

**Пятая международная
конференция**

**Fifth International
Conference**

***ИЕРАРХИЯ
И ВЛАСТЬ В
ИСТОРИИ
ЦИВИЛИЗАЦИЙ***

***HIERARCHY
AND POWER
IN THE HISTORY
OF CIVILIZATIONS***

***(Москва,
23 – 26 июня 2009 г.)***

***(Moscow,
June 23 – 26, 2009)***

Тезисы докладов

Abstracts

Учреждение Российской академии наук
ИНСТИТУТ АФРИКИ РАН

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Institute for African Studies

RUSSIAN STATE UNIVERSITY FOR THE HUMANITIES
School of History, Political Science and Law

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PANEL I

Aggression and Power Control in Traditional and Industrial Societies

Convenor: *Marina L. Butovskaya* (Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow, Russia)

Aggression in human society remained to de nowadays one of the most actively disputed social phenomenon. Despite thousands of annual publications on aggression, attempts of analysis of aggression from various angles, ranging from molecular to macrosociological, politics, we are still far from being ahead with the development of effective methods of aggression control and prevention. Complex approach in estimations of factors provoking aggression and determining particular ways of it's expression may provide an additional chance for better understanding of nature of this phenomenon and reasons of it's cross-cultural similarities and differences. In line with this symposium we are planning to discuss the wide range of questions, connected with modern theories of interactions between aggression and power control on the within-group and between-group levels. We are expecting to discuss the issues of correlations between various expressions of aggression and mechanisms of power control from the very broad positions, including evolutionary, ecological, psychological, sociological and anthropological approaches. We suppose to discuss the family violence, aggression practices in small groups, as well as traditional socialization practices in cultures with evidently expressed gender asymmetry in power control. Theoretical and field studies of personal and group mechanisms of control over aggression are welcomed. The special attention will be given to studies of traditional institutes of power control connected to conflict resolution, as well as to investigations of transformations of traditional representations about power control within the family and on the level of small social groups in connection with rapid economic changes and transitions from one economic structure to another. We would highly welcome the presentations devoted to cross-cultural data, as well as mathematic models of interactions between aggression and power control on the in-group and between-group levels.

Marina L. Butovskaya

Valentina N. Burkova

(Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology
Moscow, Russia)

***The Psycho-Physiological Portrait of the Leader in Egalitarian Society of
Hunter-Gatherers: The Hadza of Tanzania***

The Hadza of Tanzania – are among the last nomadic hunter-gatherers on the Earth. The data for this paper were collected during the three field visits to Tanzania in the period 2006 – 2008. The data were collected on the bases of complex program, included self-ratings on aggression and dominance, individual interviewing, direct observations, demography, anthropometry, hormonal and DNA data. The total sample included 119 adult males, out of whom 25 were leaders of local bands. It was demonstrated that leaders differed significantly from other male Hadza by the following parameters: they rated themselves higher on physical aggression, and possessed the higher level of morning testosterone. Leader fathered significantly more children compared to other males. No differences were found in polymorphism on genes of androgen receptors and dopamine receptors. This project was supported by RFHR, grants №№ 06-01-181e, 07-01-18009e, 08-01-00015a

Alexander N. Tatarko

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

Specifics of Perception of the Institutions of Power Social Capital by Russia's Ethnic Groups

А.Н. Татарко

(Государственный Университет – Высшая школа
экономики, Москва, Россия)

Особенности восприятия социального капитала институтов власти различными этническими группами в России

В докладе представлены результаты кросскультурного исследования восприятия социального капитала различных институтов представителями пяти этнических групп, населяющих территорию России (русские, башкиры, армяне, чеченцы, дагестанцы), общий объем выборки составил около 300 человек. Анализируются особенности восприятия респондентами уровня социального капитала различных институтов. В качестве основной методики использовался модифицированный семантический дифференциал. Исследование позволило выделить 4 уровня социального капитала различных институтов и показало, что одни и те же институты могут иметь различный уровень социального капитала в восприятии разных этнических групп. Если обобщить данные по всем 5 этническим группам, то, в целом, получается следующая тенденция. Наибольшим уровнем социального капитала, в восприятии всех этнических групп, обладают семья и друзья. Есть ряд социальных институтов,

которые, по оценкам представителей 5-и этнических групп, принимавших участие в исследовании, обладают низким социальным капиталом. В качестве таких институтов наиболее часто указываются: армия, органы правосудия, милиция, политические партии, парламент.
(Исследование выполнено при поддержке РГНФ, грант 07-06-00358а).

N.M. Lebedeva

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

The Culture Values' Influence on Economic Development and Attitude to Innovations

Н.М. Лебедева

(Государственный университет –

Высшая школа экономики, Москва, Россия)

Влияние ценностей культуры на экономическое развитие и отношение к инновациям

В настоящее время в кросс-культурной психологии существуют исследования, указывающие на то, что базовые ценности культуры влияют не только на экономическое развитие, ощущение благополучия и счастья, но и на изобретательность и инновационные диспозиции личности. В наших исследованиях в России выявлено, что наиболее продуктивным для экономического развития является влияние таких культурных ценностей, как ***Мастерство, Интеллектуальная и Аффективная Автономия***. Такие блоки ценностей, как ***Принадлежность, Иерархия, Равноправие и Гармония*** в экономическом отношении не являются продуктивными, поскольку поддерживают установки экономического патернализма, негативно связаны с ростом и ожиданием роста материального благосостояния, а также негативно связаны с уровнем психологического благополучия. В сознании россиян экономическое развитие и его плоды напрямую связаны с принадлежностью к власти, при этом сами люди не верят в возможность самореализации в экономической сфере, т.е. индивидуальная энергия, усилия самореализации практически «не работают» на экономическое развитие, не востребованы в современной российской экономике. Результаты исследований в США показали, что индивидуалистические и неиерархические («горизонтальные») общества более изобретательны и более склонны к инновациям. В кросс-культурном исследовании в России и Канаде были получены значимые межкультурные и гендерные различия в отношении к инноваци-

ям. Также были обнаружены значимые межкультурные различия в ценностных профилях русских, северокавказских и канадских студентов, отражающие различия по линии «традиционализм – модернизированность». С инновативными установками личности на всей выборке позитивно связаны ценности **самостоятельности, стимуляции, достижения и универсализма**, отрицательно – ценности **власти и традиции**. Эти результаты в целом согласуются с данными зарубежных исследований (Shane, 1992, 1995; Dollinger, Burke & Gump, 2006). При этом были обнаружены кросс-культурные различия в обусловленности инновативных установок ценностями: у русских с инновативными установками связана ценность **власти**, у представителей народов Северного Кавказа – ценность **стимуляции**. Эти и другие результаты исследования получили интерпретацию с учетом особенностей культурной социализации представителей разных культурных групп. Несмотря на значимость ценностей Иерархии и Власти в современной России, эти ценности не способствуют инновационному социально-экономическому развитию в России. Исследование выполнено при поддержке Научного Фонда ГУ-ВШЭ (№ проекта 08-01-0083).

Valentina N. Burkova

(Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow, Russia)

Age and Gender Aspects of Aggression, Dominance and Peacemaking among Russians and Ossetians: Traditions and Modernization (on Example of Schoolchildren of Northern Ossetia and Moscow)

Cultural, religious and politic traditions influence aggressive and post-conflict behavior of individual (LaFreniere et.al. 2002). Gender differences of aggression are established in most of cultures, but we can not speak about full universality of these differences (Frodi et.al., 1977; Maccoby et.al., 1974; Burkova et.al., 2006). Ability of peacemaking also depends on cultural norms and traditions. Caucasus is one of the most conflict regions in the world, but despite of the traditionally aggressive culture, there was always also a culture of prevention of conflicts, and reconciliation. This military culture is based on aspiration for decreasing and ordering of aggression (Bartsits, 2006). We want to analyze traditional representations about aggression and methods of reconciliation in this culture, and we'll compare them to the modern data received during field researches in republic Northern Ossetia – Alania. We'll be speaking about aggressive and post-conflict behaviors among children and adolescents (9-17 years old). Besides, we'll compare this data with Russian sample (Moscow schoolchildren). Data have been collected in schools of

Moscow and Vladikavkaz. 313 Moscow and 328 Ossetian children and have taken part in our research. Objects of our study were groups of children from 10 to 17 ages. The combination of methods was used: 1) questionnaires – aggression (Buss&Perry, 1992), dominance, social status and peacemaking (Burkova et.al. 2006); 2) anthropometrical measures of 2D:4D ratio fingers (showed level of prenatal testosterone, related with aggression) (Manning et.al., 1998).

Results of our study showed gender and age differences of aggressive and post-conflict behaviors in Russians and Ossetians. Our data, on one hand, confirmed the existence of certain universals in social behavior of children and adolescents, but on the other hand, showed some cultural features of schoolchildren of Northern Ossetia, caused by traditional education. For example, in the Caucasian society the role of peacemaker belongs to the man, whereas in Russian culture it is a prerogative of the woman. In comparison with Russians, ossetian boys use indirect kinds of aggression less often, because this type of behavior perceived as typical for girls in tradition of this culture. This study was supported by Russian Foundation for Basic Research, grant N 07-06-00078a.

Sergey V. Panov
Sergey N. Ivashkin
(University of Culture History
Moscow, Russia)

***Principle of Aggression, Hierarchy and a Democratic Imperative
(Toward a Re-Deconstruction of the Postontology: Derrida, Badiou, Ranciere)***

The modern postontology comprehends the political not as a separate specific area of the human coexistence, but as evenmental difference distinction which is a condition of possibility of any figures and forms of the political representation. For Derrida, Badiou, Ranciere the general basis of the oblivion of the political during a so-called modern epoch is a reduction of the policy to to institutionalized forms of an exchange of values, of the producing of hierarchies, of the social communications. An initial condition of the institutionalization, based on the submission of the (in)visible to the the representable, is an exclusion of Another as the fundamental operation legalizing the borders of political representation, its scenography and a scene-behind in the distribution of semantic relations and role functions in a society. One of ways of the realization of this exclusion of Another is a aggression, the socio-political violence directed on the submission of an order of living to an order of the project, of the all sensible to the pronounceable, of the conceivable to

the expressible. The purpose and a product of exception of Another - the sociopolitical world without taking into account an emptiness, a surplus and a lack - as a sphere of a deceptive and illusive social consensus. Political immobilism, economic depression, social hate, xenophobia, racism are only ones of displays of the exclusion of Another in a context of an establishment of so-called "sovereign democracy" and of the actual postpolitical "return of the archaic" - an imperial myth and a body. The imperial myth designates a way of the valuable realization of the political attitude in the repressive hierarchy, a principle of which is an appropriation of the right on the hierarchization in each application of the force, in each moment of the political time. A democratic imperative for the authors of the postontology is the unconditional condition of the political which every time dictates an impossibility inequalital statements (Badiou), the account of inaccountables (Ranciere), a trace of the democracy (démocratie à venir) (Derrida) as an inprojectable future of the undecidable, every time demanding to correspond to an imperative "another is everyone and an absolutely other" without any possibility to appropriate, incorporate, socialize, integrate. A democratic imperative is not the self-attitude of the practical reason, it is the democracy which has become the requirement to correlate any political gesture with the unmeasurable.

Radomir Djordjevic

(University of Priština temporarily settled in Kosovska Mitrovica; Serbia)
Historical and Sociological Discourse of Genocides against Serbian Nation

Reasons which led to perpetual genocidal actions against Serbs in their newer history, during the 20th century, are being researched in the form of historical and sociological discourse in this work. Genocidal politics toward Serbian nation during the whole 20th century brought Serbs to the limit of their life and biological survival. Their enemies are above all some European nations (closer or further neighbors and USA), which present themselves with dignity as a role-models of democratic nations. Nevertheless, there are no grounds in their actions for such qualification. Serbian nation paid a high price for war-provoking behavior of western countries and their genocidal actions against Serbs.

Z.Kh. Arifkhanova

(Institute of History, Tashkent, Uzbekistan)

***Role of Authoritative Power in Formation of the Uzbek National Identity
(the Beginning of the 20th Century): Aggression or Blessed Benefit***

At the turn of the 19th – 20th centuries, peoples of the Central Asian region had no precisely fashioned ethnic consciousness of the European type. Plural and hierarchical identity (clan, tribal, sub-ethnic, linguistic, or regional) was blocked by unified confessional identity being of the paramount importance for the population. In the midway of the global tendency to classificatory orderliness for the ethnic structure, with a view of social and economic building the Soviet power had continued work of the Russian state on introduction of new standards of the ethnic structure in society. During several censuses carried out in the 1920s, the local population for the first time began to join and accustom to new ethnicons. It was not without purposeful efforts of the state and copyists that in their midst the ethnicon *Sart* (which bore not so much ethnic character as social one) began to be replaced by the ethnicon *Uzbek*. The national-state delimitation and formation of the Uzbek Republic (1924) lay foundation for the Bolsheviks to construction of Uzbek national identity by means of marking out its territory, ethnic boundaries, ethnicon (*Uzbek*), adoption of state emblem and banner, and introduction of the uniform legislation. All that had determined “ethnic mobilization” of the Uzbeks around the new state. Ideologists and designers of the new nation proceeded not from subjective ambitions but founded their actions on the grounds of historical-geographical unity of ethnic groups and ethno-genetic processes imposed the concrete territory and ethno-cultural frames, within the limits of which the new identity was capable to function.

The Bolsheviks in their nation building relied on ideology and the position of progressive intelligentsia – the Jadids, who saw the replacement of the confessional identity as a national progressive step forward to the modern society. Particularly they were the first ones to have started forming the ideology of unifying intended for “ethnic mobilization” of masses and introduced the new ethnicon. The local Party organizers also participated in this process. The ethnicon *Uzbek* with relative ease was apprehended first by the elite and then the by most part population, since it had been widespread throughout a significant part of the territory, where the Uzbek dynasties ruled. Insipient national self-consciousness of Uzbeks was based on the fundamental values of the Jadid movement and of the Soviet state. The reprisals against the Jadids in the 1920s and the infant Soviet national intelligentsia in the 1930s exerted negative influence on consolidation of the ideology of national unity of the Uzbeks. The nation-forming factor became important and weighty in establishing in the 1930s the new socio-cultural and communicative system including secular national education, a uniform Uzbek language, national intelligentsia, new information system (newspapers, book publishing), significant expansion of cultural sphere (literature, art, etc.)

Daria A. Dronova
Marina L. Butovskaya

(Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow, Russia)
Marriage Partner Choice in Contemporary India as a Reflection of Cast Stratification

Nowadays the marriage partner choice in India are conducted in three different ways. The first variant is traditional: on the basis of mutual agreement between parents (relatives) of a bride and a groom. The second one originated quite recently with the development of Internet, and the third one – the search of appropriate partner via newspaper advertisement. The goal of the paper is to test the newspaper advertisements in the light of the reproductive success and parent investment theories (Trivers 1972, Symons 1979). We are going to pay a special attention to the role of cast in the matrimonial relationships and to what extent the cast status is reflected in advertisements. In total 1100 advertisements (563 males, and 537 females) were analyzed. The age of respondents varied between 21 and 49 years, with mean of 28 years. The statistical analysis was conducted in SPSS-13.0. The current results are compared with the previously obtained data from South India (Gendin, 1986). This study was supported by RFHR, grant № 08-01-00015a.

N. Lafitsky,
(Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia)

Freemasonry as a Type of a Power

Though the freemasonry institution has rather much publications, it is not explored well. The reason is the specific character of this phenomena. The idea of power in power is not new. The hidden mechanism of pressure is also very old. The freemason power, being highly conspired, has clear hierarchy, strict rules and rituals, the systems of punishment and encouragements. This is multifunctional organization with a very strong methodological base, psychological techniques, system of believing. Probably, we can speak about freemason attitude, with special characteristics. Few authors consider freemason a religious. This point of view is questionable, but has all rights to be. The study of the phenomena of freemason nowadays is not only interesting, but also necessary for correct understanding of what power is, what is power and hierarchy. This knowledge could help us to realize the ulterior motives and secret mechanism of influence upon the society.

I. Snezhkova

(Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow, Russia)

The Authorities and the Masses of Russia and the Ukraine in Perception of the Youth of Both Countries

After the Soviet Union had collapsed and the new states had appeared the whole generation has grown up on the post-Soviet Space. In the context of the process of new national priorities forming, great changes in the perception of Russian and Ukrainian youth have occurred. Two relative nations turned out to be separated by different ideologies constructed by the elites of both countries. The research was carried out in a number of Moscow (Russia) and Kiev (Ukraine) universities. The main objective was to research the youth perceptions of the elites of both countries: Russia and the Ukraine, and to analyze which role the elites play in the formation of the images of these countries. As a part of the study the main functions which elite performs in the society were explored as well as the ability of the elite to cope with its tasks. There were explored such questions as the distance between the masses and the elites; conscious and unconscious characteristics of the elites which performed student subjects; the images of the concrete politicians of both countries. Complementary to the opinion poll, the projective method "pictorial representation" was applied. As a result of the analysis it was revealed how the authorities are depicted: with the sympathy, apathy, antipathy; which place the masses take toward the authorities (upper, lower, side). There also were researched commonly represented themes. In the process of the exploration of the images the state leaders, we investigated their strengths and weaknesses. Moreover the student subjects had also to describe an ideal ruler of the state, following which the real and the ideal images were correlated and the degree of coincidence of characteristics was revealed. The exposure of verbal and associative characteristics allowed to investigate the youth perceptions of the elites of both countries thoroughly.

PANEL II

Analyses of Cultural Evolution

Convenors: *Herbert Barry III* (University of Pittsburgh, USA);
Douglas R. White (University of California, USA);
Andrey Korotayev (Russian State University for the Humanities,
Moscow, Russia)

Prior verbal theories of cultural evolution have led to empirically testable mathematical models of this process. The panel is aimed at discussion of further scientific methods for studying adaptive evolution of governmental extension and selection. During the past several thousand years, many independent communities have aggregated or been conquered to form portions of a chiefdom, nation, or empire. Other communities have remained independent. Some empires and nations have split into smaller aggregations. Methods of choosing a new leader of a community or nation include hereditary succession, conquest, selection by elite members, and a formal election by some or all adults. Adaptive evolution can be inferred when changes in cultural customs and in environmental conditions cause changes in governance methods. New governance methods cause adaptive changes in other cultural customs. Different governance methods are associated with differences in education of children and adolescents. Various techniques are available for analyzing adaptive evolution. The same communities or nations can be compared at different times. Similarities or differences after separation from the same antecedent society can be identified in communities or nations. Measures of governance methods, education, and other customs are available on a world sample of 186 societies. This panel also includes contributions dealing with qualitative analyses of social, cultural, and political evolution, as well as with the emerging field of cliodynamics. *Cliodynamics* (from *Clio*, the muse of history, and *dynamics*, the study of temporally varying processes) is the new transdisciplinary area of research at the intersection of historical macrosociology, economic history/cliometrics, mathematical modeling of long-term social processes, and the construction and analysis of historical databases. Mathematical approaches – modeling historical processes with differential equations or agent-based simulations; sophisticated statistical approaches to data analysis – are a key ingredient in the cliodynamic research program. But ultimately the aim is to discover general principles that explain the functioning and dynamics of actual historical societies. Accordingly this panel is subdivided into three sub-panels: (1) Formal Analyses of Sociocultural and So-

ciopolitical Evolution; (2) Qualitative Analyses of Sociocultural and Sociopolitical Evolution; (3) Cliodynamics.

SUBPANEL I

Formal Analyses of Sociocultural Evolution

Chair: *Herbert Barry III* (University of Pittsburgh, USA)

Herbert Barry III (University of Pittsburgh, USA)

Cultural and Behavioral Changes Associated with Increase in Political Integration

In pairs of societies that had recently evolved differences from a single prior society, the member of the pair with a higher level of political integration usually differed from the other member in several other customs. The "standard sample" of 186 preindustrial societies (Mudock and White, 1969) was renumbered as 93 pairs. The first pair is number 1 with number 2. The last pair is number 185 with number 186. The members of each pair are in the same geographical region and are similar in subsistence economy, social organization, and other customs. Political integration is an ordinal scale with four levels. (0) Independent local community. (1) Petty state. (2) Small state divided into administrative districts. (3) Large state organized into provinces which are subdivided into districts. It was adapted from one of ten measures of cultural complexity reported by Murdock and Provost (1973). The societies in 57 of the 93 pairs differed in political integration. The member of the pair with higher political integration much more often differed from the other member of the pair in the following ways. (1) Stronger prohibition of premarital sexual behavior by adolescent girls. (2) Obtained food by intercommunity trade. (3) Had formal schooling for older boys prior to adolescence. (4) Weaker encouragement of self-reliant behavior by young boys.

Leonid E. Grinin

(Volgograd Center for Social Studies, Russia)

Macroevolution of Statehood

Issues of the origin and evolution of statehood are among those most important problems both for the analyses of cultural evolution and for political anthropology. Many aspects of these problems continue to be debated. I think these difficulties are connected in many ways with the dominant view on the philosophical problems of cultural evolution as much depends on a scholar's views on the evolutionary process (*e.g.*, its unilinear or multilinear nature; whether all nations must pass the same phases of development or not; the hierarchy of its driving forces; its directions and trends, etc.). One or another

way of solving these problems forms concepts about origin and evolution of the state. And opinions on the problems connected with statehood have a profound effect on the cultural evolution's approaches. In the paper I present my analysis of the evolution of the state organization based on the conception of political anthropology and cultural evolution; I suggest some new models of the evolution of the state. In particular instead of a two-stage model by Claessen and Skalnik (early state – mature state) which does not take into account the principal differences between the states of industrial and pre-industrial epochs, I suggest a three-stage model of the evolution of the state: *early state – developed state – mature state*. **Early states** – are insufficiently centralized states with underdeveloped bureaucracy. Their flourishing falls within the period of Ancient World history and the most part of the Middle Ages. **The developed states** – the centralized estate-corporative and bureaucratic states of the Late Antiquity, Middle Ages and Early Modern Age. **The mature states** are the states of the industrial epoch with rational type of law and government where the classes of industrial society and modern type of nation have formed.

