the 8th century Pa'chan got victory over Saktz'i' and then Yokib and became the most powerful state in the Usumasinta valley. Further development of the

western Maya polities was broken off by the general fall of the Classic Maya culture.

Alexander A. Vasiliev
(Odessa National University, Ukraine)
King's Power and Stratification in the Goth Society
in the Roman Age (Data of Archaeological and Written Sources)

The absence of weapons in the structure of burial deposits is the main feature inherent to all archaeological cultures of the Goth's circle. This sign of the burial rite was brought by Scandinavians and rapidly adopted by natives in the process of the Goth archaeological culture (AC)'s formation in the Lower Vistula in the 1st century A.D. Such changes in the burial rite, one of the most conservative elements of culture, cannot be considered in the religious context only. In this we see a specific social practice the adoption of which was an indispensable condition of incorporation of new elements in the Goths' community.

Tacitus relates a specific estrangement of arms practiced by the Scandinavian Svions to a strong king's power. The specifics of the Goth's burial rite, their Scandinavian origin taken into account, lets spread on them the "Svionic" model of social organization. According to it, the people's assembly consisting of armed free commoners and aristocracy was subordinated to the king's power. Examples from later history of the Goths let us draw the conclusion that at the basis of this power lay the idea of the royal family's "charisma". Military successes, prosperity of the tribe and king's personal "luck" served as its indicators.

Antiquities of Chernyakhov AC show that when the Goths migrated to the Black Sea region and became federates of the Empire being given huge regular payments from it, their only equalizing social tendencies were connected with the royal power. These antiquities witness that the appearance of stable surplus product – the Roman payments, did not lead to any property stratification in the Goths' society. After mass migration of the Goths to the Empire caused by the Hunnes' invasion the equalizing mechanisms of the Goth society of the Chernyakhov period were destroyed to a considerable degree.

Dalbir Singh Dhillon (Punjabi University, Patiala, India)
Shunning War and Violence: A Reflection in Sikh Scripture

The quarries of violence that have come up in the modern civilized world either in the context of religion or in the form of territorial expansion have been properly responded and explained constructively and benevolently in the Sikh scripture known as Sri Guru Granth Sahib compiled by the fifth Sikh Guru, Guru Arjan. The text got transcendental status of eternally living Guru by the formal investiture of scriptual authority at the hands of the tenth Master, Guru Gobind Singh. Thus, the Granth (text) of the Sikhs became the living Guru for the whole Sikh community.

The Sikh scripture, *i.e.* the composition of Sikh Gurus, refers to the occurrence of war and violence, death and destruction, slaughtering of innocent people by the invader and women as booty in war. The first Guru, Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikh faith was the first Indian saint who opposed the attack on India of the Muslim Mughal emperor Babur. The fifth Guru, Guru Arjan set an example in world history by sacrificing himself for the cause of the others religion's protection. The ninth Guru, Guru Teg Bahadur faced death at the behest of the Mugal emperor Aurangzeb and became a martyr who protected the right cause of religious freedom. So, they got martyrdom while protesting against violence and war, therefore their recorded words in the scripture provide a right direction and guidance to shun violence.

To sum up, the Sikh Gurus' response to war and violence, as found in the Sikh scripture, is in the form of universal appeal for peace and tranquility. If religious boundaries are drawn parallel to understanding the truth about war and violence then the path shown from various sacred scriptures will be highly valuable to shun war and violence at the universal level.

Igor V. Dimitriev (Odessa State University, Ukraine)
Traditional Forms of Social Organization of the North Caucasus Mountaineers and the Role of Islam in Genesis of the State

Resemblance of social-politic organization of mountaineer's societies is one of arguments of theory of multitude ways of social evolution. As a rule, these societies have high level of communal autonomy and high level of development and complexity intercommunal structures. On intercommunal level, integration occurs on the basis of so called "horizontal"

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and corporative contacts. "Free societies" – north-caucasusian unions of village communities are a good example of such formations.

"Free societies" in theirs own development have a period of centralization of power. Hierarchy structure strengthens community in crisis periods by the way of mobilization internal forces or with a help of alien armed formations. Autonomic social group (clan, territorial community, male union) is initial cell in a social structure and a subject of legal relations. Conservation of power and govern functions blocks creation of self-authorized ruling structures, monopolization of violence by concrete part of society. Authoritative elite is the same autonomic group which stands on the top of the scale of rank. Power mainly has military character and its centralization is caused by external facts. When necessity in mobilization vanishes, community tries to abolish dependence and often annihilates privileged estates physically.

Replacement of two types of social organization-hierarchic and corporative-is not accompanied with changes of social-economic character. Definitions of tribe and chiefdom which are proposed by modern polyanthropology conform to such structures more of all.

Management mechanisms, which are accessible to mountaineer's community, are enough for regulation of all sides of economic life. Necessity in external administrative-economic structures is absent.

We can talk about state on a territory of mountain regions of North Caucasus only after final strengthening of Islam in first half XIX cent. Egalitarism of Islam annihilates estate differences between mountaineers. The most important moment is individual character of religion principle of own rescue. An individual but not autonomic social group is a subject of Islamic law. So Islam undermines autonomy of formations inside society and faced with external threat let's to join it in one solid community - umma.

Pavel V. Basharin
(Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow)
The Qarmatian Track in the Case of al-Hallaj and the Problem of Two al-Hallajes

The Qarmatian track in the case of al-Hallaj was a formal occasion for his execution. Qarmatians considered him as one of their preachers (*da'i*) and sympathized with him. Many anti-Hallajian works called him *qarmat*. It is possible to break all the arguments in favor of relations between al-Hallaj and Qarmatians into two groups: the hypothetical personal relations and citations of the Qarmatians character.

First, this is a charge in Qarmatism on the court which tried to attribute him characteristics of a Qarmatian preacher. The most serious argument is two wanderings of al-Hallaj: to Khuzistan, Khurasan, Mawarannahr, and to India and Turkestan. Qarmatian preachers often made similar wanderings aside Deylem. An important evidence against al-Hallaj was the letters with Ismailitic attributes found with him. Manichean books were also found. Citations: some citations about the holy family (*ahl al-bayt*), the citation from as-Sulami's *Tafsir* in which light essences appear before Adam, and two *Rivayats*.

Sufis honored of al-Hallaj, the enemies blamed him for heresy. This led to the fact that for Sufis his image was divided into two independent images. According to al-Hujwiri, 'Attar, and Muhammad Parsa, the first al-Hallaj was a Sufi while the second, Ibn Mansur, was a heretic and Qarmat. Husayn Mansur al-Hallaj is contrasted to the heretic Husayn b. Mansur al-Hallaj. In the 'Attar's work they are presented as namesakes by complete. The second "al-Hallaj" was atheist, and Qarmat called companion of Abu Sa'id al-Jannabi. If we consider that the charges in Qarmatism are not addressed to al-Hallaj, then one should recognize that another man was executed in Baghdad. It would be naïve to reject the connection with Qarmatians completely. It is possible to assume that in the early period of his activity – from the demarcation with the Sufi *shaykhs* to the return from wanderings – al-Hallaj might be connected with some Qarmatians. Probably, he wandered as a Qarmatian *da'i*. However, he was not bound by the serious sermon of Qarmatism. This fact determined both the contemporaries' relations with al-Hallaj and the spirit of his works.

Free Communication Panel

Subpanel 2
Hierarchy and Power in the History
of Modern and Contemporary Civilizations
Convenor: *Igor L. Alexeev* (Russian State University for the
Humanities, Moscow)

Larissa A. Andreeva (Center for Civilizational and
Regional Studies, Moscow, Russia)
Modernization Reforms of the Russian Emperor Peter the Great in the
Context of Traditional Religious and New Secular Values

Л.А. Андреева (Центр цивилизационных и региональных исследований,
Москва, Россия)
Модернизационные реформы императора Петра I в контексте
традиционных религиозных и новых секулярных ценностей