Andrey Korotayev (Russian State University for the Humanities,
Moscow, Russia)

It Is Possible to Be Poor and Happy. But Is it Impossible to Be Rich and Unhappy? Correlation between Level of Economic Development and Subjective Feeling of Happiness

Our cross-national study of correlation between the GDP per capita values and the indicators of the subjective feeling of happiness indicates that this correlation is rather complex. On the one hand, for the nations with GDP per capita below \$10,000 demonstrate the widest possible range of values with respect to the other variable, comprising both the extremely “unhappy” nations (that is the countries with the highest proportions of respondents who indicated that they were either “very unhappy”, or “unhappy rather than happy”) and some extremely “happy” nations (that is the countries with the highest proportions of respondents who indicated that they were either “happy”, or “happy rather than unhappy”). On the other hand, among the nations with the high GDP per capita (over \$20,000, PPP) the overwhelming majority belongs to the group of countries with less than 10% of respondents indicating that they were either “very unhappy”, or “unhappy rather than happy”. What is more, in all the very rich countries of the sample (with GDP per capita over \$27,000, PPP) not more than 6% of respondents indicated that

they were either “very unhappy”, or “unhappy rather than happy”, whereas in the rest of the sample such “very happy” countries constitute less than 8%. The reasons for such a non-trivial distribution are discussed.

Peter Neal Peregrine

(Lawrence University; Appleton; USA)

***Power and Legitimation:
Political Strategies and Cultural Evolution***

I propose a three-dimensional model for describing and analyzing political strategies in ancient polities. The dimensions are: (1) source of power; (2) implementation of power; and (3) means of legitimation. I hypothesize that there are less "costly" and more "costly" strategies along these of these dimensions, as well as less "stable" and more "stable" strategies, all dependent on the historical and social context and the physical environment. I further hypothesize that emergent leaders employ the least "costly" strategies available to them, but shift to more "stable" ones as they are able (and sometimes they are not, and the state collapses). I test these hypotheses using data from 26 cultures drawn from the HRAF probability sample, and find strong support.

SUBPANEL II

Qualitative Analyses of Sociocultural and Sociopolitical Evolution

Chair: *Andrey Korotayev* (Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow, Russia)

Alexander A. Filippov (The Academy of Public Administration
under the Aegis of the President
of the Republic of Belarus, Minsk, Belarus')

***The Evolution of Power Change Mechanism
in the Early Bahrite Period (1250–1264)***

The paper considers the key elements of power change mechanism in the Early Bahrite period. Its evolution witnessed two main stages: before the Abbasid Caliphate restoration and after it. At the first stage the power of the mamluks' rulers was not legitimized by the Caliph of Baghdad. Consequently traditional Turk mechanism was used in new ruler's accession to the throne.

Special interest lies in the reproduction of tribal political relations when the blood ties were becoming weaker because of the mamluk's specific characteristic as a social group. The instability of political situation provides us with sufficient information (6 rulers from 1250). At the first stage three main elements were used: 1. Marriage to a former ruler's widow / former female ruler aimed to enter the ruling kin 2. Atabek (father-prince) institute which had developed since the Seljuk period and allowed to concentrate the real power in atabek's hands. 3. "The council of great amirs" developed from the traditional Turk political institute – *kurultai*. *Kurultai* had a state nature and was a supratribal institution. Its main function was to reach an agreement on a new ruler.

Zahir Baybars who made his coup d'état in 1261 did not have a possibility to use the traditional power-change mechanism: the former ruler – Qutuz – had neither a wife whom Baybars could get married to nor a child; the amirs who supported Baybars did not have a majority in "the council of great amirs". For above mentioned reasons new *malik* had to restore the Abbasid Caliphate and proclaim himself sultan in order to replace traditional tribal legitimization system with the Islamic one.

Yuriy Latushko

(Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnology
of the Peoples of the Far East, Vladivostok, Russia)

***Gods, Guns and «Overland Sharks»:
Power Transformation In Hawaii***

In the literature there was a stereotype that Hawaiians had abandoned their old gods and traditional ways of life in favor of European ones, having realized that the Hawaiian gods were weaker than the European guns. As a result «overland sharks» have devoured the lands of ancestors. What're real structural and functional characteristics of a traditional Hawaiian society and why it has lost ability of independent reaction to the shown calls so dramatically? At the contact period Hawaiian chiefdoms conducted incessant internal wars. However any of them could not overcome a threshold of statehood without foreigners. The last has appeared stressful factor which has accelerated transition of a power subsystem of the Hawaiian society from consensual (pre-state) to institutional (state) forms. At theory level there are complications with definition of Hawaiian polities. The model of the early state offered by H. Classen and P. Skalnik, is not deprived of some lacks. Among other, duplication of signs of complex chiefdoms and the inchoate early state does not allow to spend an adequate estimation of essence of the political organization

of Kamehameha's kingdom because qualitative and quantitative distinctions between them are not defined with evidence. Unique steady criterion, in our opinion, there is a change of principles of the organization of management personnel. The gain of the western islands of archipelago (1795) and setting the posts of "governors" *kuina* with offices from number of the chiefs not connected with the local nobility and foreign advisers became the beginning of it. This kingdom was based upon military force and the system of a taboo erected in a rank of the state ideology. Kamehameha used a resource of traditional religion but his successor could not do it anymore. Secularization, spent during a cultural revolution (1819), has concerned to the power therefore the secular-priestly dualism of ruling has been liquidated. The new system has led not to centralization (to "absolutism" in E. Service's terms), but to economic decentralization and a liberty of chiefs in this sphere with all known consequences.

Arkadiy Isaakovich Lipkin
(Moscow Institute of Physics and Technology; Russia)
Multi-Strata Model of Culture and Society

I distinguish some strata in culture with definite function specificity. Every stratum can include some different formative cores. The core {Aj} is alive if there is a society which cultivates the core. I call such society an "Aj-culture society". I distinguish 1) "spiritual" stratum of senses, ideals, and highest values, which define people's aspirations and are impressed in philosophical and religious texts; 2) "soul" stratum of individual feelings of relations impressed in national history, literature, and art; 3) stratum of collective emotional senses and feelings concentrated around collective myths of different types. I call these strata, cores, and "culture societies" as "civilizational", "national", and "quasi-ethnic" correspondingly. The relations to liberty, rights and power form a special sense unit of civilization core. In the case of heterogeneous (i.e. poly-estate) civilization its core is an aggregate of some sub-cores which interact with each other.

A "territory-political community" or "territory state" in socio-political stratum can coincide with some of the above "culture community" (then we'll have thereafter "civilization-territory state" or empire (not colonial), "national-territory state", "tribe") or do not coincide with them.

Structures (states, institutions, etc.) appear and change in different strata by their own logic, but interact with each other and can boost or weaken each other. "Civilization community" can go through a set of crises and transformations of its core without change of its essence.

There is an important feature of "civilization community" and its core, which I call a degree of individualization. I see three such degrees: collective (pre- or de- individual), individualistic ego-centric, individualistic spiritual. For antique civilizations these three are represented by three successive phases: collective services to gods, individual hedonistic sense of life, sense of life defined by world religions. National communities are rather late and secular, appearing inside civilization community in individualistic state (see <http://philosophy.mipt.ru/publications/works/lipkin/civilization/>).

Olga V. Medvedeva
Aleksey A. Romanchuk
(The University of “High Anthropological School”,
Kishinev, Moldova)

“Postindustrial” Evolution in Modern Moldova and Its Causes

Modern Moldova is obviously a poor country. But contrary to Inozentsev’s theory of ‘split civilization’ many postindustrial tendencies can be revealed in contemporary Moldova (Медведева, Романчук 2007). It is of interest for the clarification of the causes of such a specific development model.

We have traced the following main causes of modern Moldova’s evolution towards the postindustrial society: 1. Moldova was one of the most developed republics in USSR. Its main feature was the high level of well-being of the people. In this period a class of professional specialists and vast research basis were formed in Moldova; 2. As a result of migrations the ethnic structure of Moldovan society is getting even more variegated. This fact served as a basis for future forming of a new type of identity, characteristic for postindustrial society; 3. After the collapse of USSR very ambiguous process of deindustrialization began. Consequently primary and secondary sectors of Moldovan economy for many years were in deep recession; 4. A natural response to such circumstances was development of tertiary sector of economy, for it is less capital-intensive and more mobile. Thereby, the following major features of postindustrial society are characteristic for modern Moldova: Changes in the occupational pattern (growth of tertiary education’s portion and thereafter appearance of the specialists meeting the demands of postindustrial society on the labour-market); prevalence of tertiary sector of economy; increasing significance of scientific researches; growth of computerization; appearance of postindustrial corporations; increasing mobility of people; forming of post-modernist identity; breakup of nuclear family. But as we can see the model of Moldovan postindustrial evolution is utterly different from a traditional western model of transition to postindustrial society. And it’s worthwhile to point out that East Germany (Annesley 2004) is now developing in the similar way.

Natalia Alexandrovana Moskaleva
(Siberian Federal University, Krasnoyarsk, Russia)

Visual Advertising Fosters the Ideals Implementation

An up-to-date advertising is the tool of a meaning implementation that draws a consumer towards a set of symbolic representations, thus delivering a mes-

sage. Advertising sets patterns of ideals and activities, thus contributing to the sociocultural evolution; it makes a study of advertising an important issue among the mechanisms of human ideals implementation.

Communication is a common way to define advertising. Some issues of advertising communication convert this former to the artistic one. A temptation power of a visual image draws together advertising and art. A visual advertising takes its origin in modern art. This approach provides a researcher with the tools and issues of a pattern transformation between a modern art and advertising image.

It is a common place that advertising affects heavily both personal and mass conscience. It makes the problem of a potential of ideal implementation of advertising rather acute. In particular, an impact of an advertising visual image on a consumer should be compared to artistic perception. Such comparison should be based on both culturology and art theory. In such capacity, a static advertising image seems to look similar to an art masterpiece, most of all. Here an identification of the features making an advertising image and a masterpiece similar is of great importance, as well as the identification of those features making the difference among them. These features would clarify the ways and methodology of ideal implementation in advertising furthered with effective social management and control.

Ayvika Vladimirovna Mushich-Gromyko

(Novosibirsk University for Economics and Administration, Russia)

***The Reality of Ethical Connotations in the Social Theories
as a Special Object of Research***

We have taken the substantial definition of the notion of the “ethical connotations’ reality” from Korotayev’s monograph *Social Evolution* (Moscow: Vostochnaya Literatura, 2003). We believe that this notion should be developed further, as it can be used in a considerable number of fields. Within Korotayev’s monograph this notion is built integrally within his theory of social evolution; however, we suggest that this notion can be applied successfully outside this theory.

Mikhail Alexandrovich Petrov

(Southern Federal University, Rostov-na-Donu, Russia)

Pseudohierarchical Structures in the History of Humankind

Studying the structure of power and social stratification of traditional societies of the past, scientists often “discover” complicated hierarchy and state power where they haven’t actually been. The basis for conclusions that make higher the real development level of studying social organism can often be written or oral data of traditions, reflecting multy-stage hierarchical structures existence. However, studying the materials more carefully and unprejudiced it is often discovered their fictitious nature, exceptionally title character, reflecting no real picture of predominance-submission relations.

These structures, reflecting conditionally-formal and not actual hierarchy, are described in literature as pseudohierarchical. Making only superficial impression of complicated power system they actually incarnated hierarchy of other order – ritual, genealogical, status like etc.

The appearance of pseudohierarchical structures can hardly be explained by one universal reason. In one case communities, where they’ve been formed do not yet really reach that level of socio-political integration that formally reflected fake hierarchies (Kwakiutl of the North-West USA coast). On the contrary, in other cases the appropriate level has been reached in the past but was lost as a result of social transformations of regressive and deviative character (societies of Lower Congo). In the last case pseudohierarchy on the one hand secure an important in traditional society ideological succession, but on the other – favor the reservation earlier political centralized society in new quality. For example, during transformation of monarchy into chiefdom or principality.

The main task of the present is to try, when it is possible, to reveal classified signs of pseudohierarchical structures, their inner typology and also reasons and circumstances of origin.

In his time, Victor Turner showed as signs of pseudohierarchy an evident exceeding of “power” titles amount over the need of real control of given social organism or local society. In my report I will take notice to the meaning of such facts as cultural type, number and density of population, relations of social organism with outer world.

Successful solution of the designated task should help scientists to avoid in future unjustified overstating of phasic development level of separate archaic society as in Ancient times, as in New time. Offered report doesn’t pretend to the completeness of opening wide and deep theme and aims principally to designate the range of problems to the scientific society that I hope will find response among colleagues.

Tatiana D. Skrynnikova
(Institute for Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies
Ulan-Ude, Russia)

Political Culture's Evolution in Mongolia of the 17th Century

The period under review in the Mongolian history is characterized by coming of the Mongols as active actors to the political arena after three centuries of oblivion. This actualized manifesting of the collective (national) identity and accordingly revitalized those political culture constants, which promoted institutionalization of social and political structures. We can reconstruct the regularly reproduced practices that included both a symbolical field of culture and actions that defined the political reality. 1. First of all it is should be marked that in the identification practices of the XVII century the concept "Mongol" was actualized for pointing at ethnic belonging (Mongolian people/Mongols) or representing a polity (40 tumens of the *Mongyol*). 2. A title "khagan" acts as a significant symbol, which embodied the idea of political unity of Mongols after Chinggis-khan's death and disintegration of the empire created by him. In fact it was khagan who owned the ulus. Manifestation of belonging of the supreme ruler to the Golden clan of Chinggis-khan in power inheritance is a phenomenological reality. 3. Another important identity marker of the dominating elite that was applying for power over all Mongols, becomes an ethnonym "Borjigin" designating the Chinggis-khan's descendants. Identification of dominating elite through ethnonym "Borjigin" has got priority unlike manifestation of Kiyat belonging in the epoch of Chinggis-khan. In XIII century the Mongolian identity was manifested within the matrilineal relationship system through ethnonym *Kiyat* (= *Mongyol*), and *Borjigin* (= *Taidjiut*) were their marriage partners who followed their genealogy according to the patrilineal relationship. In XVI-XVII centuries patrilineal relationship already fixed Borjigin as Chinggis-khan's "Golden clan" and this testifies for full and final mongolization of Taidjiuts. 4. Enthronization is always correlating with receiving *törö*, which also acts as an identification marker. As a ruler is the center of the commonality/polity, the *törö* is usually associated with him. Existence of commonality directly depends on power (*törö*), which is in all cases attributed to the supreme ruler (his/own) and is called the great, i.e. connected with the whole community. The term *törö* did not begin to term administrative machinery independent both from the ruler and the governed. *törö* in the texts is positioned as something (power, law and even Supreme law) connected with the ruler and defining his power and stability of his rule.

5. The term *ulus*, which embodied an idea of commonness, was the principal marker of Mongolian identity. Anthropomorphization of political power is

expressed also in absence of border between a ruler (khan/khagan) and his ownership (ulus), which on the one hand acts as his riches. On the other hand, ulus being a community of subjects is an object, to which khagan shows paternal attitudes as a “Lord”, termed “khagan-father (This study is supported by grant 07-01-92002a/G of RFH).

Gavin Smith

(Liverpool University, United Kingdom)

***The Conception, Meaning and Acquiescence of Legitimate
Authority and Three-Dimensional Power in
Predynastic Egypt***

The emergence of a legitimate authority is fundamental to the acquiescence of increasing social compliance. Power and its principal characteristic, authority, is one of the least tangible aspects of social transformation that we are able to comprehend from the historical distance that is predynastic Egypt. During the predynastic of Egypt; power, legitimacy and authority all emerged in a strikingly original way with the distinctive emblem – the serekh – being a core symbolic characteristic of the increasing role of power between dominant and subordinate groups as one of the clearest examples of a power declaring its authenticity over others. Therefore, the aim here is to place into context this highly original conception as an expression of increased social complexity in Upper Egypt developing between Guy Brunton’s Badarian and Petrie’s Naqada culture. Legitimate authority has a raison d’être and its embodiment in a symbolic form belies a deeper conception and meaning. It is not that the serekh consists of a hawk surmounting an architectural façade containing an individual’s title (?), but that it exists as a means to communicate a powerful message. Moreover, the serekh represents not only the legitimate authority in terms of the lineage that is recognised to that level of power but it also representative of the social compliance to domination by those outside their own group or corporation. This is critical to understanding not only the growth of a hierarchical society but also how and why authority is established, expressed and ultimately accepted as legitimate. The ability to achieve “compliance to domination” presupposes an already established social order that will accept authority and its overt expression, power, without question and without fear. For this reason we need to further appreciate the social structure and those transformations that took place to greatly elaborate it in order to construct a more realistic picture of the emergence of early Egypt

In this paper, we present a wave model of reproduction and its Volterra-Lotka-style approximation aiming to resolve the conflict between the economy and the demography – the main forces behind the process of reproduction. We explain the contrary trends of reproduction for “rich” and “poor” segments of population by presenting a single conceptual model for such problems of demography and economic history, as “the demographic shift” (S. Kapitsa), demographic imbalance between rich and poor countries, with hidden unemployment as the root of periodic social revolutions in history.

For the stationary case, our wave-model in its Volterra-Lotka-style approximation is as follows:

For the stationary case, our wave-model in its Volterra-Lotka-style approximation is as follows:

$$(1) \quad \frac{dN}{dt} = \frac{H(N)}{h(N)} N$$

- N – population,
- $H(N)$ – expense per existing population unit (part of salary, work-day... earmarked for living expenses)
- $h(N)$ – a quantum of reproduction, costs of a new population unit (expenses per child).

Thus, we make two important additions to the classical paradigm:

- A quantum of reproduction $h(N)$, which measures expenses per newborn, introduces a new economic component as the Malthusian economic imperative. This significantly changes both the initial conditions and the results, and allows modeling a demographic response to economic stimuli, including the “demographic shift”, the difference of demographic responses for the “rich” and “poor” segments of population etc.
- We also introduce coefficients for measuring the impact of competition/cooperation. They explain such social phenomena as egotism/altruism – important part of the demographic imperative and evolutionary adaptations to survival through generating suitable responses to economy and resources. S. Kapitsa attributes the quadratic relationship in his formula – the more people the better – to the beneficial influence of transfer of information within the entire population. This is “evolutionary altruism”, a specific feature of the modern man (Homo Sapiens Sapiens).

Using equation (1) we explain such well-known phenomena, as the response of demographic growth to social stratification, both historically and geographically; the nature of the demographic shift and of demographic imbalances causing social upheavals in history.

Boris Mikhailovich Dolgonosov
(Water Problems Institute, Moscow, Russia)

Informational Mechanisms of Civilization Evolution

The civilization is considered an open evolutionary system endowed with memory and capable to produce knowledge. Knowledge represents conditional information generated in the course of analysis of perceptible unconditional information, incoming as signals from the external world. Knowledge is used for building an adequate pattern of the world that is necessary for the survival of the civilization. The transition from unconditional information to conditional one in the process of knowledge production is accompanied with logarithmic contraction of information. At a knowledge level q , civilization is capable to recognize $R = e^q$ bits of unconditional information, i.e. growth of knowledge exponentially broadens horizons of civilization. Accumulation of information goes by the channels of internal (genome, brain) and external (books, computers) memory. Under domination of the internal memory, population N increases proportionally to the quantity of recognizable unconditional information $N \sim R \sim e^q$. Basic amount of information flows through the neural channel. In this case, knowledge is produced with the rate proportional to population size $\dot{K} \sim N$. This yields the blow-up mode of knowledge generation $\dot{K} \sim e^q$ and leads to the nonlinear demographic dynamics $\dot{N} \sim N^2$ characterized by a hyperbolic population growth with time $N \sim 1/(t_1 - t)$ with the singular point $t_1 = 1/(wN_0)$ dependent on the knowledge production rate per person w and the initial population size N_0 . Knowledge growth provides extension of the resource base. The involving of new resources strikes finally on the finiteness of biosphere. By this cause population brakes growth rate, reaches its maximum level and either keeps this level if civilization and biosphere is in homeostasis or falls down to the lower level that can provide such a homeostasis. Thus, the informational mechanisms give an explanation of the long-term hyperbolic growth of civilization and disclose a reason of its cessation. The question rises, how the informational approach can be associated with the conventional population dynamics. The informational dynamics deal with a large-scale evolution of civilization in the course of knowledge accumulation. In this approach, population size is the limit size that can be supported at a given knowledge level. A deviation of population from its limit size induces high-speed returning processes concerned with birth and death rates. Their joint action can be described by the population dynamics, usually on the basis of a logistic-type equation in which the environmental carrying capacity coincides with the limit population size. So we can see that in contrast to the informational dynamics which deploy in the historical timescale, the population dynamics develop in the local time of a given historical epoch.

Eduard Salmanovich Kulpin-Gubaydulin
(Institute of Sociology, Moscow, Russia)

Macroevolution in the History of Russian Civilization

The socio-environmental organism of the Russian civilization (population and the territory occupied by the respective population) goes through two types of states: either states of relative socioecological stability (which is achieved every time within a principally new form of sociopolitical organization) or the states of crisis (bifurcation). The periods of crisis correlate strikingly well with the ends of the seven-generation demographic cycles (starting from the moment of the Mongol invasion). This paper studies the stabilizing and destabilizing factors within the generations of the initial cycle.

Serguei Alexandrovich Nefedov

(Institute of History and Archaeology, Ekaterinburg, Russia)

***Results of Russian Revolution
in the Context of General Laws of Development of
Agrarian Societies***

Neomalthusian theory maintains that the increase in a population leads to a reduction of peasant households sizes, as well as to the increase in rent levels; naturally, all this tended to lead to the fall of consumption levels of the commoner population. On the other hand, the reduction of the population causes the increase of peasant households sizes, to the reduction of a rent and to the growth of consumption. The scale of changes depends on the scale of crisis, and the greatest changes are observed in the overpopulated central areas where the population is reduced in a greater degree, than on the periphery.

How did real results of Russian revolution correspond to these theoretical predictions? During 1917-1922 the population has decreased for 8,6 % as a whole. In the Center of the country, in Central Black Earth region, the reduction of the population has made 13 %. The calculation of a consumption level of grain and potato in food and on fodder shows, that this consumption has increased on the average for 20 % in 1925-1928 in comparison with a level 1909-1914. In the Center the consumption has increased for 30%. Basically this increase has occurred due to a destruction of landlords estates and a disappearance of a rent. Before revolution peasants have been compelled to sell grain to pay rent, and this grain was exported. Now rent has disappeared also the export was sharply reduced. Peasants consumed all volume of grown up agricultural production after revolution.

Nikolai S. Rozov

(Novosibirsk State University, Russia)

***The Universal Model of Historical Dynamics
As a Bridge between Macrosociological Theories
and Conception of Global Social Evolution***

For conceptualizing conditions and actions the universal model of historical dynamics is used. The *first loop* just returns to the phase of stability. The response in this case is *adequate and compensator one*. This is the path of step-by-step evolution [White 1975; Carneiro 1970]. The non-adequate response usually leads to *conflicts* and enforcement of challenge. If inadequacy of the response prolongs escalation of conflicts and destruction leads to a *crisis*. If no fresh effective response appears, this loop proceeds “working” as a self-destructive way to a social abyss [Tainter 1988; Skocpol 1979; Kennedy 1987; Goldstone 1991; Collins 1995; Turchin 2003]. The *third loop* is the effect of series of *adequate and prospective responses*. If new mobilizing community is successful in providing necessary resource basis for more than 1-2 generations, the specific historical phenomenon evolves – *dynamic strategies* [Snooks 1996]. In cases of resource abundance and new effective responses to deficiency challenges they form a *megatrend “Lift”*. Just in the loop 3 *historical dynamics* [Turchin 2003] is connected with crucial shifts of *social evolution* (described in classical works by K.Marx, M.Weber, W.Rostow, also [Wallerstein 1974-80; Goudsblom et al. 1996; Sanderson 1995; Spier 1996; Collins 1999]). That’s why the model can be considered as a *necessary intellectual bridge* between large scope vision on social evolution and dozens of macro (also meso-, and micro-) sociological theories.

Peter Turchin

(University of Connecticut, USA)

***Evolution of the American Polity, 1780-2000:
A Demographic-Structural Analysis***

Recent analyses indicate that agrarian states are affected by secular cycles: alternating integrative (internal peace and order, population growth) and dis-integrative (high sociopolitical instability, population stagnation or decline) phases, each roughly a century long. The demographic-structural theory explains these dynamics by focusing on the consequences of population growth for popular immiseration, elite overproduction, and declining state finances. The question arises, do these processes operate only in agrarian states, or can the theory be used in understanding the dynamics of industrialized societies?

To answer this question, I gathered an extensive empirical database on the USA from 1780 to the present. Preliminary results indicate that many of the patterns observed for agrarian societies continue to operate during and after the Industrial Revolution.

Alexander Vashcheykin
(Bryansk State University, Russia)

Nonlinear Model of Social Evolution

Accumulation and analyzing of the materials in political and social spheres of different regions of the world lead to the idea that we should recognize the nonlinear model of social evolution. Classical single-line conceptions of social evolution such as Marxist and nonevolutional concepts, having a great number of contradictions are not ready to explain many social phenomena. We should refuse the linear model of macroevolution in favour of the ideas of heterarchy and homoarchy, all- mains and corporative strategies. Developing the nonlinear model of social evolution we should proceed from the following preconditions.

1. Social evolution has a probabilistic nonlinear character, which is able to be described in synergy terms.
 2. Examination of the continuous field of social evolution in the meaning of multidimensional space (dimension: social organization, political organization, economy, culture, self-perception, environment, information, technology, time)
 3. For each dimension we can single out its own “tension” and “points of maximum” express in terms of concrete people and their actions
 4. Calculation of the difference of time origin and localization of societies , adaptation methods of social dynamics and demography to the pattern
 5. Process speed in different societies is not permanent, it is formed by the peculiarities of development in these societies
 6. Nonlinear model of social evolution should use mathematical apparatus for describing processes and phenomena
 7. Pattern should not only describe concrete societies, as complicated self-organizing systems but show their interaction and interference.
- The use of term “formation” is obvious for typologization of societies with some more precise. in contrast to Marxist comprehension, formations in pattern are the areas in continuous field of social evolution where forming of stable society is the most important fact, and strict succession of passing formations is absent. There are some examples of formations: bigmen, super-complex chiefdom of nomads, barbarian kingdom. Socio-economic, political, informational signs are the basis of formation.

In the range of transformation of societies from one formation to another we can use the synergy notions of attractors, when the development determines by internal processes, and bifurcations, when in the basis of change there are external, sometimes insignificant, influences.

Alexander Kazankov

(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)

Tetradic Social Organization and the Origin of Matrilineal Kinship

We found that there were 42 matrilineal societies on all populated continents (apart from Australia) with four matrilineal sibs and matrilineal organization (MM4 pattern). In Africa these are: Nubia, Central Bantu, Kordofanians, Kunama and Nara (in Ethiopia). In western Sudan and Guinean Coast these are Lobi and Dagara Birifor, Lowili, Bijagos. In Asia the Austric the original model of the Neolithic social organization was matrilineal and matrilocal (MM). Archaeology tells us that Yangshao had the same pattern. In South East Asia and Oceania tetradic pattern is attested among Minangkabau, in the Moluccas (Leti and Sarmata islands), Palau in Micronesia, Namaluk, Ifaluk, Carolines). In Melanesia – Trobriands, Buka, Solomon islands. In Americas the MM pattern is attested in the Southwest of USA, East, Gulf and among the former agriculturalists of the prairies and some other regions (Dakota, Iowa, Oto, Winnebago, Arikara, Chokto, Seminoles, Chitimacha, Hurons, Iroquois, Hopi, Pueblo Laguna, Creeks, Mescalero Apeches, Carrier Athapaskans, Tsimshian, Haida, Tlingits, Haisla). In South America MM tetradic pattern have the Gê peoples and Caribs, as well as Uwa (Chibcha-speaking) Eastern Timbira, Taino (Cuba) and Bororo (at least). How can such a pattern be explained? The only explanation is that original Neolithic was matrilineal and matrilocal. Mythology tells us that four ancestors served as justifying element of the emerging tetraidity. The corresponding mythological stories are almost identical among the Tutelo Dakota in the USA and Minangkabau of Sumatra. Besides “3” is the masculine number and 4–feminine number (as among the Lobi and Dagara Birifor, Lowili). The only explanation of how tetradic MM pattern came to Americas is to agree that neolithic peoples crossed the Pacific. One such case is documented – Valdivia in Equador which affected the Amazonian cultures.

PANEL III

**Cases of Records:
the Concept of Written Evidence within the Context of a Social-Cultural
Hierarchy (Source Studies, Historical Anthropology and Interpretation
of the History of the Document since Antiquity till Renaissance)**

Convenor: *Nadia Selunskaja*, (Institute of General History, Moscow, Russia)

It seems impossible to give a definition for the concept of “written culture” as well as the interpretation of it beyond the hierarchal principle of the society’s organisation. A written culture occupies a particular place within the hierarchy of cultural values . It usually relates to a so called “culture of elites” (contrary to “oral tradition”, associated with low classes of the society). However, such a primitive opposition includes a risk not to notice the nuances of the correlation between social and cultural processes. The research of the cases of composition of the records provides several advantages. Firstly, we have the chance to identify multiple influence, initiated by the representatives of different social strata on the composition of the document(for example, it could be the discourse of the witnesses and the judges, or persons who ordered the documents and its composers. Secondly, it becomes clear, that the culture of the written, recorded evidence (including the aspects of law and the juridical culture) was wide spread among common people in the particular historical periods in the different regions of Ancient, Medieval, and Renaissance Europe. The main goal of the project is taking down the tradition of the primitive bipolar opposition written culture of the elite to the popular “law” oral tradition without the rejecting of the attempts to trace the correlation between the specific cases of the written evidence and the aspects, related to the complicated structure of society. Within the framework of the section we are planning to discuss the following topics: 1). The reasons and the cases of the initial records of the law custom, oral and historical tradition, myth, rituals; 2). The distribution of the roles and of the functions in the process of the registrations of the cases. Initiators and translators of the records, the addressees: the translators *sensu stricto* (in the stricter sense) of the word, the interpreters and the mediators, the audience and eyewitnesses. The analysis of the needs, the strategies, the goals of the initiators, translators and the addressees of the records; 3) The influence of the oral culture, tradition, customs, customary law and the performance of the rituals in the process of the creating of the record. The mutual influences. The record reproduces the voices and sounds, the atmosphere in which the written evidence was created;

4) The art of scriba/notaria from Antiquity to Renaissance epoch. Medieval Notarius, the culture of the document through the centuries in the Latin West;
5) The principles, the aims and the goals of the recording and of the creating of the written evidence; the methods of the historical reconstructions. The technical details and formulae of the record; the case studies: the situations and peculiarities of the recording.

Pavel Gabdrakhmanov

(Institute of General History, Russian Academy of sciences)

Register K 2556(Some Questions and Several Answers)

The paper deals with a manuscript of the 13th century from the archive of the abbey of St Peter of Gent (Gent, Rijksarchief, Bisdom, série K, no. 2556). The document registers family groups (tronci) of the altar tributaries (tributarii) protected by the monastery in judicial sphere (assisted by advocatia of the monastery during the court processes), which enjoyed *tax privileges* but were obliged to pay to the monastery an annual rent. Hence, the record can be considered a kind of a *land* management document used by monastic superiors to administrate a part of the population, dependent from the abbey which held a privileged position in the hierarchy of monastic familia. The reasons to enlist the names in the register are clear, but its formular seems to be rather enigmatic, full of strange cases, difficult if not impossible to explain. Surely, these cases of description of tronci of the monastery dependent people reflected some mental topoi of the authors of the register and reproduced not only traditions of regular management documentation, but also discourses concerning the description of family relations, which were characteristic for this epoch.

Selunskaja Nadia

(Institute of General History, Moscow, Russia)

Notarii, Testis, Procurator - the Role of the Intermediates in the Process of the Creation of the Records and the Legal Documents in the Time of Italian Medieval Communes (Mostly 13th -14th c.)

The paper deals with the medieval historical sources of the juridical character– statuta, instrumentum, etc with the aim to analyse the details of the process of the creation and of the making public of the records, reflecting the legal agreements between the individuals and the groups of the medieval citizens or the inhabitants of the countryside. The method used for the research is to place the cases of the written records in the broad social context. It has

to be pointed out that the intensive use of writing had been implemented since the second half of the twelfth century within the normal everyday activities. I plan to focus on the functions of the mediators of the social contacts and the legal processes, which were based or were resulted in the number of the records– first of all – the activities of scribes and notarii. Contemporary historiography also underlines the change of the form of the communication that took place in Italian law courts during the High Middle Ages. The goal is to explain the importance of the role of notarii for the process of the social communication and the growth of the value of the written evidence per se in the eyes of the medieval people of the époque. I'll also analyze the duties of the procurators of the individuals and of the communities in the medieval Italian society. It has to be stressed also the continuity of and the role of the testes - of any public or private legal activity even in the cases of the creation of the written record in the “forma publica”.

Georgy P. Melnikov

(Institute of Slavic Studies, Moscow, Russia)

The Testaments of the Prague Citizens in the 16th Century

The testaments from Prague City Archives give us an opportunity to analyse economic and social status of all Prague strata from the poor up to the patriciat, their juridical status, structure of their movable and immovable property, character of their activities, their ties of relationship. The case of records of the personal testament was juridically determined by tradition of the Czech city law. Account it the property of the man who died without testament move away to the city fisc, therefore every citizen was interested in writing the document in which were fixed all his property including treasures and money concealing in box. We also may to analyse the technical details and formulae of fixations, vocabulary of the testaments and their prevalence.

Nina Spichenko (Moscow, Russia)

Lex Latii (Lex Irnitana): *The Letter of Domiziano*

Le patrimoine de la pensée juridique romaine a conservé assai peu de documents, présentant directement le contenu initiale d'un document, qui serait adressé d'une personne particulière à l'empereur. Pourtant l'existence des lettres impériales officielles dans les matériaux épigraphiques et littéraires adressés à une personne particulière ou à un groupe quelconque révèle les échanges épistolaires directs entre les empereurs ou leur

chancellerie et les gens ordinaires. Il est très vraisemblable que l'initiative d'une correspondance avec les empereurs devait venir de la part d'une personne particulière ou d'un groupe de gens ordinaires. Un de tels témoignages de l'échange épistolaire direct entre le pouvoir central et des gens ordinaires se trouve dans la petite réponse, donnée par empereur Domitien aux *municipes* du municipe Flavien d'*Irni*, situé dans la province Bétique. La lettre de Domitien est placée au bout du texte de statut municipal d'*Irni* soit disant la *lex Irnitana* et se borne à la question de mariages légitimes (*conubium*). Un effort de reconstruire le contenu de la demande, présentée par les municipes à Domitien, et les raisons poussant s'en adresser à l'empereur se fait à base de cette lettre.

*Aurelia Martín Casares;
Margarita García Barranco*
(University of Granada; Spain)

Historical Anthropology of Slavery in Spain: Manuscripts and Written
Sources to Study the Evolution of Social Contradictions Regarding Slavery
and Freedom

In this paper, we will consider the importance of written sources for the study and comprehension of slavery in Spain. We will analyse the evolution of the concept of slavery and, therefore freedom, from the first medieval laws regarding the enslavement of vanquished people to the debate of abolition that took place on the Spanish Parliament along the second half of the 19th century, when slavery was still present in Ultramar Spanish territories such as Cuba. The variety of manuscripts and printed documents that one can find in Spanish Archives are a fundamental source to reconstruct the ideology of slavery and to study the evolution of the dominant hierarchic ideology regarding freedom/slavery, but also to recreate the lives of slaves and masters. Royal edicts, municipal decrees and other laws let us study the “governmental” point of view, articulating the dominant conception of individuals’ freedom and its evolution, but they also reflect social conflict regarding the limits of slavery. However, other legal sources, such as litigations for freedom or Inquisition processes let us hear the voice of the slaves themselves. Simultaneously, literary sources let us perceive the writers’ attitudes towards the different enslaved populations such as Moorish, black Africans or afro Americans, and they offer a popular depiction of the institution of slavery through satirical metaphors and stereotyped descriptions. In addition, ecclesiastical sources reproduce not only the records of baptisms and marriages of slaves and/or freed people, but also the religious arguments regarding the justness of

slavery and the catholic concerns for the “salvation” of the slave’s soul. Therefore, manuscripts and written sources on slavery do not merely present the master’s view; on the contrary, we can take notice on social contradictions, ideological divergence and even hear the voices of the slaves themselves.

Olga Togoëva

(Institute of General History, Moscow, Russia)

Verité et veracité.

Les Dépositions des témoins au procès en nullité de Jeanne d’Arc (1456)

Cet exposé est consacré au problème de la “création” des dépositions des témoins au procès de réhabilitation de Jeanne d’Arc. Ce procès de “création” comprend trois étapes fondamentales: la rédaction des questions judiciaires destinées aux différents groupes des témoins et basées sur les documents du procès de condamnation de Jeanne d’Arc (1431); les dépositions des témoins eux-mêmes; et leur interprétation postérieure au nom d’une hypothèse préalable, celle de l’innocence de Jeanne d’Arc.

Le but principal de l’exposé est de montrer le processus de la manipulation des dépositions des témoins et de prouver que la présomption de l’innocence ne repose en effet que sur l’interprétation des juges à l’égard d’un certain nombre de faits et de comportements dont la veracité dépend justement du pouvoir qui est conféré au tribunal de les accepter ou non comme conformes.

Ce processus de la révision des dépositions est examiné sur la base de trois groupes des témoignages: (1) les témoignages des habitants de Domrémy, ville natale de Jeanne d’Arc, (2) les témoignages des compagnons de guerre de Jeanne d’Arc et (3) les traités des théologiens français. Ainsi trois groupes des questions sont analysés: (1) les questions concernant l’Arbre des fées de Domrémy et les fêtes de la jeunesse autour de cette arbre, (2) les questions concernant la découverte d’une épée “magique” à Sainte-Catherine-de-Fierbois et (3) les questions concernant l’apparition d’un ange muni d’une couronne d’or à Chinon.

L’analyse de ces trois groupes des questions permet de comprendre les liens entre les dépositions orales des témoins, les présomptions des juges, leur connaissance des matériaux du procès de condamnation de Jeanne d’Arc et leurs savoirs “théoriques” sur la sorcellerie, la possession démoniaque et l’hérésie.

Mari Isoaho (University of Helsinki, Finland)

***Reconstructing the Memory of the Past:
The Case of the Image of Alexander Nevskiy***

The Life of Alexander Nevskiy (1220–1263) presents an interesting example of the written tradition which proclaims many of the ideals connected with the notions of state, fatherland, faith, honour, and so on. *The Life* was created around 1300 during the time when the old order was vanished. It was a period that witnessed the sons of Alexander Nevskiy struggling for the grand princely power in Vladimir, and which gave way to the Mongol-Tatar troops of rival hordes assisting both of the brothers to vastly spread into the areas of each other's supporters. When considering the glorified memory of the past, it is a small wonder that *The Life* became so increasingly popular during the Russian Middle Ages. It ultimately became one of the most significant writings to define and present an essential portrait of the entire era, idealizing the role of a Russian prince in time of the Mongol conquest. This paper highlights the significance of the process of almost 300 years of the manuscript tradition, when various copies of *The Life* were written in literary collections, and which testified to the creation of several different redactions of it. My presentation attempts to show how the image of Alexander Nevskiy changed through the centuries, depending on the different punctuations of different local traditions. It also highlights the affect that *The Life* had on the historical consciousness, as it was adapted to the pages of the chronicles from the 14th century onwards. This paper strives to point out how the history presented in the various chronicle traditions illuminates the layers of traditions of the written culture of medieval Russia.

PANEL IV

Challenging Hierarchy and Power: Communities, Resistance and Repression

Convenors: *Olga Aksyutina* (Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia); *Marianne Maeckelbergh* (University of Leiden, Netherlands)

The key idea of this panel is to discuss how people can be self-organised without power from above and how to create such a condition. The panel covers a number of issues such as self-organisation in (protest) communities and movements, challenging power on micro (structures of power in everyday life, for instance, racism, sexism) and macro levels (state power and its institutions, capitalist system). We would like to suggest the following subjects as the base for discussion: 1). Challenging foundations of dominance in everyday life. Self-organization without power 'here and now' (autonomous spaces, communities, etc.). Non-hierarchical communities in history. Conceptions and practices of direct democracy. Self-organisation in communities and grassroots movements. Network organization. Countercultures. Subversion or inversion? Challenges to power and hierarchy sometimes turns into just an inversion of that, when 'mirror change of statuses and roles' happens but hierarchy still remains (e.g. king and fool of ancient Roma saturnalias and Middle Ages carnival, concepts like 'ethical slut'). Why do revolutions fail and end up reproducing the same power structures they set out to dismantle? 2). Fighting to change the world around you and further. Challenging / attacking the state and capitalism. The second main focus of the panel will be on the ways of achieving a society where everyone is equal by creating a change that dissolves, not rearranges or reproduces, hierarchy. How can state authority, education systems, corporations, the military and so on be abolished/changed? How can the transformation occur on a town-by-town, neighborhood-by-neighborhood basis? Abolitionism vs. reformism. Dangers of a dialogue? Understandings of violence and non-violence within social movements and definitions of these by the power that be. 'One person's freedom fighter is another's terrorist'; 3). State response to protest: Repression, totalitarianism and legitimization. The third focal point of the panel will concentrate on the functional necessity of repression, the need of any state to preserve the status quo and prevent dissident groups from changing society. In the 'era of globalization', one can watch the strengthening punitive role of the state, the increasing control and surveillance of society, and the mounting of repression and state terror. Here we suggest discussing how the legitima-

tion of such measures happens, cultural models of the perception of power in the public mind, and political manipulation. As well as the role the 'war on terrorism' plays in this process, since terms like 'terrorists' and 'extremists' are often used as labels for criminalization of the economically and politically unwanted.

SUBPANEL I

Challenging Foundations of Dominance in Everyday Life. Self-Organization without Power 'Here and Now'

Dr. Saskia W. Poldervaart

(University of Amsterdam, Netherlands)

The Utopian or DiY-Strategy of Social Movements

In the long history of social movements one can differentiate between the three most important strategies:

1. The utopian or Do-it-Yourself strategy. Although this strategy is the oldest one, it has been given much less attention in social movements theories than the other strategies. In this strategy the activists try to live their ideals in daily life, creating 'free spaces' or communities in which they take their destinies into their own hands, without striving to take power.

2. The revolutionary strategy. In this strategy first an enemy has to be conquered (capitalism, the state) before the revolutionaries can live their ideals. Because of this enemy-thinking, unity of the activists is required. This strategy is advocated by Marxist and (parts of) the anarchist movements.

3. The negotiating strategy. This strategy has got the most attention in social en political sciences, and shows a restricted meaning of politics: influencing political parties. However, this strategy could only be used once the state, political parties and the concept of 'citizen' arose. Therefore most social movement theorists argue that 'modern' social movements start with the beginning of the state (around 1800), neglecting all heretic movements of the previous centuries.

In my paper I will show why the utopian or DiY-strategy is so important, which movements have used this strategy and when, and what the differences are with the other strategies. In the end I will show that the contemporary alterglobalization movement uses all these three strategies and discuss the question whether or not one can state that, for changing society, all three strategies are needed.