В начале XVIII в. в России с началом процесса вестернизации социо-политической системы неразрывно связан процесс секуляризации, когда традиционные религиозные ценности начали утрачивать доминирующие позиции в различных сферах общественной жизни и вытесняться новыми, светскими. Секулярное начало в России явилось следствием потребности в социо-экономической модернизации, которая протекала в форме вестернизации – заимствовании западного опыта в различных областях деятельности. Таким образом, секулярные ценности являлись по существу "заимствованными" и перенесенными на русскую почву в ходе модернизации. Таким образом, процесс взаимодействия традиционных религиозных и новых светских ценностей принял характер насильственного вытеснения традиционного новым. На наш взгляд, в России не произошло диалога нового со старым, что во многом предопределило и последующий ход исторического развития. В начале XX столетия подобная парадигма повторится в насильственном вытеснении ценностей старой России новыми – коммунистическими. При этом само пришествие коммунизма в Россию можно рассматривать как специфическую попытку вестернизации социо-экономической системы, которая преследовала, подобно Петровской модернизации, цель – преодоление, а также замену

традиционных ценностей, рассматривавшихся как препятствие социальному и экономическому развитию страны. Петр в западничестве не был первым. "Новизна Петровской реформы не в западничестве, но в секуляризации. Именно в этом реформа Петра была не только поворотом, но и переворотом".

Igor L. Alexeev, Galina A. Khizriyeva (Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow)
Socio-Communicative Networks as a Form of Political Culture in the Islamic World: Some Methodological Remarks

Socio-communicative networks are among the most widespread types of social organization in the Muslim world and could be regarded as a paradigmatic model of the cultural tradition's surviving and transition. Activation of such networks can be most clearly observed in times when formal hierarchical structures are weak. In such cases the network systems become the most important, and sometimes the only effective, institution able to provide the world-system integration of an area, as well as social communication within and/or outside a society. Historically, the earliest example of social network may be recognized in the Jewish diaspora formed after the Second Jerusalem temple's destruction, which maintained the preservation and further development of the Jewish culture. Another type of communicative network was the system of local pilgrimages in pre-Islamic Arabia (*mawasim*) with trade systems developed around pilgrimage centers (especially the Meccan trade network based on *hajj*). Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, made a special effort to preserve these communicative networks inherited from the *jahiliyya* period. So, in the Near East this type of social organization has become closely related to monotheistic religions since the Jewish diaspora's appearance. As a result, the network-based paradigm of historical world-view and *memoire historique* has been extremely important for religious cultures of this type. Note that early Christian communities (before acceptance of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire and institutionalization of the Church as a hierarchical structure) as well as the early Islamic *umma* of Medina undoubtedly were paradigmatic network and heterarchical structures. Later, the anti-Umayyad movement of 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubair and the 'Abbasid movement were also based on tribal and supratribal communication networks in the first case and on the *mawali* and Shi'ite opposition networks in the second one. The next important stage of the social networks evolution in the Islamic world was that of Sufi brotherhoods (*turuq*). The most modern type of network systems are

recently appeared international terrorist networks (*e.g.*, *al-Qaʿida*). Note that contemporary terrorism in the Arab countries practiced previously by local groups transformed into a global phenomenon by forming an international network which uses a religiously-motivated discourse.

Magdalena Barros Nock
(Center for Research and Postgraduate Studies
in Social Anthropology, México D.F., México)

Social Networks and Power Groups in the Local Development of Small Cities in Rural California: A Case Study

The paper addresses the question of participation of the Mexican migrant population in the local development of small cities in rural California and is based on the case study carried out in August – October 2003 in the city of Guadalupe located in the Valley of Santa Maria in California's Central Coast. As many small rural cities in California, over 80% of the population is of Mexican origin. Especially since the 1940s when the Bracero Labor Program (1942 – 1964) was launched, an ever increasing flow of Mexican laborers came to Guadalupe. In the 1980s, with the intensification of agriculture, the process of Mexican families' settlement commenced which brought important changes to the community.

The paper analyzes the changes that this settlement process has brought to the social networks and power groups that had already existed in the community as well as to the formation of new ones. I study participation of the population of Mexican descent and Mexican migrants in local development of the community, considering local development as economic, social, political, and cultural.