R. Konstantin Rechitsky;

Renata Blumberg

(University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, USA)

***Reproduction of North/South Hegemony:
No Border Camps and the Movement against Global Apartheid***

Transnational social movements against the global apartheid of migration control intend to tear down unequal access to mobility between the global North and South (Nevins 2002) and West and East. But, as in other movements, differences that are the object of change are often replayed within movements themselves, bringing to light hegemonic impediments of global resource and cultural divisions in movement building (Gramsci 1971). This paper analyzes this dynamic at two of the most volatile North/South and East/West boundary sites, at two recent gatherings of transnational anti-global apartheid activists on the U.S. border with Mexico in Calexico and just off the new external boundary of the European Union in Transcarpathian Ukraine. We use participatory observation, secondary web sources, and post-hoc interviews of participants of the 2007 and 2008 “No Border Camps” to better understand and combat the persistence of global apartheid structural divisions within transnational social movements that seek to abolish them.

Dr. Marianne Maeckelbergh (University of Leiden, Netherlands)

Learning from Conflict: Arguing our Way to a Less Hierarchical World

Democracy as an idea has never before achieved the global hegemony it holds today. Democracy as a practice, however, finds itself in deep crisis. The alterglobalization movement has arisen in the context of this deep gap between the ideal and the real of democracy. At the centre of movement actors’ agendas lies the construction of a different kind of democracy. Little information exists, however, as to what this alternative democracy might look like. Through an ethnography of the decision-making practices at the European Social Forum and anti-G8 summit mobilizations, this paper will discuss movement values such as ‘horizontality’, ‘diversity’ and ‘connectivity’ to highlight the ways in which this movement is creating new forms of global democracy. These new forms of global democracy are not philosophies or ideologies; they are daily practices. This paper argues that the answer to the ever-pending question, “what is the movement for?” lies not in any text or document about movement principles, ideas or intentions, but instead lies in the practices of daily movement activity. Alterglobalization movement actors are intentionally prefigurative of the ‘other world(s)’ they would like to see,

and as such, if one wants to know what the alterglobalization movement is for, one must look at what the alterglobalization movement *does*. One of the things this movement is doing, is using conflict constructively. This paper focuses specifically on the role of conflict within these new forms of democracy arguing that having a conflict-embracing approach to decision-making has allowed the movement actors to create a form of democracy that is at once much more diverse and much more egalitarian. Finally, I suggest that this type of democracy enacts a shift away from the classic democratic question of ‘*who* rules?’, developing instead a set of principles for *how* to rule that challenge both the individualism and drive towards homogeneity of liberal representative democracy. In so doing, the movement provides a crucial basis for constructing political systems and practices in which hierarchy and power are continuously challenged whenever and wherever they may emerge.

Gábor Halmai (Central European University, Budapest, Hungary)
Towards a New Society? Direct Democracy Practices among the Brazilian Landless

The Brazilian Landless Workers’ Movement (MST) is one of the largest social movements in the world. Its objective has evolved beyond the “simple” goal of achieving land reform in a country that is still characterized by an extremely unequal colonial land property structure and tens of millions of starving sharecroppers. After more than 25 years of struggle, the main “dream” of the more than one million landless families is allegedly to create an alternative society, namely “socialism.” For this to happen, they have created a complex mixture of the structures of participatory and representative democracy at all levels of the movement’s functioning from the base camps to the national coordination bodies.

Having conducted participant observation-based research in the movement camps and settlements around Porto Alegre, the city most famous for its participatory budget initiative, I will sketch the main victories accomplished and challenges faced by the socialist initiative of the MST in the 21st century. As the movement has achieved the most successes in this southern region, the shift of identities from landless camp dweller to proprietor creates an enormous strain on the MST as it tries to keep its participants involved in the larger “struggle” for socialism, a dubious goal for the smallholders striving to gain more profit than simple sustenance from their plots. Similarly, besides the camp dweller-settled landholder dichotomy, the movement also has to deal with the bureaucrat vs. activist and the rural peasant vs. urban *favela*-dweller antagonisms. (How) Can an organization built essentially on bottom-

up and egalitarian principles cope with such difficulties? Is it possible to reconcile the overtly conservative peasant ideals with the more inclusive socialist ideology without compromising the umbrella identity of *campones*? To what extent can the bottom-up structure of MST leadership prevent the reproduction of political hierarchies? Is there a finite scale for socialism to function? These are the main issues my paper will attempt to tackle.

Dr. Steven Best

(University of Texas, El Paso, USA)

The Logic of Hierarchies and the Animal Standpoint

Extending Nietzsche's perspectivalism and feminist standpoint theory, I develop a sharply focused "animal standpoint" that has a formidable power to illuminate human history, the dynamics of social change, the emergence and development of power systems, and the current global ecological crisis.

Human liberation is impossible if we do not address a crucial – and perhaps the earliest – cause of the domination of human over human and the disequilibrium between society and nature that has led to ecological crises throughout history. Whereas nearly all histories, even so-called "radical" narratives, have been written from the human standpoint, a growing number of theorists have broken free of the speciesist straightjacket to examine history and society from the standpoint of animals. The animal standpoint examines the origins and development of societies through the dynamic, symbiotic interrelationship between human and nonhuman animals. A key thesis of animal standpoint theory is that animals have been *key driving and shaping forces of human thought, psychology, moral and social life, and history overall*, and that *the oppression of human over human is rooted in the oppression of human over animal*. This crucial theoretical perspective has a political parallel that must be engaged by radical humanists. For the major conflicts of the day in many nations such as the UK and the US are not over gender, race, class, or the war in Iraq, but rather globalization and the exploitation of animals and the Earth. In a revolutionary rethinking of humanity's relationships to other species and the natural world, entirely new ethical paradigms and cosmologies are being forged, and animal rights and radical environmental activists are moving humanity to a new evolutionary crossroads. The challenge for humanity is the unprecedented project of linking human, animal, and earth liberation struggles into one "total liberation" struggle against hierarchy itself, not only human but also human over nature and all other species.

Robert Alan Kimball
(University of Oregon, Eugene, USA)

***The Future of the Past:
An Inspiration to Russian Civil Society in Its Earliest Efforts at Self-
Realization***

In the middle of the 19th century, the Russian imperial state pushed through massive reforms in an effort to promote rapid modernization, paying scant attention to the broader needs of the society being transformed.

In reaction to this, a newly activated fledgling “civil society” mobilized itself. Civil society had to break free of social/service hierarchies imposed by state power and to rebuild itself on scaffolding provided by voluntary societies. But was the future the only source of inspiration?

Provincial scholar Afanasii Shchapov, Kiev University Professor Platon Pavlov, and Moscow state servitor Ivan Pryzhov were conspicuous in their public advocacy. They were but extreme proponents of a widely held faith in “the future of the Russian past”. They were certain that the essential features of community deliberative practices – e.g., the village assembly [mirskoi skhod] and internal popular practices of social insurance and welfare [krugovaia poruka], urban assembly [veche], and the national assembly [zemskii sobor] – could be adapted to present and future needs.

Off balance, they reached forward selectively toward uncertain images of a better future while grasping behind them for a solid hold on seemingly stable community traditions, institutions and practices. Perfected in accordance with the demands of modern democracy, these home-grown instruments of self-administration might well serve the future as they had once served the past.

Shchapov, Pavlov and Pryzhov looked back, but they moved forward, becoming active members of the most important political voluntary societies of the day, e.g., the empire-wide “Sunday School movement” and the “Chess Club” (revamped into a forum for political debate and discussion). They and their historical visions, but also their societies, were defeated by the powerful imperial state.

SUBPANEL II

**Fighting to Change the World Around You and Further.
Challenging / Attacking the State and Capitalism.**

David Graeber
(University of London, New Cross, London, UK)

Revolution in Reverse

1). Right and Left political perspectives are founded, above all, on different assumptions about the ultimate realities of power. The Right is rooted in a political ontology of violence, where being realistic means taking into account the forces of destruction. In reply the Left has consistently proposed variations on a political ontology of the imagination, where the ultimate “realities” that need to be taken into account are those powers (forces of production, creativity...) that bring things into being; 2). Systematic inequalities backed by force – structural violence – always produces skewed and fractured structures of the imagination. It is the experience of living inside these fractured structures that we refer to as “alienation”; 3). Our customary conception of revolution is insurrectionary: first to brush aside existing violent realities by overthrowing the state, then, to unleash the powers of popular imagination and creativity to overcome the structures that create alienation. The problem has always been how to institutionalize such creativity without creating new, often even more violent and alienating structures. As a result, the insurrectionary model no longer seems viable; 4). One response has been the revival of the tradition of direct action. In practice, mass actions reverse the ordinary insurrectionary sequence. Rather than a dramatic confrontation with state power leading first to an outpouring of popular festivity, the creation of new democratic institutions, and eventually the reinvention of everyday life, in organizing mass mobilizations, activists drawn principally from subcultural groups create new, democratic institutions to organize “festivals of resistance” that ultimately lead to confrontations with the state. This is one aspect of a more general movement of reformulation inspired in part by the anarchist, but perhaps even more the feminist tradition – a movement that ultimately aims recreate the effects of those insurrectionary moments on an ongoing basis.

D. Burcu Egilmez

(Izmir Economy University, Izmir, Turkey)

***Struggle and Opposition in Turkish Squatters (Gecekondu):
Ungovernable Subjects of the Turkish State***

The objective of this research paper is to analyze the recent ‘struggle and opposition practices’ in the squatter (*gecekondu*) settlements of Turkey against repressive and/or regulatory policies of the Turkish state. In other words, this study attempts to understand how *gecekondu* population- mostly underpaid, undereducated, Kurdish, Alevi migrants- was politically organized

in order to preserve their own ways of life and values, and sometimes their shanties, against the dominant assimilation and integration policies and the physical violence of the State. In order to do so, this study firstly aims to scrutinize the policies of the Turkish state on *gecekondu* settlements and inhabitants, which can be best understood through the binary policies of modernization-assimilation, urban renewal-integration and *gecekondu* acts. Secondly, this study concentrates on practices of struggle and opposition among Turkish *gecekondu*, which frequently take the form of self-organized neighborhood committees. Despite the attempts at regulation by the Turkish government aimed at controlling potentially discontented Subjects of the *gecekondu* settlements, there are many resistance movements whose power stems from the communal, neighborhood organization and local networking. This research will therefore concentrate on Kurucesme (a *gecekondu* settlement in Izmir) as the starting point for a discussion and an analysis of the tactics that emerge among the *gecekondu* population to resist the authority of the State in formal/legal, as well as in informal/illegal ways.

The relationship between the state and *gecekondu* population in Turkey, I argue, is a good example of antagonistic politics. And this self-organized, un-institutional form of politics and their organization and network mechanisms can provide insight for emancipatory politics not only for the population of *gecekondu* but also for the rest of the disadvantaged and exploited population of Turkey.

Daria Zelenova

(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)

Anti-Eviction Struggle of the Squatters Communities in Contemporary South Africa

In my paper, I will analyze the anti-eviction struggle of the squatter communities in South Africa, as well as their forms of organisation and communal daily-life practices. There are now a billion people living in the squatter settlements in the cities of the Global South. Citing Robert Neuwirth, "Squatters are not seizing an abstract right, they are taking an actual place".

This paper is focused on two main issues: evictions as a repressive practice of the state and the anti-eviction struggle. The state often tries to eliminate and defame squatters to present them as outcasts and criminals. I look at both legal and illegal evictions to examine this process. When, why and under which circumstances are people being evicted? How does the state deligitimate squatters' activities? The criminalisation of the squatter communities in SA is clearly illustrated in the brand new Slum bill act of Kwazulu-Natal region

that sees the inhabitants of squatter communities as criminals and uses the language of apartheid. The second issue considered is the struggle of the squatter communities and their mobilisation against repression. What are the principles that keep the communities struggling together? How do people organize to resist the evictions? What tactics do they use? Some of the protest practices I want to consider are road blockades and marches, occupations of land and illegal electricity reconnections. This self-organized communities' struggle against different forms of repression, such as evictions, forced removals, water and electricity cut-offs, is important for two reasons. On the one hand, people want to be able to fulfil their basic needs, and on the other hand, eliminated from the city's and government's help, squatters create autonomous areas where they act collectively, providing mutual assistance and solidarity. The most significant and vital are the communities' experiences of self-organization and sustenance which is realized through such projects as crèches, gardens, women's collectives and nursing of people with HIV/AIDS.

Cheryl Toman

(Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, USA)

Women and the State: Anti-Power Movements in Cameroon and Nigeria

In her book, *Reinventing Africa*, Ifi Amadiume discusses the African construct of matriarchy and women's anti-power movements in Nigeria and Cameroon. In a similar study, African feminist scholar Kamene Okonjo describes a dual-sex system in Africa where each sex manages its own affairs as opposed to a European single-sex system where the political status-bearing roles are predominantly the preserve of men" (*Women in Africa*, 45). Finally, Africanist scholar Oyérònké Oyèwùmí speaks of a politics of sisterhood which gives women more opportunities to challenge notions such as borders, the state, and patriarchy. This paper proposes a discussion about how theories on African women and power are demonstrated in everyday life in Nigeria and Cameroon using three specific examples: 1) The storming and take-over of the Shell Oil Company by Nigerian women in 1984 and 1986 in protest to Shell's environmental damage and unjust seizure of land with the approval of a corrupt Nigerian government. 2) The 1958 overthrow of local government by Kom women of Cameroon in protest to proposed reforms in farming legislation which would have changed a centuries-old women-centered agricultural system. 3) The defiance of women "smugglers" along the Cameroon and Nigeria border who operate and refuse to pay taxes to a state which seeks to impoverish them further. Discussion of these major anti-power movements

will be supplemented with a few examples of self-organization in communities on a smaller scale, such as the case of African women forming their own “banks” when no official lending system is open to them. Looking at all of these examples will lead to a general understanding of how these anti-power movements can be effective while at the same time recognizing their weak points.

Roelof Pieters

(University of Amsterdam, Netherlands)

***RaRa: Militant Anti-imperialist Direct Action in the Netherlands
(1985-1993)***

During the South African apartheid regime, groups in the Netherlands known as the ‘anti-imps’ were putting pressure on Dutch companies to leave South-Africa. In the ‘70s this movement’s tactics included mostly boycotts, but by the ‘80s property damage also began to be seen by some as an effective tactic. From 1985 to 1989 the anti-imperialist group ‘Revolutionary anti-Racist action’, RaRa, targeted companies like Shell and large Makro chain-stores by setting their warehouses, gas stations and laboratories on fire. On January 19, 1987 after RaRa had burned down another of their chain stores, Makro decided to leave South-Africa. Other companies soon followed, fearing that they might also be attacked. When Nelson Mandela was released and the ANC came to power in South Africa, RaRa switched their focus to imperialism at home: the Dutch migration policy. From 1990 to 1993 RaRa bombed different governmental institutions and other symbols of imperialism. In this paper I will analyze RaRa’s ideas drawing on the extensive set of communiqués RaRa wrote about their actions against Dutch migration policy. What did RaRa want to achieve? How did they come to view property damage as an effective strategy? And why did they see the Dutch migration policy as the most urgent battle to be fought? I argue that RaRa saw themselves a part of a bigger anti-imperialist movement and wanted to help create (ideological) space for fundamental changes at home, in the West. Apartheid was the institutionalized basis for exploitation in South Africa but since the 1990s, exploitation has been legitimized primarily through migration policy. RaRa understood that the ‘deportation machine’ created through this migration policy was being maintained on a daily basis by what they called ‘man hunters’ and ‘typewriter assassins’, and that it had as its aim the exploitation of the ‘other’ (eventually reducing them to a commodity). It was this colonial practice that RaRa was challenging.

Vadim Damier

(Institute of General History, Moscow, Russia)

The Agrarian Communes in Aragon 1936-1937 and the State Power

The anarchist revolution in agrarian Aragon was an important part of the social revolution in Spain in 1936. Social transformations in this region, won and protected by anarchist militias, were manifestations of Libertarian communism. About 70 per cent of the population of area (about 400,000 persons) lived in 400-450 agrarian “collectives”. They had 60 per cent of the cultivated lands in their hands. The ancient communal traditions were strong in Aragon villages, and their preservation facilitated the association of people in free territorial and economical communities, similar to the “model” of anarchist communism. There was no hierarchy in the Aragon “collectives”; all their members had equal rights. Regular general meetings of members, usually once a month, were the main decision-making institution. The assemblies elected committees for current coordination of communal and economic life. The work was organized on the basis of self-administration. The “collectives” united themselves in the regional federations and in February of 1937, the All-Aragon federation of “collectives” was founded with common funds. Every monetary exchange between “collectives” was abolished. The relations between the communes of Aragon and state power went through several different phases. In the first phase, until October of 1936, all “collectives” acted independently from one another and were administered by their own revolutionary committees. In October of 1936, the Council of Defense of Aragon was elected to the congress of delegates from villages and anarchist militias. In the third phase, by the end of 1936, the Council of Defense, under the pressure of the central government became the regional coalition governmental body and the municipal councils in the villages were restored. In February 1937, the congress of “collectives” established a federation and separated the economical activity of communes from the “political” state administration. Finally, the central government army destroyed the federation violently and subordinated the communes to State administration both politically and economically. The experience of the “collectives” of Aragon shows the impossibility of coexistence of communitarian movement with State authority when viewed from a long term perspective.

SUBPANEL III

State Response to Protest: Repression, Totalitarianism and Legitimization

Olga Aksyutina

(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)

Using 'Terrorism' to Criminalize Protest

This paper analyzes the criminalization of social movements and political protest. I understand criminalization to be 'the institutionalized process through which certain acts and behaviors are labeled "crimes" and are "out-lawed"' (Chadwick and Scraton 2001). I examine how the criminalization of protest occurs at three basic levels: via official discourses and ideology, via legislation, and finally, via specific state practices (repressions). At the level of authorities' discourse/ideology, I will examine how the creation of an image of 'the enemy' is formed and how 'ethical' justifications for depriving rights, freedom and even life of particular categories of the population are constructed. These justifications in turn provide a public acceptance of new laws which transform repressive measures into fixed legal categories. With specific attention to these questions, I will analyze the process through which state repression against protest is justified and legitimated. 'War on terrorism' plays an important role in this process because the criminalization of protest frequently occurs precisely under the guise of fighting terrorism and extremism. The concept of 'terrorism' is a serious political weapon, especially since the 'war on terrorism' has been unleashed. The definition of terrorism has been blurred to the point that it absorbs many forms of protest (from sabotage to civil disobedience and dissent). When the term 'terrorism' is actively used by the authorities to label protest movements, it gradually becomes a 'common knowledge' and leads to the delegitimation of protest movements' activities irrespective of the tactics' they use. Two parallel processes – the dehumanization of terrorists and the conflating of protesters with terrorists – allow the authorities not only outlaw protest but also eliminate it.

Thomas Genty (Grenoble, France)

Resistance and Repression in Contemporary France

Since 2005, France is a place where class struggle is going strong: suburb riots in November 2005, anti-CPE movement in spring 2006, anti-Sarkozy riots in spring 2007, student movement and railroad employees' strike in autumn 2007, high schools movement in spring 2008 and several other conflicts, including the so-called "anarcho-autonomes" that the State would like to placed in a "terrorist" role...Although these events are important, the situation in France remains conservative: the conditions of life are becoming more

unbearable every day for those who are forced to remain in fear (fear of not having a job, not having any money, fear of the police, fear of prison). And those who try to actively resist are considered “terrorists” by the State power, who tries to divide the people’s anger into different categories (anarcho-autonomes, violent suburbs youth, illegal strikers, etc.). When the State uses “terror” as a means to force the people to be silent, it is never considered to be terrorism. The State and mainstream media say that terrorism is necessarily against the State. Politics, then, seems to be the art of disguising things by changing words. Even if their planetary “war on terror” is just a propaganda weapon to legitimize all exterior military aggression and all interior repression, it is not possible to discuss the “terrorist question”. The State has already got its special anti-terrorist police, special anti-terrorist jurisdiction and so on. The State wants all of us to be the reflection of that which comes out of its authoritarian mouth. Friendships, affinities and the sharing of an idea of freedom become an “association of malefactors in relation to a terrorist enterprise”. The links woven within struggles become an “anarcho-autonome movement”. In this daily social war, every individual who makes any trouble in the capitalist / state order can be considered a “terrorist”...

Peter Gelderloos (Harrisonburg, USA)

The Justice Trap: Law and the Disempowerment of Humanity

Although the concept of justice is frequently utilized by social movements struggling against the dominant authorities, justice in theory and in practice is irreparably a tool of domination. In the present, social structures that define and dispense justice serve as a repressive apparatus that protect the dominant authorities, not out of coincidence or conspiracy but due to the inner logic of the concept itself; the influence of a justice paradigm on social relations incapacitates social networks from solving conflicts and responding to interpersonal harm in a horizontal or autonomous way; and justice as metaphor prejudices dissidents to seek counterproductive solutions that often retain the state as the central actor and problem-solver. In its origins, justice was a primary vehicle for the development of coercive hierarchies and the state; a tool to produce early forms of alienation necessary for proto-capitalist economies; and the domestic counterpart to state-organized warfare. The prison system and police forces have been much studied and cited as examples of *problems* with the practice of justice. I will also explore evidence from these two institutions, but in the instances in which they work as they were supposed to. Outside the prison walls, I will focus on legality – not so much the spaces brutalized by the police but the spaces where police are less present, because

the social relations shaped by legality are functioning as they should be and the police are less needed. To seek the origins of the justice and the implications of its birth, I will present several anecdotes from societies without justice institutions and societies with early forms thereof, to clarify the implications of systematic justice and how this paradigm steals any hope people have of recreating their society without entering into the newly strengthened elite structures.