The paper is divided into two parts. The first gives a historical overview of formation of the Guadalupe's power groups and social networks, of different ethic groups that have arrived to the city and of how they have integrated or not to the local institutions. The second part deals with the actual struggle for the mayor and city council positions that has taken place in the last decade when power has passed from the white to the Hispanic population. I present the power groups, their strategies, networks, negotiations, objectives, and expectations for the future.

Tai-Chee Wong (Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, Republic of Singapore)
Cities as a Centre of Power and Social Change:
Shanghai's Role in Modern China

Cities were cradles of civilizations and they led prominent social changes. As a nodal point of contact for Western powers from the mid-19th century, Shanghai acted as a catalyst as well as an absorber of Western cultures that laid the foundation of social change of modern China. For almost a century, tumultuous social movements in Shanghai moved radically from one end of the pendulum to another as crises unfolded in four respective phases: a) the disintegrating feudal Manchu state (1900 – 1911); b) nationalist Kuomintang that ruled the city as a financial hub (1927 – 1940s); c) the Maoist-led cultural revolution (1966 – 1975); and d) the pro-market reforms from the 1980s following the open-door policy. The study investigates how Shanghai, the point of impact where the East met the West, had reacted in each phase of ideological and politico-economic crisis during the 20th century. Judging from current rapid economic developments, the paper further enquires the future scenarios for Shanghai in its role to lead China into a more advanced modern state and as a powerhouse with great potential to transform itself into an influential global city.

Elena Sadokha (Kharkiv Skovoroda National University, Ukraine)
Unsteadiness of Social World and Unsteadiness of Its Representation

Unsteadiness of the social world provokes unsteadiness of our representation of it and of our forecasts regarding its future. Up to now there are open questions: *what* we actually see and describe; from what existential point we conduct research. Modern social eidetic gives a lot of variants of answers to these questions; however, history keeps only one as valid. In this connection it would be desirable to consider a line of key problems which sanction, in our opinion, the opening of constructive ways to the solution of the questions outlined above. First of all, we must consider, ontologically and epistemologically, the problem of paradoxes of social descriptions. *What* is studied by us: reality or values? Thus, we refer to the old question: why is it reasonable to argue about concepts? The second question we shall try to answer in the paper, is: *how* can that be studied? Here the whole variety of descriptions is possible to distinguish *conditionally* (by a principle of binary oppositions) the two basic ways: normative and interpretive.

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Mikhail P. Ostromensky (Novosibirsk, Russia)
The Problem of System of Power's Stability

By considering power as a function of the state, and the state as a way of civilization's political order, it is possible to approach the problem of power's stability and change not casually but within the systems theory's framework.

States are basically open and dynamic systems, hence subjected to constant external influence and constantly changing. The internal arrangement of the modern state is complicated. Each of its elements has different functions, resources, ways of inclusion in the structure and responding to transforming influences. Hence, it is reasonable to expect the presence of instability points in the system of power, *i.e.* of such elements of the structure of power and whole society, an influence on which quickly makes the system unstable. The influence on such points, occasional or purposeful, permits destroying practically any social system. The state and society must protect these critical points from external influence and from drastic changes caused by internal reasons. A part of such points can be defined by observing the degree of soreness of a society's reaction to attempts to introduce changes or its readiness to suffer from considerable losses but not to accept changes.

The openness of social systems determines that all significant changes in them are essentially bifurcation processes. Social development is strictly unidirectional, and the temporary component is the determining one. That is why all the social changes are absolutely irreversible. Thereby, changes in the system of power do not allow to forecast the subsequent fortune of power relations in state and those who will get advantages from those changes. All the forecasts and purposes of the efforts at the power relations' radical change can be short-term only being based on natural weakness and receptivity to external influences of the whole social system at the moment of realignment. The destruction of the system of power as a long-term purpose of the changes can explain adequately many events of contemporary history.

Vladislav M. Karelin (Institute of Philosophy, Moscow, Russia)
**Structure of Legitimacy and the Problem of Distinction
between Democracy and Totalitarianism**

Scrutinizing some manifestations of political activities in the light of Max Weber's theory of power legitimacy, one can notice that if power could

be interpreted as a system of the "subject-object" relations, we unavoidably arrive at the conclusion that such relations must be characterized by that activity's localization. This way localization could easily be pointed at the power-holder(s) or the society (or its elements). If the locus is on the power-holder, his activity could be described at the *intentional* level and at the *ethical* level which constitutes a kind of "bordering power" for a given sort of legitimacy. In the other case, when activity is located in the mass, one should regard mainly the level of *intentionality* (as far as the ethical level of power relations can seldom be positioned in the political field).

Examination of the structure of legitimacy in such categories can show some functional differences between the bureaucratic, traditional, and charismatic types of leadership (though these types must be used as some kinds of projections modeling the situation and should not constitute a reductionist approach *per se*). The filling of such a structure determines crucially the possibility of distinction between different types of power. This filling exemplifies another level of power relations' manifestation – the *psychological* one. This way when the psychological level is taken into account, one can notice that an attempt to make a distinction between democracy and totalitarianism turns out not a simple task at all.

Nikolay N. Firsov (Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies, Moscow, Russia)
Political Discourse and Legitimacy of Political Domination

Н.Н. Фирсов (Центр цивилизационных и региональных исследований, Москва, Россия)
***Политический дискурс
и легитимность политического господства***

Современные политические процессы в России в значительной степени представляются попытками формирования и укрепления политического господства и, соответственно, социальной иерархии, на основе смешения разного характера легитимности этого господства. Политический дискурс, основывающийся на мифологемах традиционалистической модели легитимности господства, в которой власть, персонифицированная в фигуре лидера, кровно связанного с источником сакральной силы, разбавляется принципами либерализма и демократии, основанными на свободе, равных возможностях, справедливости, частной собственности, разделении властей. Противостояние между традиционалистской и рационалистической

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моделями последнего десятилетия конца XX века, выраженное в противоборстве коммунистической и демократической идеологий, закончилось оппозицией представителей и той, и другой к государственной власти и к государству в целом, легитимность господства которого опирается как на мифологемы как традиционалистского, так и рационалистического характера, сводя к минимуму возможность формирования целостного политического дискурса и политической мифологии.

Подобное снятие конфликта между двумя основными дискурсами российского политического пространства, их отстранение от реальной политики привело к формированию квазитрадиционализма и квазидемократии. Дезориентация общественного сознания и усиление социальной напряженности неизбежно активизирует механизмы психологической адаптации, социально-политической, культурной и национальной идентичности. Прежде всего, это выражается в реализации интенций архетипических пластов массового сознания и реформировании оппозиции «Мы – Они», основной целью которой является построение упорядоченного социума с устойчивыми мифологемами социально-политического дискурса, определяющего образы «Своих» и «Чужих», тем самым, разграничивая область структурированного пространства-времени, выраженного в гармонии мира и противостоящего ей «хаоса». Процессы формирования общности «Мы» практически невозможен без определения образа «Они», персонифицируемого с деструктивными и враждебными силами, целью которых является разрушение упорядоченного традицией социального пространства, независимо от его модели, традиционалистической или рационалистической.

Либеральные реформы, призванные ускорить построение гражданского общества западноевропейского образца, не только не выполнили своего предназначения, дискредитировав идеи либерализма и демократии, но и вслед за коммунистической идеологией не сумели сформировать устойчивый политический дискурс, обеспечивающий легитимность политического господства и социальную иерархию общества. Ценности либерализма, как и ценности традиционализма в российском политическом пространстве приобретают псевдомифологическое содержание, лишившись своего мифотворческого потенциала в противостоянии друг другу, при этом продолжая претенедовать на легитимность политического господства.