Meredith Gill (University of Minnesota, USA)

Literature of Conviction: Writing, Reading, and American Political Prisoners

Since the 1960s, literature has played an important role in the politicization of American prisoners. While some of these prisoners, such as Angela Davis and Leonard Peltier, could be characterized as political prisoners because their incarcerations were a direct result of their political activities, many prisoners have discovered their politics behind bars. Due to the segregationist and isolationist nature of imprisonment, many prisoners have turned to literature to find a community that is physically absent in their lives. The role of literature and of reading in shaping American prisoners' politics has taken various forms. First, many inmates enter prison illiterate, and learn to read behind bars. Ostensibly, this helps offenders re-enter society equipped with skills to be productive workers. However, it also undermines the prison industrial complex that thrives on poverty-related crimes. Second, some prisoners who enter prison without interest in politics are finally afforded the access and time to read critical, anti-establishment literature, and thus form nuanced political positions. Fictional literature also serves to open inmates minds to the possibility of alternate worlds. Finally, there has been a growing trend among prisoners to write their own literature. Primarily, this literature has taken the form of autobiography, with *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* being the most famous example. In this presentation, I will discuss two literary works by members of the Black Panther Party – Assata Shakur's *Assata*, and George Jackson's *Soledad Brother*. I will examine how these works helped produce communities of activists that would have been impossible to form without the authors' particular experiences behind bars. I will also consider Leftist movements in favor of prison abolition (e.g., Critical Resistance) in relation to writings by political/politicized prisoners.

PANEL V

*Civilization and State in Africa in History and at Present:
Becoming and Disintegration Factors
(Values and Law, Economy and Politics)*

*Convenor: Anatoliy D. Savateev (Institute for African Studies,
Moscow; Russia)*

In the 1990s two inconsistent directions have arisen in an estimation of mutual relations of a civilization and State in the western scientific idea. The first, which ancestor was Francis Fukuyama, in essence abolishes a role of civilizational systems in world politics, approving a victory of western (American) political, cultural, economical institutes and values in planetary scale. The second approach, on the contrary, brings to the forefront relations between civilizations, which, as the founder of this thought Samuel Huntington considers, becomes the basic content of contradictions of the present. Opposition of the States, on its idea, is replaced with an antagonism of civilizations. At the same time two approaches to definition of a civilization exist in one civilizational paradigm in the basic: the first one considers civilization as a socio-cultural reality, whereas for partisans of other approach a civilization is first of all a mental concept, a social construct. Organizers of section suggest to discuss theoretical problems with reference first of all to history and the present of the African continent, and also the global world. They consider, that integrating of the State in Africa was preceded with penetration and strengthening of world civilizations – Islamic and Christian one (separately is Egyptian one). Simultaneously the development of statehood in its western forms promoted spreading of elements of western civilization (Christian religion, language, writing, the literature of various genres, an appropriate way of a life, a political culture, practical orientation of spiritual culture, a pragmatism in social sphere, evolution of facilities in a direction of raw-material producing type). However the evolution of western type statehood occurs under the strongest influence of African social and cultural systems the result of which becomes occurrence of original, Africanized political institutes and norms, forms, maintenance and organization of economy. Misunderstanding of features of the State in Africa, its (and economic life) intimate connect with traditional, ethnic, confessional, clan structures became the reason of disappointments of a greater part of the western and domestic researchers in results both pro-bourgeois, and pro-socialist transformations on the continent. Unlike European civilization which as a whole was spread from above, by colonial administration and by European organizations, Islamic

civilization in Tropical Africa got from below and it was fixed in society, focusing the person on maintenance of social communications, consolidation of a society and observance of morally-legal harmony. It to a lesser degree developed political institutes though promoted becoming of the large States, however has shown greater tenacity and flexibility in conditions of Africa. Moreover, separate societies, where the synthesis of the African social and cultural systems and structures of Islam happened, showed the world such original Islamic-African institutes which appeared able to adapt oneself to present time, combining in itself economic efficiency and social and cultural consolidation.

In this connection the organizers of the Panel propose to discuss followings issues: 1). Co-operation of civilization and State in African conditions and other regions of the world; 2). The role of large States (empires) in life of people of continent and other parts of planet (positive or negative); 3). What is intercommunication of spiritual and financial components in the development of civilization and State in the history and modern times? 4). Does development of African societies and States conducts to appearance of analogues of western civilization, i.e. to westernization with its democracy and individual human rights or it deals with traditionalization of the modernity? 5). How do traditional moral norms and western type law combine in these terms? Ordinary law and civil society? 6). Do political institutes, cultures, economy of the African people evolve in what direction? 7). What part did the institutes, cultures, economy act in past and modern life of society and State? How did they influence upon civilizations? 8). Is there in the African social and cultural systems and economies internal potential of development, able to provide arise of societies and economies, like to same in South-East Asia and on the Far East?

*Anatoliy D. Savateev
(Institute for African Studies,
Moscow, Russia)*

***Civilization and State in Africa in History and at Present:
Becoming and Disintegration Factors
(values and law, economy and politics)***

In the 1990s two inconsistent directions have arisen in an estimation of mutual relations of a civilization and State in the western scientific idea. The first, which ancestor was Francis Fukuyama, in essence abolishes a role of civilizational systems in world politics, approving a victory of western (American) political, cultural, economical institutes and values in planetary

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Tunde Adeleke
(Iowa State University, USA)

Deconstructing the Civilization-Power Nexus: Black Nationalists Response

Europe's claim to preeminence in history and civilization, and the hegemonic implications have been vigorously contested. The claim that Africa was a primitive, backward, dark and benighted continent until the arrival of Europeans who supposedly introduced civilization has been the foundation of, and justification for, the hegemonic expansion of Europe exemplified by both slavery and colonialism. Thus, European hierarchy and power was built on the arrogation of a global civilizational heritage that was denied to Africa and blacks. The association of civilization with European power and hegemony and the consequent exploitation and despoliation of Africa soon provoked critical responses, especially from black nationalists. These nationalists viewed Europe's extroverted and naked display of power and aggression as derivative from, and legitimized by, the claim to civilization heritage. To challenge this, they developed a countervailing conception of civilization that locates Africa at the center, rather than the periphery, and in the process empowered blacks and Africans with a new definition that turned Eurocentric worldview on its head. Their definitions of civilization gave Africans a sense of power and confidence, and a claim to a heritage worthy of pride. They portrayed civilization not necessarily as embodiment and reflective of political power and hegemony in the Eurocentric tradition, but as reflection of a different kind of moral authority, manifested not in technological and scientific accomplishments, but in certain moral and ethical attributes. These attributes elevated Africa on a platform of moral superiority over Europe. Thus, Africa acquired a different kind of empowerment that did not manifest in overt and aggressive hegemonic behaviors. It was more of an empowered consciousness that positioned Africans and blacks as equal, if not superior, to Europeans; thus undermining the hegemonic implications of Eurocentric construction of civilization.

Aida N. Moseiko

(Institute for African Studies, Moscow)

***Civilizational Foundations of Modernization of African Societies;
Their Role in Modernization of Power***

Аида Н. Мосейко

(Институт Африки РАН,
Москва, Россия)

***Цивилизационные основы африканских обществ:
их роль в процессах модернизации власти***

Цивилизационные основы (измерения) общества – это устойчивые, транслируемые во времени формы жизнеустройства; структуры совместного бытия и деятельности; нормы регуляции и управления обществом; парадигмы культуры, духовно-нравственной жизни.

В цивилизационных основах любого общества, в том числе африканского, присутствует универсальная, общецивилизационная компонента, однако она выступает в формах, специфичных для данного цивилизационного региона. На основе этой цивилизационной специфики формируются традиции общества, автохтонные картины мира, мировоззрение, особый психотип. В историческом процессе цивилизации развиваются неоднородно: темпы и формы развития различаются. Африка испытала агрессивное воздействие более развитой западной цивилизации. Как в колониальной, так и в постколониальный период Запад пытался и продолжает пытаться навязать собственные модели развития экономики, властных структур, собственные формы культуры. Протест против опасности ассимиляции довольно рано привел к формированию цивилизационного самосознания, цивилизационной идентичности. Теория «негритюда», «африканской философии», афроцентризма утверждали ценности африканской цивилизации, стремление уйти от уподобления западным моделям, знаменовали поиски собственных путей и форм модернизации.

Характерны острые дискуссии, ведущиеся в африканских странах в конце XX – начале XXI в. по вопросам модернизации власти, в частности, по внедрению в африканские политические системы западных моделей демократии. Центром этого дискурса стал вопрос: «демократия или идентичность?». В франкофонной Африке ведутся поиски форм «африканской демократии», структур, релевантных африканской цивилизационной специфике, в частности, Национальные суверенные конференции. Африканские философы П. Хунтонджи (Бенин) и Ф. Эбуси Булага (Камерун) выдвинули и обосновали идею этих Конференций, в которых воплощены основные традиции общественной жизни (соборная-беседы, ритуал, праздник, игра, терапия, посвящение и т.д.). Национальные конференции возникли в большинстве франкофонных стран Африки и стали вехами в развитии политической жизни, хотя и не оправдали полностью надежд. Цивилизационная специфика политической жизни обнаруживается в характере и результатах выборов, которые часто проходят как ритуал, в котором побеждает харизма лидера или его почтенный возраст (победа Уфусе-Буаньи в 1991 г.). Политическая практика в африканских странах свидетельствует о непрекращаю-

щихся поисках собственных моделей власти, отвечающих цивилизационной специфике африканских обществ.

Santosh C. Saha
(USA)

***Ethnicity as a Resilient Paradigm:
Socio-political Transitions and Ethnic Conflict in Africa***

The subject of political ethnicity often seems conceptually intractable. The scale and penetration of non-state social forces into Sub-Saharan African government have caused uneasiness since the miserable Nigerian civil war in the 1960s. Being plagued by economic affliction and deadly ethnic conflict, the modern African state, built on the Western colonial models with a centralized feature, have been virtually at war with traditional civil society. Both Western nation-state and African ethnic mobilization have brought more moral degradation and physical ruin than emancipation and socio-political stability. In this study I argue that blaming the ethnic conflict using the image of “primordialism” (ancient inherent hatred) is merely sweeping away the stability issue itself. The claim that community identification is pre-social is only a basic socio-biological claim in which we blame others for our harms. Several related elements are examined to conclude that ethnicity can be a moral ethnicity. First, social diversity admits that all cultural practices are morally legitimate or at least neutral. People do not allow themselves to be killed for ancient hatred. Second, it is difficult to establish a direct link between African ethnic differences and actual violence. Third, images of the Sub-Saharan state-building designs can be drawn to argue that ethnic organization can express the particularistic interests only in rare cases. Last, African civil society has its means and desire to reconstruct a state system with African values, without recourse to much-abused cultural relativism. Methodologically, making use of the post-modernist concept of avoiding a master narrative and derivative analysis, and using various strategies in social sciences, I would make the phenomenon conceptually and morally manageable. Admittedly, there is a persistent need to avoid romanticism in analyzing the designs and events in African state-building. The moral ethnicity may present a challenge to “political tribalism” that resorts to the divisive competition for state power.

Yury N. Vinokurov
(Institute for African Studies,

Moscow, Russia)

***Democratic Republic of Congo:
"Transition period (2002-2006)" as an authentic method
of the political power westernization in the "failed state"***

1. Forerunner. Collapse of the two types of Congolese authoritarianism: "oligarchic" under President Mobutu (1965-1997) and "democratic" under President L.-D. Kabila (1997-2001). *2. Crisis.* Disintegration of national state system in the course of the civil war (1996-1997) into the "Grate African War" (1998-2002). The DRC transformation from the integrated state into a territorial-geographic space, which was indicated at the map but void of actual borders and with an inflated but inapt bureaucracy. *3. Anti-crisis agenda.* President J. Kabila's attempts to restore the Congolese state system by combination of his personal ruling with the temporal reconciliation with the militant and loyal opposition (the "distinctive" form of power: president and four vice presidents representing various political forces). Presidential and parliamentary elections 2006 as a way to legitimate state power. *4. Summary.* Step-by-step recovery of a viable government mechanism. Mounting antagonistic confrontation between interests of the ruling elite and society at large. Exacerbation of the interstate DRC/Rwanda conflict stemmed on interethnic contradictions and self-seeking interests of the ruling groupings.

Adetokunbo Wande Abimbola
(Ajayi Crowther University,
Oyo, Nigeria)

***The Africa Union-ECOWAS and Conflict Resolution in Africa,
Reflections on the Conflict in Liberia and Sierra Leon***

Armed conflict is a term of art for a low intensity war that is often of an ultra-national character that is non-international armed conflict. In time, if a 'local' conflict is not stemmed, it may lead to a conflagration of an international proportion. The ECOWAS sub-region comprising the Anglophone and Francophone countries of West Africa stretching from Senegal on its Westernmost fringe to Cameroon on its Eastern fringe have had their share of armed conflicts of different intensities/ They began with Nigeria in 1967-70, to Chad, Cameroon, Sierra Leone, Liberia and most recently Cote d'voire. The causes of these conflicts range from tribal animosities, to illegal exploitation of Mineral resources, political inequalities, or a mixture of these elements. Without international intervention, these armed conflicts may become serious international conflicts that may threaten world peace. Besides that the hu-

manitarian aspects of armed conflict need concerted international efforts. **Introduction:** In which key concepts would be clarified and contextualized; causes, effects of conflicts analysed. **Section One:** will examine the historical background to armed conflict in the ECOWAS sub-region and the methods in which these conflicts were managed. **Section Two:** Considers the particular case of Liberia/Sierra Leon conflicts and the role of *ECOMOG I* (for Liberia) and *ECOMOG II* (for Sierra Leone). The legal instruments of intervention in terms of doctrine are West Africa Law, International law – United Nations, ICRC and other international agencies. **Section Three:** Will examine post-conflict management schemes based on the inauguration of a democratic elected government. **Conclusion.**

Evgenia V. Morozenskaya
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***State Regulation in Africa:
Institutional Limits for the Economic Development***

Strengthening of the state economic position for the 1960-1970s was promoted by weakness of the local African capital, shortage of foreign investments and considerable influence of the Soviet economic model. African state played key social and economic role up to 1980s. Then it lost a possibility of securing the state economic growth gradually. A chronic budget deficit, overstating the rate of exchange, transference the means from the agriculture to the industrial sector led to the sufficient macroeconomic deformations. Economic crisis assisted to launching the financial stabilization and structural adjustment reforms. The main specific of African liberalization model depends on the existence of two phases: initially the changes concern to labour-consuming industries and the spheres without need in large-scale investments, and more later the changes apply to the economic system as a whole. The specific of African economies' market transformation is caused by late modernization under the state leadership. A monetary policy, aimed at the prices' stabilization, full employment, growth of the production efficiency, and a fiscal policy, influencing the economic structure with the tax instruments were significantly changed. There are many obstacles of forming government budget by tax revenue because of: low level of per capita income and high income tax rate; troubles of collecting taxes in the agricultural sector; social and political instability; lack of high-profitable private enterprises; too differential and high customs duty; using preferential tax regime for for-

eign firms on a large scale. Important tools of African state regulation are investment and privatization policies. Indispensable condition of good investment climate is giving a business a free hand. So reform the authoritarian economic system with predominance of vertical hierarchically coordinating structures presupposes the creation of direct horizontal links between producers. Genesis of African entrepreneurial group takes place previously in the real sector.

Andras Margitay-Becht

(St. Mary's College of California, Moraga, USA)

Society, Groups and Economy: the Effects of Traditional Social Norms and Structures on a Western Development Path

Ever since the international aiding programs began, prominent economists (Milton Friedman, for one) challenged the potential effectiveness these can have on recipient nations. As time progressed, the results were mixed: in some countries financial aid became the source of modernization, economic growth and a general improvement in living conditions, while in other parts financial aid made matters worse. As the countries of sub-Saharan Africa mostly belong to this latter group, more and more research focuses on the possible causes of this dichotomy. While some evidence seems to suggest that the role of foreign organizations are also important, the general consensus seems to be that the peculiar nature and structure of the African societies and political structure might be the determinant factor. In this paper I introduce a complex agent-based model of a low-income African nation. The agent behaviors, both in case of corporate and private agents, were based on anthropological and sociological research, supplemented by experimental economics. The relationships of the agents were created keeping in mind the political structures dominating the region. The model incorporates multiple sectors, thousands of self-governing agents and a central government. The agent-based structure allows for introducing non-optimal decision making, and more importantly, social groups and the effects these – at times hostile – groups can have on the nation's economy. I will show, that even if a nation starts out with a perfectly equal distribution of wealth and knowledge, the social tensions (size and relative relations of social groups) can significantly affect growth, employment, wealth distribution and even personal happiness in the nation. This, in turn, has strong implications on whether the African social and cultural systems can have the same internal potential for development as the Far Eastern and South-East Asian states.

Elena Kharitonova
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Moscow, Russia)

Specifics of business cultures and power in comparative civilizational studies

Елена В.Харитонова
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*Специфика деловых культур и власть
в сравнительных цивилизационных исследованиях*

Сравнительный анализ деловых культур в контексте международного бизнеса представляет собой актуальную, но недостаточно разработанную тему. В предлагаемом исследовании в качестве основания для сравнения деловых культур взята модель голландского исследователя Г. Хофстеде, которая включает в себя ряд показателей: 1). дистанция власти – степень, в которой человек допускает и принимает неравное распределение власти в обществе. Общество с высоким уровнем данного показателя верит в строгую власть и иерархию. Параметр «дистанция власти» измеряет степень, в которой самый обделенный властью индивид принимает неравноправие в распределении власти как норму; 2). коллективизм/индивидуализм – степень, в которой люди оценивают значение своей индивидуальности в сравнении с готовностью подчиниться целям группы. В «индивидуалистической» культуре более выражена необходимость в «индивидуалах». Индивидуальное достижение и успех поощряется и высоко оценивается. Ценностью является уникальность способностей. В коллективистской культуре (например, в цивилизациях Африки), напротив, групповой успех, готовность поддерживать группу и общественные цели, преданность целям группы важнее индивидуальных достижений; 3). женское/мужское начало – степень, в которой культура выявляет и культивирует традиционно мужские или женские ценности. Культура характеризуется либо традиционными мужскими атрибутами (самоуверенность, напористость, конкурентоспособность, «крутизна», амбиции, достижение, материальное благосостояние, успех), либо женскими (семья, сотрудничество, нежность, воспитание, забота о других, защита окружающей среды, качество жизни); 4). избегание неопределенности – степень, в которой общество сознательно принимает неизвестное или избегает его. Культура с

высоким уровнем избегания неопределенности ценит предсказуемость, структуру, иерархию и порядок. Культура с низким уровнем избегания неопределенности риск, двусмысленность и слабая структурированность присущи большей степени. Мы проанализировали исследования по методике Хофстеде, проведенные как им самим, так и его последователями в России. Переструктурировав данные и взяв за точку отсчета Африку (Западную, Восточную и ЮАР), а также Россию, США и Китай, мы получили возможность сравнить именно эти регионы. Для оценки данных использовался показатель средневыборочной медианы. Россия, Китай и США были выбраны в связи с наибольшей выраженностью между ними конкурентных отношений на африканском рынке. В Западной и Восточной Африке выявлена средневысокая дистанция власти, в Китае она максимальна (конфуцианство), в России – ближе к минимальным значениям. США и ЮАР демонстрируют сходные показатели. Показатель индивидуализма наиболее выражен в США и ЮАР. Россия и Китай находятся в диапазоне среднего коллективизма, Африка (Восточная и Западная) демонстрируют минимальные значения индивидуализма (родственные связи, клановость). Показатели мужественности наиболее выражены и практически идентичны в ЮАР и США, средние и тоже идентичные в России и Китае, низкие в Западной Африке и минимальны в Восточной Африке (матриархат). Данные избегания неопределенности у всех в среднем и нижнем диапазоне и распределяется следующим образом. Можно предположить, что наступление кризиса резко увеличит этот показатель в нашей стране.

Irina T. Katagoshchina
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***African Universities under Conditions of Local Civilizations:
Universals and Development***

While prior to independence, African universities (university colleges) appeared in a few areas of Tropical Africa as a colonial institution, after African countries gained independence they began to spread fast all over the African continent as a symbol of national self-assertion and independence. It was with the universities that the Africans associated the hope of getting Africa's development promoted. The African states expected (and are still expecting) to have these institutions of higher learning immediately involved in the process of socio-economic, political and cultural development as a driving

force. At the early stage of independence, the objective was to produce civil service personnel for the needs of nation-building. But later on, the functions grew ever more complicated, with the African countries getting involved in world economy and facing the necessity to grapple with the internal problems of economic development, of providing for the needs of the countries. With all this in mind, the functions of the universities have been considered as responsible for a wide range of performances – from contributing to realization of the national projects, assisting in establishing native entrepreneurship and provision of local employment up to active participation in promoting the concept of African Renaissance as well as the NEPAD programme for the purpose of African development. The expectations, however, are far from accomplished. Under the circumstances, the governments of African states are seeking to get the universities to play a constructive role in the major problematic areas, such as agriculture, technologies, management, etc. trying to orient the universities towards solving local practical tasks. There is a tendency to make the universities function in close cooperation with the communities for the purpose of responding to their needs and restrains on the way to moving forward, especially in villages. There is also the belief that the communities ought to have an opportunity to participate in the activities of the universities in the field of instruction and research as well as to enjoy their practical services and assistance in everyday life. At the same time, the major problem and principal impediment of the universities as institutions of higher learning is their social and cultural status – that of centres providing knowledge and shaping the intellect within the domain of cultural frontier, with the foreign cultural influence of the Western civilization, its ideas and system of values dominating. Conducive to it all is the partnership with Western countries and the financial dependency on the latter, especially the USA. As a result, all of it affects the orientation of the universities – their objectives, aspirations, gains. Thus, the main thing is that the African universities, being an off-spring of the Western civilization (which tells on both their structure and the contents of their curricula and the research programmes), are a repository of a particular set of universal ideas, principles and values which have become widely spread throughout the world. But in the situation of local civilizations with their specific socio-cultural identities, tending to preserve their native traditional cultures (as is the case with Sub-Saharan Africa), these ideas and values are facing a socio-cultural substance of a different type, with a different cultural and civilizational code. This leads to an incompatibility that threatens to resolve in a catastrophe. Under the circumstances, the universities are playing the role of a mediator in the course of interaction of civilizations whereas they expand the horizon of native consciousness and contribute to the transformation of African mentality, thus

facilitating mutual understanding and interaction on a particular level. But to resolve the problems of common people, especially of the rural population, of its traditional milieu some other programmes and knowledge are wanted.