Yekutiel Gershoni (Tel-Aviv University, Israel)
***Seeking Legitimacy* versus *Implementing Coercive Control:*
*The Case of Nigerian Military Regimes from 1966 to 1998***

Military regimes seize power through misappropriation of political gain. Therefore these regimes encounter difficulties in presenting a credible claim to the right to hold public office, namely, to be legitimate. The quest for legitimacy was regarded, by one school of thought, as essential to the existence of a military regime. Weber argued that the obedience resulting from legitimacy is a more stable basis for rule than is obedience based on habit or on "expediency." Other scholars such as Przeworski reputed that notion and emphasized that strengthening control was the key concern of military regimes.

The paper traces the various military regimes in Nigeria from Ironsi to Abacha, based on these two theoretical propositions. It will show that in practice, these regimes used both approaches to consolidate their power. However, legitimation and coercion were not represented equally. Some of the seven military regimes during this period (Ironsi 1966, Muhammed 1975-76, Obasanjo 1976-79, Babangida 1985-93) put more emphasis on cultivating their legitimacy by setting goals of returning the country to civilian rule by multi-party democratic elections, putting an end to corruption and restoring law and order. Others (Gowon 1966-75, Buhari 1983-85, Abacha 1993-98) gave preference to cultivating organizations and administrative devices in order to increase their control over the state and society.

Patricia Zuckerhut (University of Vienna, Austria),
Bärbel Grubner (University of Graz, Austria)
***"Gendered" Violence in Latin America:*
*Outline of a Dialogue with the "New Sociology of Violence"***

By analyzing specific problems of gendered violence in Latin America we want to refer to some concepts and terms of the so called "New Sociology of Violence" which leads to a radical break with – "mainstream" – traditional violence-studies. Our goal is to examine the positive innovations proposed in this new field of sociological research.

We will focus on an understanding of violence which goes beyond the concept of violence as "abnormality" and on dynamics and processes of violent acts in recourse to cultural- and social-anthropological methods. We will also highlight the more problematic shifts or omissions such as the

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rejection of "why-questions" in favor of an exclusive attention to "what-" and "how-questions" or the refusal of the concept of "structural violence".

In the context of sexualized violence we also find it especially necessary to ask questions about the possibilities and limits of certain transfers in knowledge production and the application of so called "culturally sensible" research strategies in different historical and socio-political contexts of violence.

Anatoliy D. Savateev (Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)
Shariatization in Tropical African Countries:
An Expression of Values Hierarchy in the Islamic Civilization

1. Constitutionally all the states of Tropical Africa are secular. Nevertheless, the Shar'a is adopting as an official legal system, beginning from the year 2000 in some counties: in one on the level of territorial-administrative units, in others – in national volume but in separate spheres of law application

2. The process undergoes in the most dramatized form in Nigeria. Parliaments of 12 from 26 states of the country have adopted acts on Shari' a implementation as a resource of family criminal and penal-processual law and judicial system from January 2000 till the end of 2002. The result was anxiety' increase of Christian diaspora in the North of the country, where Muslims are overwhelming majority of the population, and bloody interconfessional clashes in some states, tension,s increase between political and business elites of the southern, oil produced states, on the one hand, and the northern, Islamized states, on the other hand.

3. The process undergoes less sharply in other Islamized countries, where it hasn't obtained so large scales. Senegal, Niger, Namibia, Somali made first steps. Mauritania, Mali, Ethiopia, Cote-d'Ivoire are under increasing pressure of the Muslims upon introduction of Shari' a in the society's life.

4. What is there behind this more and more evident shift towards Islamic civilization? Obviously the process testifies aspiration of the Muslim communities overlooking unavailing attempts of State to overcome billow of criminality to take up themselves to resolve this sharpest problem. In Islamic legal acts they see one of the main measures of strengthening morality and culture, restoration of the norms of life, in order to resist debauch of sensitivity in all spheres of existence, types of arts, in literature and tv-broadcasting. One may interpret Shariatization as a reaction of Muslim law culture on globalization's process, as consolidation of bases of Islamic

civilization. One is to comment it as cutting of extremities in Islamic culture and restoration of integrity of the whole confessional community's life. But it would be mistake to consider Shariatization as a kind of Islamic radicalism/ On the contrary the introduction of Shari'a in legal sphere means to receive possibilities to limit activity of Islamic extremist forces.

5. Undoubtedly, these process in the countries of Tropical Africa permit to consider the Shari'a as primary values in the Islamic civilization hierarchy and a nucleus of current transformations, that will have different results for existing State and society.

Reza Simbar (Guilan University, Rasht, Iran)
Mosques as a Religious Institution in Iran

This paper argues different aspects of the Mosques as a religious institution in Iranian socio-political arena, during the Pahlavie regime as a mobilizing forces against it, and during the Islamic Republic as a assistance for the state's objectives. For example, they have played a significant role in mobilizing and organizing the efforts in the war against the Ba'the regime in Baghdad. This role playing is the center of this study and how it is comparable to the roles of similar institution in other Moslem countries. The main argument would be that this model can be used by other communities in other states.

Vladimir A. Garev
(Center for Civilizational and
Regional Studies, Moscow, Russia)
Terrorist № 1:
The Analysis of Components of Osama Bin Laden's Virtual Image

The problem of the informational component of contemporary international terrorism is among the key issues in understanding the nature of this phenomenon. The conquest and retention of the informational space is the primary task which is successfully achieved by terrorist organizations. With the development of mass media the necessity of mental completion of the event has become irrelevant. Television, the Internet, periodicals minimize this process which is natural for the human psyche. They offer the recipient a joint textual and visual account of the event which is interpreted, as a rule, by the source of information. We can come across the spreading of ideologically biased information through visual symbols in many different cultures and on various levels of the society evolution. As symbols

accumulate human experience and mark its key moments, the most efficient way to convey them in the visual environment is to create iconic images – complete concise images of the complex type that draw a huge region of experience into a tiny focus. The messages are codified in the frames of visual space and afterwards are "sprayed" by the communicator in the informational space in search of its recipient.

The image of Osama Bin Laden's is used by different parties of the conflict in the sphere of visual propaganda. Posters with his image used at the demonstrations, e-cards, cell phones icons are used for the creation of convincing propagandistic directives in the society. These pictures become social icons in which the image itself loses its physical essence and acquires the features of a political myth. Bin Laden's image which is replicated by mass media is specific and may give a recipient archetypal associations, due to which fairy features and skills may be ascribed to Bin Laden. The comprehension and analysis of Osama Bin Laden's visual images in the context of the international terrorism problem can be useful for the dethronement of such an important constituent of the terrorist myth as the "leader's" image which may become an important aspect the struggle against international terrorism in the global informational space.

Enayatollah Yazdani (University of Isfahan, Iran)
The US Hegemony and the Islamic World

The USA has not kept a single policy toward the Islamic nations during and after the Cold War. American relationships with the Muslim world varied from time to time and nation to nation. During the Cold War in some cases the USA had been a supporter of some Islamic movements as an instrument in the fight against the Soviet Union or the pro-Soviet governments in the Muslim countries (*e.g.*, the Afghan *Mujahedin*), whereas in other cases America acted against such movements (*e.g.*, the government of Mosadegh in Iran).

The US policy toward Islamic countries in the wake of the Cold War has been relatively formulized in the framework of the Huntington's theory of "clash of civilizations" which included a clash between the Islamic world and the West, particularly the United States. Therefore, it is fair to claim that with regard to political Islam, the US policy, particularly in the post-Cold War era, resembles much that of the communists during the Cold War. This approach was based on the myth of the 'necessary enemy'. Accordingly, in the absence of the Soviet Union the West, particularly the United States,

needed to introduce a new enemy to rationalize its military policies and to ensure the continuity of its political and military hegemony.

In sum, the history of the US policy toward Muslim societies shows that America has not perused any specific policy. In one part of the Muslim world America supports repressive and corrupt monarchies whereas in another it claims to be fighting against authoritarian governments. The rapid spread of Islamic movements or political Islam in the last two decades is seen as a serious threat to the US security and national interests, particularly in the Middles East. In fact, central to the US policy is the fear of the spread of Islamic regimes in the Middle East and elsewhere. Therefore, its policy toward the nations following this kind of Islam or that might be affected by it has been to prevent them from it or, if necessary, to fight with them.

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FOR NOTES