Valentina V. Gribanova
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Moscow, Russia)

***Modernization of Education in the Southern Africa's Countries
at the Beginning of the 21st Century as a Factor of Development***

At the beginning of the 21st century a positive shift appeared in maintenance of population with general elementary education in the countries of Africa south of the Sahara. From 2000 to 2005 the quantity of school children increased from 57 to 70%. But 30% of them have still no opportunity to go to school, in spite of the increasing quantity of children of school age. Exemplary educational institutions with the modern equipment and high level of education appeared. But the majority of children have to study in overflow classes, which have not necessary equipment and some children are trained in classes under canopies of trees. Nevertheless, in modern time education becomes the key factor of development all over the world. African countries aren't exception. In last decade the majority of the Southern Africa's countries spent over 20% of budgetary money for the education. This means go to increasing of quantity of schools, modernization of school buildings and equipment, reforming of educational programs or structural reorganization of higher education (for example, in the Republic of South Africa). But these means are not enough, because the educational system is closely connected with general political, social and economic crisis in these countries. Corruption and criminality are growing; the stream of well-educated emigrants is increasing. Probably, because of these trends financial injections can not help to cope with falling of discipline in educational institutions, to return to schools highly professional teachers, who prefer to leave for work to the other countries, to organize an effective control over distribution of educational funds. Crisis in social sphere and economy slows down the development of the educational system. Slow improvement of the education is the reason of many difficulties in these spheres. The majority of the Southern Africa's countries needs to tear this vicious circle to overcome the disintegration.

Anna Yu. Siim
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St. Petersburg, Russia)

Artifacts of Traditional African Art as Symbols of Statehood

Анна Ю. Сиим
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***Произведения традиционного африканского искусства
как символы государственности***

После обретения независимости странами Африки образцы традиционной скульптуры и масок ряда народов континента стали использоваться в роли символов власти и государственности. С одной стороны, они заняли нишу художественно-гуманитарных достижений страны: произведения традиционного искусства воспринимаются как символическое воплощение богатой и давней культурной традиции. Благодаря законченности формы и графичности силуэтов изображения этих предметов легко модифицируются в логотипы организаций и компаний. С другой стороны, большинство самих этих вещей по-прежнему воспроизводятся в качестве атрибутов различных традиционных институтов управления, связанных с властью вождей, жрецов и тайных обществ. Включение этих образов в число национальных символов – символическое обозначение тождества традиционных форм управления и государственных властных структур.

Но произведения традиционного искусства в качестве национальных символов далеко не всегда относятся к тем странам, которые представляют. Так, на аверсе банкноты в 1000 леоне (Сьерра-Леоне) изображена бенинская бронзовая плакетка, хотя эта страна практически не связана с Великим Бенином. Логотип Центрального Банка государств Западной Африки (ВСЕАО), объединяющего 14 стран континента, – ашантийская гирилка для взвешивания золотого песка в виде священной рыбы. Она же изображена на реверсе монет и банкнот всех достоинств франка CFA. При этом денежная система ВСЕАО на родину ашанти – Гану – не распространяется.

PANEL VI

Culture as a Major Factor in Relations between States and People

Convenors: *John A. Taylor* (St. Petersburg State University, Russia);
Ivan Nechepurenko (University of Calgary, Canada)

Our panel will discuss several instances, but we will mainly concentrate on the communication between Russians and English-speaking people. The panel will claim that characteristic and often-recurring difficulties hinder communication between Russians and English-speakers. During the time of the Soviet Union, everyone realized that communication between Russia and the outside World was difficult. The Soviet Union closed its borders to many travelers, and its official ideology was also closed to outside influences. These hindrances to communication were visible and objective. They presented great difficulties, deterring many American and British academics. Kremlinologists, as they were sometimes called, specialized in Russian language and politics, and they tried to analyze and predict the various turns of Soviet policy, although these scholars often did so wrongly, and few of them predicted the fall of the Soviet system. These scholars studied Russia intently, but they found it hard to obtain visas to visit the country itself, and they were limited and controlled when they did visit Russia. American and British visitors were often followed or otherwise kept under surveillance, for instance. On the other hand, scholars of Soviet nationality had even less access to America and Western Europe. Only a handful of Soviet citizens could obtain, and then with difficulty, the papers and hard currency necessary to travel abroad. In practice, few Soviet professors and even fewer students did travel. Most Soviet academics never met any American or British counterparts. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, these obstacles disappeared; nevertheless, other obstacles, most of them cultural, have since become evident. The emergence of these obstacles was a surprise. People on both sides ended the Cold War period with the assumption that the disappearance of official barriers to communication between Russians and the English-speaking world would mean that there were no longer any barriers at all. Most people hoped that combination would become easy and fully successful. Unfortunately, this goal proved to be too difficult to achieve in practice. In fact, some major cultural differences always existed but were concealed from the mainstream point of view during Soviet times. Since both the conveners of this panel are involved in higher education, the panel emphasizes communication in education. Nevertheless, the authors hope that the panel may be of value to people in other fields as well, and in the conclusion of the

panel they will very briefly apply its principles to broader issues. One of the panel's conveners is an American specialist in British history who periodically teaches in Russia and who has also taught in Japan. Another is a Russian, a graduate of Canadian University and an applicant to several British schools. We are prepared to invite more participants, Russians as well as foreigners; our connections in Russia as well as in America will allow us to do so. We think that the subject of our future panel is especially important now, when relations between Russia and the outside world are explained almost exclusively in political terms. We argue that cultural misunderstandings hinder successful cooperation between Russia and the outside World.

Lvova Eleonora Sergeevna
(Institute of Asian and African Countries,
Moscow State Lomonosov University, Russia)

The hierarchy of feastings in the culture of the Ethiopian peoples

Feastings are an important part of the culture of any people. They have a very great meaning in its life. Traditional feasts tied the Past, the Present and the Future; they can't be cut from the history, cycles of life and beliefs. The governmental festivals have the unification of the nation as their aim. They have their own hierarchy. First of all there are familial-clanic feasts. They are bound with life's cycles: a birth; a nomination of a child; weddings; a funeral. We can see now the dual changing of them. On the one hand they are becoming narrower (only for a nuclear family). On the other hand they are going out from a family's limits and the neighbors (often of other ethnoses) take part in them. The religious feasts are on the next level. They united the whole people or some peoples. There are in Ethiopia three cultural-religious circles (Falasha-Judaists immigrated to Israel): traditional or animistic (the ancient test); Christian (from 4 century) and Muslim (what is formed by 14-15 centuries). The number of animists in Ethiopia is little enough, but some characters of traditional beliefs are alive both among Christians and Muslims. Calendar's festivals (firstly – Of first fruits ones) are on the general place. Both Christians and Muslims pray animistic spirits "zar" and "buda". The feasts of the oromo's system "gada" are both religious and familial-clanic ones. Many of feasts (particular the days of saints or a pilgrimage to some saint places) are fasting both by Christians, Muslims and animists. At last it is the state level. Ethiopia has the long history of state and also ancient state feasts: enthronization; victories of the emperor's army; birthdays of the members of the ruling family and so on. Now the government is using the state and religious feasts

for the unification of the nation. The Day of the Independence, the Day of Adoua' victory, Muslim and Christian feasts are free days for all the citizens. The heads of government and of all confessions (Muslim, orthodox, catholic, and protestant) are greeting the Ethiopians together. They consider the common feastings are the means for the unification of all the Ethiopian peoples during complicated contemporary situation in the country.

Tatiana Labutina

(Institute of General History, Moscow, Russia)

British Culture at the Age of Enlightenment: typology of transfer

England in the XVIII century was the pre-eminent country, with leaping forward economy, progressive political structure, rich culture, education based on the ideology of Enlightenment. Britain attracted the attention of its neighbours as a result of difference from other countries where feudalism prevailed. The political culture of Enlightenment became the most attractive for them. To what extent and how the British cultural progress influenced on the minds in other states, we tried to find out on the example of France, the United States and Russia.

The first French Encyclopediasts (Voltaire, S. Montesquieu, J. Rousseau, D. Diderot.) felt the influence of ideas of English Enlightenment. Their acquaintance of British culture was carried out in two ways: through the works of the most distinguished representatives (J. Lock, D. Defoe, J. Swift, R. Steele, J. Addison, Halifax), as well as through direct contacts, meetings and conversations (Bolingbroke and Voltaire). The American scientist N. Capaldi marked out three types of such contacts: political emigration, travels and grand tour. The similar were methods of transfer culture in the British North American colonies before the Revolution. Works of J. Lock, Bolingbroke, J. Harrington, A. Sydney, C. Davenant, T. Gordon exerted immense ideological influence on the Americans who were creating their own statehood. Personal contacts of the North Americans with transmitters of British culture played no less important role (T. Pain).

Transfer the British culture was carried out in Russia in different ways. First of all, monarchs Peter I and Catherine II became initiators of borrowing here, and then, the political culture of Enlightenment was unclaimed in Russia, unlike France and the US. The Material Culture very often became the subject of transfer the British culture in Russia. English «scent» in Russia was obviously traced in the creation of fleet, economic reforms, reforming of State machinery and church. Finally, Western, primarily British consumer culture was introduced into Russian society by monarchy, very often it was

done by force, and as a result such phenomenon as xenophobia appeared. The reaction of the society at British borrowings was another essential distinction of transfer the British culture in the West and in Russia. And if in the first case such borrowings organically blended in the ideological justification of bourgeois revolutions and contributed to the formation of the national State in America, but in the last case they caused a dissent in the society between supporters of "Westernization" of Russia and its staunch defenders.

Paul Sanders

(Burgundy School of Business Dijon, Paris, France)

Meta-Narratives and New Cold War Discourse: Western Representations of Russian Outward FDI

In my presentation I want to focus on Western representations of post-Soviet Russia. As witnessed e.g. by biased media reaction to the 2008 war in Georgia, the power of representations is still very strong, despite the fact that the Cold War ended two decades ago. It even has a determining impact on the quality of communication between Russia and the West. In my presentation I will take the foreign direct investment (FDI) of Russian multinational companies as a case study. The emphasis will be on the EU, as this is the area with the highest concentration of Russian FDI. I will start by looking at meta-narratives or historical master narratives in operation with regard to Russia, and then explore how these are connected to New Cold War discourse. My point of departure is Stephen Cohen's book *Failed Crusade: America and the tragedy of post-Communist Russia* (New York, 2001). This describes the Western master narrative in operation since the 1990s, namely the assumption according to which the period was characterized by a confrontation of "liberals" supported by the West and Soviet "reactionaries" or opponents of liberal reform. The central tenet of this master narrative of recent Russian history was (or is) "democratization". Accordingly, president Yeltsin's liberal policies as well as that of the Western governments and NGOs supporting these was allegedly motivated by a concern for promoting "freedom". By contrast, Putin's coming to power in 2000 is now being interpreted as a "return of the old guard". Some opinion leaders went as far as interpreting the subsequent worsening of ties as a "New Cold War". In response to this one may say that Yeltsin's Russia was not significantly more democratic than Putin's (or Medvedev's now) and that the only truly fair Russian election of the last 20 years was Yeltsin's first election to the Russian presidency in 1989. Also confrontation between Russia and the West does not date back as early as Putin's take-over of power in 2000 or as late as the Orange Revolution of late 2004 and the Russian-Ukrainian gas dispute of late 2005. How-

ever, these events figure predominantly in the narratives of advocates of New "Cold War" discourse. In fact, as French scholar Jean-Rober Raviot remarks the worsening of relations seems to be rather more linked to the dashing of Western hopes of easy access to Russia's oil resources.

Sergey N. Grinchenko

(Institute of the Informatics Problems, Moscow, Russia)

Culture as essential component of Humankind as cybernetic system

The Humankind is considered as the developing hierarchic social-technological system (self-) control, the "cybernetic" skeleton of which presents the mechanism of hierarchic adaptive search optimization of energetic nature goal criteria, realizing such fundamental properties of Humankind, as the search adapting activity and the intention to energetically preferential conditions. The searching activity (as the persons, and communities of various rank in hierarchy) includes two fundamental components: 1) utilitarian, typical and for animate system, and conditioned nutritional, sexual, defensive etc. purely biological motivations; 2) "societarian" or over-biological, typical only for a system of social. Goal criterion – this criterion of extreme type (energetic character), for example maximization criterion of profit etc., this equality constraints (prescriptive concrete form of searching behaviour – part of laws, instructions, recommendations etc.) and inequality constraints (indicative frames of possible searching behaviour – other laws, habits, traditions etc.). Third fundamental property ensues the system memory of Humankind – the memory of the developing hierarchical structures about their past adaptive behaviour. The system memory is manifested in a form of relative constancy of object structure during special time; on its termination the value of system memory is replaced by the other, reflecting already the new experience of adaptive behaviour of considered tier object. "Proper" the system memory plus the anthropogenic memory (the results of anthropogenic human work on the formation them "second nature") form the extended system memory. What concept ("non-cybernetic", but social) could collate to results aggregate of anthropogenic work, reflected in extended system memory of all components social-technological system of Humankind? According to position J.M.Lotman: "culture – the flexible and complex organized mechanism of cognition... presents the collective intelligence and the collective memory, that is the over-individual mechanism of storing and transmission of some messages (texts) and production of new... the culture space can be defined as the space of some total memory". The comparison of these concepts denotes their sufficient semantic closeness. Thus, conclude that the ag-

gregate of anthropogenic work results, reflected in the extended system memory of Humankind, quite is correlated with concept of its culture. And proposition that the first substance ensues fundamental component social-technological system of (self-) control – the most important tool of control by people and communities – is referred to second.

Tatiana V. Zonova
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(MGIMO), Russia)

The Cultural Component of Diplomacy

Diplomacy is an international institution, although national and regional diplomatic services keep their own intrinsic identity. Existing differences occasionally interfere with mutual understanding as an essential requirement for overcoming today's instability. Comparative analysis of Western and Russian diplomacy enables deeper insight into some essential reasons for existing differences. The modern model of diplomacy was formed because of the Renaissance, which was characterized by a process of secularization. In Russia this process was delayed by the Byzantine tradition of 'symphony'. From Tsar Peter's era, however, a gradual rapprochement can be observed between the two systems of diplomacy — Western and Russian. However, within new parameters, the ghost of Byzantium appeared now and again. Even under Soviet-imposed atheism, diplomacy was viewed as a tool for a new Messianic universalism (as it was in pre-Petrine times), expressed in terms of 'proletarian internationalism'. New and dramatic events placed an urgent need for a qualitatively new type of diplomacy on the agenda: the European experience, with its emphasis on a solid juridical basis, rationalism and human rights; and the Russian experience, with its universalism that is attentive to existential problems and traditional values. Diplomacy of the future should be based on a synthesis of both European and Russian historical experiences.

Mironova Alexandra Vadimovna
(Russian State University of Humanities, Moscow)

The Pharaoh's Role in Organization of the Egyptian Calendar

This report is dedicated to the problem of pharaoh's influence on the formation of Egyptian calendar system and to the principals of the relationship between royal, civil and lunar calendars. Author examines the calendar of Papy-

rus Ebers which originated in the reign of Amenhotep I (1540-1530/1520 BC), and the so-called List of feasts of Thutmose III (1468-1436 BC) from the Karnak temple (Urk. IV, 740-741). The Ebers calendar begins with the lunar month wp rnpt (“Opening of the Year”), because in the 9th year of Amenhotep I this month marked the coincidence of pharaoh’s accession, rising of Sothis and new moon (or 2nd lunar day). The main principles of the Ebers calendar were: 1) royal year played a key role in the calendar and determined the beginning of the lunar months; 2) the principles of coordination between royal, civil and lunar calendars depended on the specific year of pharaoh’s reign; 3) the calendar was formed in the period that was regarded as the most propitious. The List of feasts of Thutmose III tells about three victory festivals, established on the occasion of the Egyptians’ victory in the battle at the Syrian town Megiddo, which was held in the 23rd year of Thutmose III’s reign (Urk. IV, 657). According to the calendar, Victory Festivals correlated with the festivals of god Amun-Re and new moon. On the whole, Thutmose III attached great importance to the lunar cycle while choosing the dates of some festivals. Besides, we can point out that: 1) the festivals are related to a specific time – the 23rd year of Thutmose III, therefore their correlation with lunar cycle is unique; 2) the royal year didn’t influence the choice of feast dates, although the Victory Festival as a royal feast was the major part of the calendar.

Rachel Maine

(Northwestern University, Evanston, USA)

Prokofiev as Cultural Communicator: Prokofiev in the United States 1918-1922

Sergei Prokofiev’s time in the United States, 1918-1922, was described by him as a time of “failure.” During this period he premiered his *Lyubov' k tryom apel'sinam* (‘The Love for Three Oranges’, op.33, 1919) and began writing his often ignored opera, *Ognenniy angel* (‘The Fiery Angel’, 1927). Looking at the public and private opinions of these operas, and Prokofiev’s other public performances, as well as Prokofiev’s own thoughts on his successes and failures as a musician in the United States, this paper will explore some ways in which Prokofiev’s travels throughout the United States, and later Europe, positioned him as cultural communicator between Russia and “West.” Often operating without the support of Stravinsky, and the Russian theatre and ballet community in Paris, Prokofiev found himself having to mould a career in the shadow of a critically respected and highly popular

composer, whose works were often either immediately successful, or instantaneously controversial, ensuring their later popularity. Prokofiev's struggle in the United States, his later troubles in Europe, and his eventual return in the Soviet Union could be seen as signs that his attempts to communicate with the West were the failure he later described. The works he created and premiered during this period, such as the *Third Piano Concerto*, the *Scythian Suite*, and *Lyubov' k tryom apel'sinam*, however, have become some of his most popular and often performed. Investigating Prokofiev's career in the United States, the status his works have achieved in the United States since 1922, and other trends by Russian performers in the United States during this period this essay brings into dialogue the experiences of one composer and the expectations of his audience to expand our understanding of how cultural products, like music, were either successful, or unsuccessful, in drawing bonds between Russia and the "West."

Ahmad Djalinoosi
Mojtaba Touyserkani
(Isfahan University, Iran)

New Multilateralism, as a Foundation of Iran, Russia Federation and Central Asia's Republics Relationship Expansion

The objective of this research is to examine the possibility of formation of a new multilateralism in both regional and international levels, in terms of dialogue among religions and civilization between these rich cultures. To this end, this study has utilized descriptive and analytical types of research by relying on historical and objective information, and has made use of library and internet as a method of collecting data. Globalization project, as a reflection of great powers' hegemony and supremacy over the world, is a monopolistic approach of industrialized powerful countries to expand and transfer hegemonic culture into other societies. However, documents indicate that cultural domination is encountered with some confrontations, and efforts to enforce vertical and downward development is faced with serious resistance of some developing countries. Efforts done by non-western civilizations, to identify their previous and present capacities and talents, should be regarded as a new stage of multilateralism, the negation of western dominant system and as serious challenges against the idea and politics of globalization. These new approaches, with the exception of "hegemonic stability" show a new era in international relations field. It seems that the dialogue among religions, cultures and civilizations is the most important approaches between them. In fact, this critical-structural approach forms the institutional arrangements of

new multilateralism, with the purpose of upward analyzing of a variety of global issues. As a matter of fact, only those cultures and nations have the opportunity to enter to this new global epoch of cultural dialogue which has the ability to be successful in identifying and maintaining their identities. Consequently, a new multilateralism would not be the result of modification and reformation of individual components of the past multilateral institutions. Conversely, it should be regarded as a part of reorganization of civil society and political authority in the framework of upward process. This, in turn, points to fundamental political and philosophical issues within cultures and among civilizations. However, a new multilateralism should be considered as a future tendency of the world politics as well as a counterpart of new regionalization, and not as a current fact. A modern regionalization is a reflective production of existing forces in the contemporary societies in a particular region, which connect regional phenomena with national contingencies.

PANEL VII

Despotism in the History of Civilizations

Convenor: *Leslie Gunawardana* (University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka)

Reflection on hierarchy and power in the history of civilizations would invariably come to focus on despotism as a phenomenon of enormous interest. Despotism assumed varied forms in human history. The specific features of these diverse forms and the common elements that link them across space and time deserve careful study. While historical state systems, especially those in Asia, will attract particular attention, this emphasis will be moderated by the awareness of dangers of excessive limitation of spatial or chronological focus. It is expected that considerable attention will be devoted to economic, social and ideological bases of despotism, the common characteristics of despotism in history and factors conducive to opening paths to emerge from despotism or to avoid the path of despotism. The term despotism developed in contexts of acute political rivalry, as in the struggles against the Persians by the Greeks or against Sulla by leading Roman patricians. It was revived in French polemics on absolutism during the reign of Louis XIV when views on “despotism of the Orient” hardened into a concept that was carefully distinguished from the “legal” and “enlightened” despotism of European monarchs. During the expansion of colonialism in the “old world” and across the Atlantic, the term gained wide currency, and the despotic image was freely applied to archaic and traditional polities in Asia and elsewhere, thereby providing a popular justification for colonialism. A major theoretical hypothesis on despotism linked it with needs of agriculture in arid lands on the argument that the crucial value to the community of the despot’s work as “total entrepreneur” providing irrigation facilities was behind the acceptance of despotism in those lands. While the position and functions of the despot were supposedly strengthened by his “bureaucracy,” the absence of economic and social institutions with adequate countervailing power to check his actions has been used among variant explanations for the rise of despotism, and the isolation of rural settlements has been cited as another contributing factor. Presumptions about despotism are not always supported by available historical data. While large-scale hydraulic enterprise was usually state-sponsored, the daily maintenance and management of such works often passed on to third parties. On the other hand, religious institutions and private families were very often behind irrigation enterprise of medium and

small scale. By retaining control of operations at these irrigation works they benefited from incomes derived from irrigation activity. Consequently, present within such types of irrigation society were social groups with economic resources that enabled them to check and balance the growth of royal power. Even though some scholars have drawn sharp distinctions between “irrigation” and “trading” societies, some irrigation societies in history have also been trading societies with merchant groups controlling considerable economic resources and capable of functioning as countervailing forces unfavourable to the growth of royal power. This meant that even if they came under the shadow of despotism, emergence from that state would not depend entirely on intervention by external imperial powers.

Lynette Mitchell (University of Exeter UK)

Despotism and Law in Ancient Greek Political Thought

Often in Greek thought the *despotēs*, was viewed negatively and was synonymous with the equally negative *tyrannos* as indicating absolute rule and an absolute ruler who stood outside law, and the despot as an unregulated ruler was seen as antithetical to the state. However, at the end of the fifth century Herodotus famously described law itself as a *despotēs*, by which he was drawing on the negative connotations of fear and absolutism to create a positive image of law ruling over law. Furthermore, by the end of the fifth century, rule-by-one man was seen by some intellectuals as more viable. Although there was an insistence on such a ruler to be constrained within the bounds of law, it was also recognised that the ruler could be law. In order to resolve this crux, one solution was to accept that the king was also divine (and so the embodiment and creator of law as reflected in cosmic order).

This paper will try to open up the questioning of one-man-rule and despotism in the political thought of the late-fifth and early-fourth-century political thinkers. It will argue that the resolution of the relationship between the apparently contradictory positions of the despotic rule of law and absolute monarchy (so that the absolute monarch became law) not only rested upon changing attitudes to absolutism, but also opened the way for the monarchies of the Hellenistic world and Rome.

Himanshu Prabha Ray (Jawaharlal Nehru University
India)

***The Contested Past: Tracing the Workings of a Colonial Institution in
South Asia***

The term imperialism entered the English language in the 1840s and was used to describe despotic rule in France under Napoleon III, characterised by ostentatious military display and an aggressive foreign policy. In contrast freedom and justice marked the British Empire. In 1876 Queen Victoria became Empress of India and around the same time there was a change in the meaning of imperialism, which now came to signify the spreading of civilisation to others, bonding between different parts of the Empire and acquisition of colonies for economic gain (Richard Hingley, *Roman Officers and English Gentlemen: The Imperial Origins of Roman Archaeology*, London and New York: Routledge, 2000: 22). Power and domination were the new virtues rather than freedom and liberty. In these changed circumstances from 1885 to 1930, it is significant that the glorious Greek and Roman pasts came to be increasingly linked to Britain's imperial present and the key words were nationality and civilisation. The portrait of Alexander the Great as the universal conqueror who was also the civiliser and benefactor of mankind owes its origin to the ancient Greek writer Plutarch and has been extraordinarily potent in shaping modern views of Alexander. Plutarch was a major influence not only on Sir William Tarn, who set the tone of much of twentieth century scholarship by his monumental work *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, published in 1938, but also on the German concept of 'the policy of fusion' (A.B. Bosworth, *Alexander and the East*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998: 4). In the context of Indian History, scholars, such as A.K. Narain disregarded such writings and argued for the total failure of Greek society to influence Indian culture in his seminal study titled *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1957. This paper shifts the focus from what is often termed 'colonial' and 'national' understanding of the past to an examination of the institutionalisation of the discipline of archaeology and the extent to which this impacted the study of the South Asian past. The history of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) is closely linked to that of the British Raj in the subcontinent. The Survey was founded in 1871 and Alexander Cunningham appointed the first Director-General, soon after colonial rule had been established in India. The founding of the ASI institutionalised archaeological research, which until then had largely been the aggregation of individual initiatives. Preservation of monuments and the presentation of artefacts in museums became the responsibility

of the state and the British Empire set the agenda both for archaeological research as well as for the dissemination and transmission of archaeological knowledge. Even more significant was the appropriation of the discourse of ancient Empires, especially the Empire that Alexander is said to have established in Asia for expounding the colonial present.

Leslie Gunawardana (University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka)
Hydraulic Civilization and Despotism: An Inevitable Link?

The debate on Hydraulic Civilization and Despotism emerged against the background of the Cold War, and was fated to carry its imprint as evident from the writings of its principal contributor Karl Wittfogel (1957). In the altered circumstances of the Twenty-first century, perhaps it is time to reassess the character of the relationship. Some of the foremost participants of the debates focussed on geographical settings marked by acute aridity where agricultural production became possible on prior investment of substantial resources on the development of irrigation activity. The hydraulic civilization in South Asia appears to have reached the highest levels of development in South India and Sri Lanka, an extensive area in not marked by “full” or “acute” aridity. While agriculture was possible in these areas, even without man-made irrigation works, hydraulic infrastructure was capable of making a substantial contribution toward generation of an agricultural productivity much higher than it would have been without such support. In these areas agriculture was often found to move hand-in-hand with trade. Agricultural produce of kings as well as ordinary farmers enriched the resources open for trade. Coins could be found circulating in transactions involving goods brought from foreign lands as well as those involving local agricultural and craft products. Profits from trade could be invested in agricultural land as well as in the acquisition or the construction of irrigation works. Groups of merchants, who prospered on the resources of trade, especially trade across the seas, had substantial wealth at their command and, as such, were able to provide a counterweight that helped to keep the growth of royal power in check. It is argued in this paper that the link between hydraulic civilization and despotism in Asia as hypothesized by Wittfogel was not inevitable.

Jianping Yi
(Republic of China)

Non-Autocracy in Pre-Qin China

A lot of scholars believe that since Xia Dynasty (ca. 21st century-ca. 16th century B.C.), that is, since the first Chinese early state emerged, the political organizations in the whole ancient Chinese history (ca. 21st century-1840 A.D.) were despotic. This article shows, however, through the study of the Chinese classics, such as *Shangshu*, *Guoyu*, *Zuo zhuan*, *Zhouli*, and *Mencius*, the widespread belief is questionable. The early states in Pre-Qin China had similar forms of political organization as the early states in other areas of the world. Non-autocracy was also found in Pre-Qin China. For example, in the Spring and Autumn Period, the assembly of the Guoren and the assembly of the Daifu, respectively similar to the assembly of the people and the senate or the council of elders in many early Indo-European societies, were found in numerous Chinese early states. The power of the Chinese kings was limited. Only after the unification of Qin Empire, or, only after the numerous Chinese early states were finally annexed by the Chinese mature state, non-autocracy in the ancient Chinese society was then almost completely drowned by the huge tide of despotism.

Ghazaleh Taheri Attar (Allame Tabatabaei University, Iran)
Theoretical Analysis of Periods of Collapse of Civilization in Iran from the Perspective of the History of Philosophy

The history of human life has witnessed several times that strong empires have been established at the heart of splendid civilizations, expanded and then have broken down. These events are seen as a path full of successive ups and downs in expanded time spans and thereby show the life cycle of civilizations and empires. Therefore, these questions come to mind: "Which factors contribute to collapse and fall of civilizations?" and "Which factors accelerate the development and strengthening of their bases?" In other words, the most important concerns of most experts in history, politics, sociology, culture, and in general public administration and government specialists are: "How can the processes of the establishment and development of a civilization be accelerated and made sustainable?" and "How would it be possible to manage the processes of break down and collapse and gradual overthrow of a civilization in order to make its positive periods longer?". Therefore, the present study aims to obtain a list of factors affecting collapse of civilization, or their development and success, through investigating and analyzing historical events. The model of this study can be generally designed in terms of various historical conditions, but believing that historical events can not be repeated exactly, so it is not possible to reach at historical fate from them and extract fatalist patterns. However, it is possible to learn from them and to some ex-

tent, remove the problems of the present governmental systems. The location limit of the study is Iran and its chronological limit is from the establishment of the first Iranian (Achaemenian) empire up to contemporary ages of overthrow of Qajar and Pahlavi dynasties by Russia and West. The main question of the study can be stated as following: "What are the major factors affecting the collapse of civilizations in Achaemenian, Sasanian, Kharazmshahi, Safavi, Qajar, and Pahlavi periods?"

Arkadiy Isaakovich Lipkin
(Moscow Institute of Physics and Technology
Russia)

Treaty and Autocratic Systems of Rule

Treaty and representation of different communities are included in the core of European systems of rule and community. This originates from very specific European "knight" and "urbanian" components. There are some common features for men of war or urbanian men of different civilizations. However European knights have some specific features regarding individuality. This derives from ideals and principles such as individual freedom, self-declared rights and individual protection of these rights. F. Braudel and other authors say that European towns and bourgeois differ from their counterparts in other civilizations too. They are more free and more active in many aspects. As a result, the state in Europe is built on the basis of **treaty** between king, knights, and bourgeois (three main components for Europe). Modern European states inherit this principle. In the core of non-European communities one finds another structure and another leading element. Here **autocratic system of rule** is common for large states. The main elements are the tsar and the masses (peasants or soldiers). The latter, that don't want or cannot take the macro-decisions, delegate the right and responsibility for them to the tsar. It is the **basis of the autocratic system**. The third element is privileged group of tsar's servants of different type and educated townsfolk (connected with these servants) who develop and use the high culture. There is no treaty and "spiritual core" values of human rights, individual freedom and life, equality that are of importance for Europe are of little value here. Under the modern parliament form one can often find an autocratic system, which is not equal to despotism. Russia is a centaur. That's the reason of repeating cycles of reforms under the slogan of "Russia is a European country" and anti-reforms under the slogan of "Russia is not Europe" (see <http://philosophy.mipt.ru/publications/works/lipkin/civilization/>)

Reinhart Koessler

(Arnold Bergstrasser Institute, Freiburg, Germany)

Despotism as a Component of Modern Social Structure

Throughout much of its long career, the term of despotism has been used to project unwanted traits, mainly of untrammelled rule, on-to the other. Also, this has been linked to a persistent European gaze towards the East, featured as barbarian. Such sentiments have been taken up importantly in 20th century debates on the presence and analysis of despotism, in particular within Soviet style societies, connected above all with the name of Karl August Wittfogel. Taking a critical view of Wittfogel, not only on empirical grounds but also for his Orientalist basic orientation, the paper will take a radically different approach. The reconstruction of despotism takes its clue from a specific reading of Aristotle and Marx, where the latter is shown to have taken up a strict Aristotelian notion of despotism, which he applied not only in his well known sketches on the Asian mode of production, but also, and more significantly, to his analysis of cooperative relationship within the modern industrial enterprise. While keeping a critical view of the Bolshevik project, this opens up its analysis, not as a (half) oriental social system, but rather as a decidedly modernist undertaking, which projected the despotic, rationalist structure of the industrial enterprise on-to the overarching level of the state and society at large. The problematic is thereby shifted from an Orientalist gaze to a critical perusal of one of the 'dark' potentials of modernity. At the same time, despotism appears, not as something inherent in the 'other' of Europe or modernity, but as an integral structure and component, and a persistent possibility, within modernity itself.

PANEL VIII

Globalization and the 'New Scramble for Africa': The Need for Policy Space

Convenors: *Fantu Cheru* (Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden)
Vladimir Shubin (Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)

Globalization, a phenomenon brought about by technological revolution, is an important dimension of international economic relations in terms of its implications for trade, investment and finance. In the mainstream media and academia, globalization is presented as the only salvation that would bring global prosperity and freedom in the post cold-war era. Others, on the other hand, characterize globalization as the greatest threat to developing countries as the instruments employed — trade, debt, structural adjustment policies — tend to limit policy space and constrain autonomous development. Since 1980s, many African countries have been implementing wide spread economic reforms under the guidance of the IMF and the World Bank. Yet, few countries have been able to build durable foundations for long term growth. If any, conditional lending and debt structures have contributed to the shrinking of policy space as African countries became more and more accountable to external actors. Paper writers are invited to explore the following questions: *What must African countries do to take advantage of the opportunities available in the world economy without losing control of the capacity to determine their own development path? To what extent does the emergence of 'China and India' as leading powers, with huge interest in Africa, open policy space for African countries? Or, is there a danger that China's and India's recent adventure in Africa may turn out to be as exploitative as the policies of traditional western powers in Africa? What is there to be done by African states themselves to negotiate from a position of stronger platform vis à vis China and India as well as the traditional western partners?*

Patrick Bond

(University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa)

***African Civil Society Against Global Capital: Sources of Inspiration and
Despair***

Is it possible for Africans to protect national economies from vulnerabilities associated with global financial system volatility and multinational corporate abuse? In recent months, as neoliberalism fell into disgrace and crisis, several

counterhegemonic processes emerged in the spheres of finance, trade and investment that offer grounds for optimism: ongoing financial chaos offers new ideological space and material justifications for African finance ministries to reimpose exchange controls and reregulate finance, and to find sources of hard currency not connected to the Bretton Woods Institutions or Western donors; after pressure by the Africa Trade Network and allied radical intellectuals, rising resistance to European Union Economic Partnership Agreements by African states appears to be foiling the EU's trade strategy, at a time the World Trade Organisation's Doha Agenda has been declared dead in no small part thanks to persistent African opposition to a Northern-oriented deal (first in Seattle and then in Cancun); and opposition to objectionable multinational extractive investments is reflected in ferocious anti-corporate activism in venues ranging from communities (keeping resources in the ground) to the world's courts (demanding apartheid reparations), in turn challenging national states to take a stand on the choice of eco-social welfare or corporate profits. However, without an upsurge in African civil society activism and much stronger networking, the opportunities associated with the crisis in the North may slip away, as African elites find their traditional roles as compradors to Western capital and governments.

Fantu Cheru (Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden)

***Engaging the BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China)
from a Position of Stronger Platform:***

What Future for the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD)?

China and India's recent safari to Africa generates a lot of excitement as well as anxiety simultaneously. There are three competing and prevailing views about the Emerging Giants' increased activities in Africa: (a) China and India as competitors to the traditional western economic dominance in Africa; (b) China and India as development partners with good intentions due to similar colonial experience; and (c) China and India as new colonizers. These three approaches do not adequately capture the complexity of China-India-Africa relations. Nevertheless, missing from the new China/India and Africa cooperation arrangement is a clear and coordinated policy strategy by African leaders on how to engage the emerging giants constructively. While both China and India know what they want from Africa, African countries have yet to develop a common framework on how to negotiate with both countries from a stronger and more informed platform. This paper looks at possible ways on how African countries can use the NEPAD platform as a basis for 'strategic engagement' with China and India. Given the size of individual

African markets and the nature of their economies, a sub-regional problem-solving approach is an economic imperative—not just a political imperative. Selective strategic engagement with global forces (including China and India) from positions of greater collective economic and political strength within regional groupings is critical in order to improve gains and minimize disadvantages.’

Petrus de Kock

(Geopolitical Solutions, Pretoria, South Africa)

African Resource Battlefields:

Local and Global Dimensions of a Unique Policy Challenge

This paper will explore two dimensions of the political-economic forces African governments have to contend with as they manage access to natural resources in their countries. The first will focus on political conditions at a local level where unrest, and in some cases armed conflict, characterise disputes where African rebel- and other political forces vocalise their frustrations with situations where mining has little, if any, developmental impact outside of the benefits that accrue to corporations and select individuals. In Ghana, small scale miners called the Galamseys on occasion invade shafts of mining giants such as Anglo Gold Ashanti, while in Northern Mali, Niger, Guinea, the DRC and Zambia local miners and communities raise political concerns about the practices of multinationals operating in their countries. These local examples shape a unique policy challenge both for governments and agencies confronted with the complex task of turning national resources into sources of national wealth- and job creation. The second dimension the paper will explore concerns patterns of change at the global level where African governments have in the past decade witnessed increasing demand for access to minerals, ores, and other resources in their countries. These resources are necessary to sustain economic growth in India, and China, while Africa’s traditional Western trade partners have to maintain access to minerals and resources of strategic importance to their industries. China’s entry into the African mining sector will be explored as a case study to show the extent to which this poses a challenge to major world powers in their political, economic, and security policies towards Africa. This paper will ask whether increased geopolitical competition for access to Africa’s resources is an example of a new phase of globalisation, or, the continuation of exploitative practices entrenched in the asymmetric structures of trade and economic systems in the world system. The latter question is pursued as a means to uncover whether increased trade and economic relations between developing

nations can yield different practices, and a more equitable distribution of economic benefit in the context of globalised business practice. African governments are in many cases caught between local and global forces, with the consequence that such vastly divergent interests that clamour either for development (local communities), or for access to mining rights (from global interests), lead to a dramatic policy and developmental failures. This paper intends to explore the broad outline African resource battlefields and political trends that give shape to it.

Amina Mire

(Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada)

Is China Bringing Development to Africa Or Fueling New Resource Wars?

Some have argued that China's increasing bilateral and regional trade relations with Africa represents new opportunities for Africa to move away from neo-colonial relations with the West. However, China's presence in Africa does not necessarily entail increased political stability or improved prosperity for the majority of Africans. For example, China has been quietly cultivating number of dubious relationships with regimes with well documented gross human rights records. In return, China has been able to receive lucrative oil drilling and exploration concessions from these regimes. In the Ogaden region of Ethiopia, China has been drilling oil for number of years despite well documented gross human rights violations against ethnic Somalis who live there. Unlike the U.S and other Western nations, China has been able to mask its increasing penetration of Africa as non-colonial/non-western way to "bring development to Africa" whilst respecting Africa's political autonomy. In this intervention, I propose that China's penetration of Africa has intensified political instability and human rights violations in number of conflict zones such as Somalia, Sudan/Darfur and Ogaden/Ethiopia. In addition, China has been systemically undercutting Africa's workers by bring Chinese workers to work in many of its Africa projects rather than hiring local workers and by flooding African markets with cheap China made products. I argue that in these conflict zones, the Post-Cold War China's penetration of Africa reinforces rather than changing Western led resource wars marked by endless proxy wars, widespread local instability, social fragmentations and radicalization of these societies. In this intervention, I propose that in the context of the Post-Cold War 21 century world, Africa's interests are better served by continuing with the processes of political democratization and by forging strategic partnerships with emerging globalizing markets led by China, India, Russia and by re-negotiating their trade relations with the West. I advance a

new multi-polar theoretical framework which can incorporate Africa's economic interests coupled with firm commitment to the democratization of political, social and cultures institutions. My multi-polar framework is broad enough to clear a political space for human rights and gender equity.

Sanusha Naidu
(China in Africa Project FAHAMU
Cape Town, South Africa)

***The Growing Shadow of the Tiger:
India's Burgeoning African Engagements***

Whereas some analysts have compared India's burgeoning presence in Africa as a strategic competition with China, Delhi's engagement with African countries must be conceptualized according to the foreign policy imperatives that shape and influence this relationship. This paper assesses the balance of mutual opportunities and the possible threats which may strengthen or undermine India's evolving relations with Africa. It does this by analyzing the following set of questions: what are the factors that motivate India's increasing relations with Africa? Is it borne out of political expediency? Or is it one crafted out of economic pragmatism?

Cyril I. Obi
(Nordic African Institute, Uppsala, Sweden)

***'Unscrambling' the Struggle for Nigeria's Oil:
What Developmental Options for an 'African Giant'?***

This paper seeks to identify and analyze the various forces, interests and dynamics in the increased struggle for the oil resources of Nigeria's Niger Delta, in the oil-rich Gulf of Guinea. Of note are the two levels of the struggle, between and within Nigeria's governing elites and youth militias seeking control of a larger share of (political power) the 'oil pie', and the transnational elite, principally but not exclusively organized through Transnational Oil Corporations (TNC's), and State Oil Corporations (SOC's) from Asia: China, India, and Brazil, South America, and Russia. Given the intensified competition over the world's finite but highly-prized hydro-carbon resources, African oil producers potentially stand to gain a lot from increased demand, and higher oil prices, which in turn have far-reaching developmental implications for oil producing states like Nigeria. Given the background of over two decades of neo-liberal economic reforms that have largely failed to lead to

real development, the opportunities represented by the entry of Chinese, Indian and Russian oil companies into the Nigerian oil scene present possible alternative developmental options for the country in the 21st century. It is to these challenges and the options represented by the 'new' scramble for Nigeria's oil, that this paper addresses itself.

Vladimir Shubin (Institute for African Studies
Moscow, Russia)

"New Scramble for Africa": What Side is Russia on?

This paper seeks to explore the place of Russia in the current competition for African natural resources and to analyse a somewhat controversial nature of its involvement in the continent. On one hand Russia is a member of G-8, the group of so called "leading developed nations", but on the other one by is regarded as one of the "emerging economies" (as if the economy did not exist in the country before!). It will try to prove that this situation created a new opportunity for African countries to defend their interests. First, Russia acquired good potential for investing abroad and Africa can benefit from involvement of the Russian companies in its struggle for better deals with Western companies (or Eastern ones for this matter). Second, Russia is in a position to support Africa's view on major issues within the G-8 framework and other major international bodies and to influence (at least to some extent) their decisions. This was made obvious by Moscow's stand on the crisis in Zimbabwe.

Ogbo Ugwuanyi (University of Abuja, Nigeria)

How Not To Think of/for Africa:

An African Philosophical Outlook on the New Afro-Asian Relations

In this paper I set out to examine the extent to which it is proper to describe the new Afro-Asian relations particularly India and China as "new scramble for Africa" or the "new cold war". I argue that Africa has come of age to make conscious decisions and that her new relations with Asia are one of such. I define Africa as black Africa or sub-Saharan Africa and argue that while there may be the desire on the instruments of western states to collude with African governments to "buy" and "sell" Africa against the wish of African peoples, the intellectual culture of contemporary Africans have since rejected this option seeking alternatives all these while. I argue that the Asian world provides such desired alternative. I proceed from here to map out the faults

with existing Afro–Western relation which I characterize as forced, unhealthy and /largely unproductive defined by undue hegemony on one hand undue dependence on the other hand. I argue that neither western hegemony nor Arab hegemony advanced through the instrumentality of science and religion is or could not have served the cause of African people anchored as they are on a form of racism which provided justification for, first Arab enslavement of Africans and later western trans-Atlantic slave trade. I hold that Western and African values operate on almost parallel lines for which economic relations or cultural relations between the two worlds cannot be productive or would remain as weak as they are. I hold that the Afro-Arab relation is not better anchored as it on a form of religious imperialism. In the light of foregoing I set out to endorse the new Afro-Asian relation with the argument that two continents and cultural worlds share similar world-view for which their relationship could be more healthy and productive. While Africa attempts to reclaim her humanity through the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) she must look out for cultural and economic alliance with other nations since no nation or people is self-sufficient. Asia in this regard appears a plausible partner. I will substantiate my claim in this regard through a comparison between the substance of African philosophy and the substance of Eastern (Asian) philosophy to establish the similarity between the two cultural worlds that can promote a more productive relationship.

Vyacheslav Usov (Institute for African Studies
Moscow, Russia)

**Asian “Scramble for Africa”:
New Challenges and Possibilities
for Africa’s Development in the Age of Globalization**

The economic rise of China and India is likely to be considered as one of the most important features of globalization. In Africa the growing influence of two “Asian giants” is felt first of all in exploitation of natural resources, particularly in the oil sector/business. Indian and especially Chinese economic investments in Africa, which so far have not been tied with non-economic restrictions, are not welcomed by the Western countries, nor by some African countries. While China’s advancement in Africa fuel a plenty of hot discussions in international and African media, penetration of Indian companies into African countries has attracted little attention. One can say using the words of a South African political researcher that “India comes to Africa in the shadow of China”. The massive bulk of Indian investors in Africa are private companies that make Indian promotion to Af-

rica different in comparison with China. While the Chinese state corporations have huge amounts of money at their disposal, a lack of powerful state support makes Indian companies more sophisticated in/when seeking African partners. In addition India is appraised a lot for its expertise in the fields of information and educational technologies, as well as good knowledge in market tropical agriculture obtained during India's successful "green revolution". India also has a massive production of medical substances or generics that to a large extent are exported to Africa. Large and deeply rooted Indian Diasporas in Africa can be considered as additional beneficial factor for India to strengthen its position in African countries. Although their lifestyle and business traditions are often dismissed by ordinary Africans the Indians on the whole remain more acceptable in Africa than the Chinese. Along with growing financial and economic capabilities of India its African ambitions become more obvious, and that was demonstrated by the India-Africa summit in April 2008.

PANEL IX

Great Kings and Lesser Kings : the Ranking of Political Subjects in Ancient and Early Mediaeval Times

Convenor: *Alexander A. Nemirovskiy* (Institute of General History, Moscow, Russia)

This panel is dedicated to various phenomena of hierarchization and ranking of political subjects and units (communities, groups, functionaries, structural elements) which are of similar nature by themselves but receive different ranks within some system of inequitable mutual relations, so that they appear as elements of "vertical" scale or "horizontal" alignment according to respective highness of their status or power. It deals with ranking of rulers; dignitaries; administrative, territorial and tribal subdivisions; political communities; various groups of population of similar social nature but unequal status and rights, etc. The most important varieties of these phenomena are as follows: distinguishing between "great" and "lesser" rulers and/or powers in international relations (while all of them are recognized as sovereign political units independent from each other); hierarchies of supreme and vassal rulers existing within one political entity (while all of them are positioned on different levels of one and the same political class described by a common title of "king" etc., or, vice versa, are regarded as elements of totally different political classes which have no common title and constitute a kind of vertical scale); relative ranking of supreme and dependent rulers who are members of different political entities; hierarchies of supreme/ predominant and dependent political communities (suzerain and vassal states, hegemonic entities and their minor "allies" etc.); ranking of dependent political units (rulers or communities) in respect to each other within the frames of their common subordination to one supreme power (while these dependent units may or may be not co-subordinated to each other in their own turn); ranking of administrative, tribal and territorial subdivisions of one political entity (e.g. major and minor appanages in Mediaeval Russia and scales of seniority of "wings" or "juzes" in Turko-Mongolic societies) and various orders of succession of their rulers; ranking of dignitaries and other persons of extraordinary high status within one political structure or entity; the corresponding hierarchical scales; ranking of professional and social groups of similar or nearly similar economic nature (e.g. some castes in India). Various phenomena of such rankings can be combined with vertical subordination of subjects of different rank to each other (suzerain – vassal relations) as well as with their nominal and/or real independency from each other (great and minor sovereign states) or co-

subordination to the common supreme rule (vassals of different rank). Distinguishing and study of these varieties will be one of the panel's aims. Some other special aspects of the theme in discussion would be: correlation of reality and formalization within phenomena of ranking, i.e. the correlations between real subordination and difference in power on the one hand and formalized rank differences (in titularies, rites, etiquette etc.) and nominal subordination on the other one; ideology and conceptualization of ranking and hierarchization; legitimate and illegitimate ways of changing a subject's rank within a hierarchy; revisions and redistributions of places occupied by various political units within a hierarchy (e.g. passage of a state into category of "great powers" from minor ones); mechanics of transition of a predominant position within a hierarchy from one political subject to another one; means used to maintain the ranking system (and the resulting hierarchy) stable and means used to reform them; attempts to struggle for full or partial abolition of some ranking system and hierarchy itself. We are glad to invite to our panel everyone who would like to present a paper somehow related in subject to the themes enlisted above.

Coenraad Lukas van Wyk Scheepers
(University of South Africa, Pretoria)

***Prosperous and Harmonious Co-existence
in the Southern Levant under Neo-Assyrian Rule***

The kings of the Neo-Assyrian Empire completely dominated the political and economic scene in the Ancient Near East during the eighth and seventh centuries BCE. From several ancient documents it may seem that they misused their dominance and power in the then known world. However, a closer look at their economic and political strategies of non-interference, especially in their provinces and vassal states in the Southern Levant, projects a different picture. Their economic and political dominance in those regions resulted in an era of co-existence between ethnic groups previously unknown in that region. Not only is this phenomenon evident from ancient Assyrian documents, but even more so from archaeological findings at excavation sites in the coastal regions of Israel/Palestine. Recent excavations at the ancient Philistine cities of Ekron, Timnah and Ashkelon have revealed a dramatic growth in population, economic activity and co-operation between vassal states during the imperial phase of Neo-Assyrian rule. Archaeological discoveries revealed evidence of harmonious co-existence between Judeans, Israelites and Philistines, a complete opposite of the relation that existed between them during the ninth and tenth centuries BCE, as evidenced in the Hebrew bible.

The political and economic strategies implemented by Assyrian kings, especially Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, presented an opportunity for these traditionally arch-enemies to transcend their differences and to share their skills and economic resources. This resulted in a period of peaceful and prosperous co-existence between the Israelites and Philistines, a situation that never existed before, from which the whole region eventually benefitted. The economic strategies and political policies of the Neo-Assyrian Kings of yesteryear, can today serve as a model for modern superpowers in their quest for peace and stability in regions where ethnic violence and political instability prevail. The ethnic violence and instability in the Middle East and many parts of Africa poses a real challenge to superpowers of today. The conditions in the provinces and vassal states which the Neo-Assyrian Kings had to deal with were not drastically different from today. They also had to develop strategies to create wealth and to generate co-operation and stability between rival ethnic groups. The unique way in which the Neo-Assyrian Kings used their power and dominance to generate stability and co-operation between opposing ethnic groups worked very well in the seventh century BCE. Modern superpowers and governments today may find it worthwhile to revisit these 'old fashioned' economic and political strategies for guidance in dealing with longstanding ethnic violence and instability.

Anastasia A. Banschikova

(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)

Literature Compensation of the Weakened King's Power during the Crucial Periods of Ancient Egyptian History

The paper deals with Egyptian historical and narrative traditions, which concern crucial periods in the history of the country: the loss of independence during the VI century B.C.E., the crisis of the end of XII – beginning of XI century, caused by the invasion of the “sea people” and the usurpation of the throne by the Syrian Irsu, and the Hyksos invasion in the XVII century. Though only official historiography succeeded in depicting events to the honor of newly ascended dynasties and rulers, folklore stories and narratives based on these stories are not so optimistic. The weakness of central government, the lack of military power (implicit or explicit) characterize the most number of texts. However, in such situation their authors consequently try to compensate, to rediscover the balance of power in the country (contrary to the historical truth) by using three types of plots: the election of a new king, the rule of a queen (*i.e.* female king), and the rise of the magician's figure. The paper traces examples of this approach in narratives with historical or

pseudo historical plot both contemporary to the respective events and written much later, till the reception of ancient Egyptian tradition by the Arab-Muslim one in the X-XI century C.E.

Alexander A. Nemirovskiy

(Institute of General History, Moscow, Russia)

“Four Kings in Mitanni” of Akizzi Letters: Great Kings or Lesser Kings?

Akizzi, a Katna ruler of Amarna Age had sent to his suzerain the Pharaoh of Egypt two letters where he informs the King of Egypt on the fact that certain Egyptian messenger has visited Mitanni and that “four kings (there in Mitanni)” are all at Egyptian disposal and hostile to the Hittite enemy of Egypt. The identification of these four kings who are determined in Akizzi’s wording only by their being (with)in / of Mitanni is a matter of a long-lasting discussion. Does Akizzi mean here four great kings of Mitannian Imperial dynasty (this option would presume some divided kingship in Mitannian Empire of the time, either in form of coregency or in form of parallel reigns of rival kings)? Or does he mean four vassal / local kings who rule somewhere within the sphere of influence / suzerainty of the Great Kin(s) of Mitanni? The paper presents new arguments in favor of the first option; in particular, a ruler Amarna Age can be shown to trace so much difference between great kings-suzerains (the “kings of the land of Mitanni”) and their vassals (those “who belong to the kings of the land of Mitanni”) that he would never determine the latter just by their “being of/in Mitanni”; moreover, if any local ruler would attest himself as a client or ally of an Egyptian king (as our “four kings” did according to Akizzi), he could hardly be determined as a king “(with)in Mitanni”, i.e. within the sphere of power of another suzerain king.

F.I. Ter-Martirosov

(Erevan State University, Armenia)

The Form of Authority in the States of Urartu (9th – 7th Centuries BC) and Armenia (6th Century BC)

Ф.И. Тер-Мартirosов

(Ереванский государственный университет, Армения)

Форма власти в государствах Урарту (IX-VII вв. до н.э.) и Армения (VI в. до н.э.)

В армянской истории интересно определение формы царской власти в государстве Урарту и в царстве Армения в VI в. до н.э. Имя Араму, первого царя Урарту, являлось сакрально тронной формой. Религиозный характер реформы царя Менуа свидетельствует о том, что в Урарту сохранялось единство потестарно-политического и религиозного восприятия власти. Для единения государства был введен культ верховного бога Халди. Материалы показывают, что урартская культура и искусство были построены на восприятии царя, как верховного жреца-«пастыря». Но форма власти обусловила консервативность отношений между группами населения и препятствовала образованию единой культуры. Возрастание сигнификативной функции в потестарно-политической культуре привело к осознанию зависимыми массами своей общности и противопоставленности господствующим слоям. Политика переселения покоренных племен привела к снятию этнокультурных различий и образованию ими общей культуры, противостоявшей по своим идеалам официальной культуре. Сужение социальной базы, поддерживающей власть царя, привело к искаженному восприятию основной массой населения информации официального плана. Дата падения урартского государства 590г. до н.э. отмечает начало царства Армения. Сложившаяся в недрах Урарту армянская народность обусловила целостность страны. Социально-экономический уклад Урарту, основанный на эксплуатации одним союзом племен других, не был приемлен для государства Армения. Произошла качественная преемственность социальных явлений государств Урарту и Армения, в которой при изменении социальной структуры, воспринимались лишь отдельные элементы материальной культуры. С падением государства Урарту исчезли элементы культуры, являвшиеся показателями древневосточного уклада. Становление армянской народности в недрах Урарту определило экономическую структуру страны и форму культурных традиций. Изменение способа перераспределения продуктов привело к запустению городов. Сельские поселения стали основной социально-экономической единицей страны. Земли урартских царей стали владениями армянских царей. Первыми правителями царства Армения были «цари-боги» - представители культа Варуны-Уруваны, что отразилось в сакральном имени царя Ерванд Сакавакяц-кратковечный. Исторические данные показывают, что с воцарением Тиграна I в середине VI в. до н.э. произошёл переход к светской форме власти в царстве Армения.

Irina M. Zubrenko
(Russian State University)

for the Humanities, Moscow)

***The Emperor Tiberius and Axiological Hierarchy
(Valerius Maximus. "Memorable Deeds and Sayings")***

The system of values, the axiological hierarchy of beliefs, affinities, moral principles of behavior, and life criterions represent a basic and solid structure of the social consciousness. It forms the culture of the society and the culture of its social groups. In my presentation I will focus on the axiological model of The Ancient Rome culture taking Valerius Maximus's "Memorable Deeds and Sayings" as an example. This book is a collection of *exempla* (examples) of virtues and vices. It is organized thematically: 967 examples correspond to 91 chapters, each illustrating and arguing for a particular moral statement and each having its own title. Each chapter focuses on the examples from The Ancient Rome history and the history of other people, predominantly the Greeks. The chapters are divided in 9 books, in their turn. In the preface Valerius Maximus claims that his source of inspiration is the emperor Tiberius "the virtues of which I am about to speak are most generously encouraged and vices most severely punished". Further more, Valerius speaks of Tiberius as «divine» or «the best of men». Valerius sees Tiberius as an emperor who continued the political tradition of Augustus. Hence, the author is trying, on the one hand, to keep to Republican ideals, and, on the other hand, to new values, consecrate enabling the development of the society in the Principate.

Mikhail V. Wogman

(Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia)

***'Sovereignty' and 'Liberty' Metaphora
in the Religious Discourse under the Principate***

The problem of narrative correlation between the ideas of earthly and heavenly kingship (as well as the question of real or apparent liberty) certainly might be dated much earlier than the Roman times – we can easily trace it back at least to the Hellenistic political philosophy and exegesis. But we can also note sudden changes in this type of imagery during the first centuries of the Roman Principate. Thus, we encounter both in Gnostic and Rabbinic texts (as well as in the New Testament writings) somewhat decisive opposition between different levels of sovereignty, which can be philosophically described in Levinasian terms of 'desacralisation'. Yet we have to see profound political grounds behind this new system of 'hierarchy' and 'liberty' metaphors, understanding of which seems to be of not a little importance for the

historical study of the Principate. Accordingly, the paper aims to present different forms of such 'sovereignty' images in both Jewish and Christian discourse in their relation to political realities and real ideological stratagema.

Dan-Alexandru Popescu
(University of Sibiu, Romania)

***The Symbolism of the Monarchic Power in the Middle Ages
(The Romanian Principalities and France: a Comparative Analysis)
From Orient to Occident: The Christian Sovereign***

The noun *sacre* ("consecration") appears in France in the second half of the 12th century, but the verb *sacrer* ("to consecrate") can be found in the vocabulary some time earlier, in the same way in which "to anoint" precedes "anointment" by more than half a century. Regarding the originality of the term, *sacre* is specific to French. Those who tend to refer exactly to the consecration of a king are the French, while their neighbors, the English or the Germans generally speak about the "coronation" or the "anointment" (*die Krönung* respectively). The strongly formalized consecration ceremony is characteristic of medieval France; glowing and at a solemn pace, carrying an imperial gravity, the king steps into the caste of the immortal, acquiring new existential values which are due exclusively to his closeness to God. An absolute uniqueness and a transcendental unity are about to be created. The anointment act, an essential stage in the ceremony under discussion, has biblical roots; it took, however, several centuries in order for the bases of a coherent symbolic and mental construction to be laid, with the political establishment of the Christian tradition. The statement according to which there is no true and legitimate king without having passed through the ritual of anointment and coronation constitutes an extremely stimulating point of departure for any research on the broad problem of the symbolism of political power in the Middle Ages. France and the Romanian Principalities, being two areas of reference in Europe, i.e. the West and the East, offer specific evolutions and realities. It is interesting to see if regions so remote geographically, display similarities and analogies along their historical development, whether we speak about their socio-political system or we bring to discussion the religious and the cultural factor. This comparative perspective, oriented, in our case, towards the medieval institution of monarchy and the symbolism deriving from here, forms the very essence and originality of our study.

Anton O. Zakharov

(Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, Russia)

Political Subjects in Early Sriwijaya

The Old Malay polity Sriwijaya left a very small corpus of inscriptions which, however, gives a possibility to study its political structure in the late 7th century CE when these records were made. A peculiarity of Sriwijayan polity was the stature of its ruler. He bore the title *dātu* ‘chief’ as his own vassal chiefs also did. The paper tries to establish the true nature of Sriwijayan polity: Is it possible to speak about the ‘state’ of Sriwijaya and how one can represent the structure of its political space?

PANEL X

Hierarchies, Networks and Flows in the Sociopolitical Development of Southern Africa

Convenor: *Franco Barchiesi* (Ohio State University, Columbus, USA)

The contributions presented in this panel discuss the conceptual relevance and intersections of hierarchies, networks and flows in shaping the contemporary definition of Southern Africa as a regional space. The panel combines different social science perspectives to specifically focus on Southern Africa's social and political development subsequent to the collapse of the South African Apartheid regime and the post-Cold War scenario of globalization. Hierarchical views of the Southern African region have greatly shaped past scholarly debates and contrasting theoretical perspectives. This is the case both for views praising the allegedly modernizing role of foreign direct investment, transnational corporations, and international financial institutions, and for critical perspectives looking at the role of South Africa as a regional hegemon, with the attendant regional socioeconomic inequalities and uneven development that followed the South African post-Apartheid transition. At the core of such debates has often been the need to conceptualize regionalism in this specific case: Is the notion of a Southern African regionalism just a tool to enhance the area's competitiveness in global markets, which are on the other hand also characterized by hierarchical inequalities? Does it merely disguise South Africa's continuous economic and political dominance? Is it a metaphor for international economic and political cooperation within the evolving contexts of democratization and the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), where Africa's role in relation to global powers and institutions remains fraught with ambiguities? Or can "the region" be thought of as a counter-hegemonic space, where alternatives to global free market capitalism are elaborated through networks and flows of ideas and practices connecting civil societies and social movements? Paradigms focusing on the role of hierarchies in shaping the region are, in fact, often in need of insights into dimensions of grassroots agency and subjectivity that are relatively opaque from the standpoint of formal organizational and institutional analysis. Concepts of networks and flows can therefore be used to account for such neglected aspects that contribute to the continuous production and reproduction of a regional Southern African space. The purpose of this panel is, therefore, to explore interactions between hierarchical processes (like top-down development discourses, structures of production

and work, cross-border corporate investment, transnational commodity chains, social stratifications underpinning national social policies, and the position of the region in global divisions of labor), dynamics of flows (of migrations, cross-border identities, ideas of citizenship and democracy, emancipatory discourses), and networks (of trade, informal economic activities, transnational entrepreneurship, social movements and collective identities). These are the main factors discussed in this panel, which interrogates the multiple meanings of Southern Africa as a regional space, and how they overlap and relate to local specificities.

Franco Barchiesi

(Ohio State University, Columbus, USA)

***Social Rights, Universalism, and Hierarchy
in the Social Policies of the South African Post-Apartheid Transition***

This paper is an investigation of the social policy discourse of South Africa's postapartheid state with specific regard to its conceptualization of the relationships between wage labor and social inclusion within interventions aimed at addressing poverty and social inequality. The underlying assumption is that discourse and ideology are constitutive aspects of state normativity in relation to social actors and conflicts. The epistemological and ideational authoritativeness of governmental policy discourse depends on its ability to assert ethical and moral constructs aimed at disciplining social agency and expectations. At the same time, social agency is autonomously capable to appropriate categories of rights and entitlements underpinning state policies in order to strengthen popular claims to citizenship rights and social provisions. In South Africa, the post-1994 ANC-led government has tried to combine institutional interventions aimed at overcoming racialized social inequality with a fundamental acceptance of the need to make the economy competitive within the scenarios of neoliberal globalization. The resulting social policy discourse placed a priority emphasis on waged employment and labor market participation, to the detriment of universal, non-work related redistributive programs. The concept of "developmental social welfare" has combined praise for individual self-activation with the stigmatization of "dependency" on state assistance. The state's promotion of a form of social disciplining centered on wage labor has, however, clashed with a material reality in which social hierarchies are reproduced within waged employment, where precarious and unprotected occupations proliferate. The liberal universalist normative discourse of labor market participation as a condition for social inclusion, therefore, validates material social inequalities that, in a postapar-

heid context, are no longer produced by racial stratifications but are the expression of employment contracts. The policy discourse's growing inability to reflect material realities of poverty in relation to the transformations of waged employment raises important questions concerning the capacity of the new institutional dispensation to govern South Africa's long transition.

Bridget Kenny

(University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa)

***Labour's Hierarchies and Subjective Counterflows:
South Africa's Service Sector Worker Politics in the Time of Transition***

Service sector workers around the world are seen as embodying the potential of a new trade union politics, centred around gendered precariousness and community-workplace porousness. This paper explores the politics among South African black women contingent retail workers, interviewed in workplaces and homes between 1998 and 2008. It argues that this workforce, in South Africa a historically well-organised, militant sector, has acted from a political subjectivity which reproduced hierarchical and gendered assumptions of political agency and public action. This subjecthood emerged out of trade union politics in the 1980s and was reconstituted in post-apartheid South Africa through workplace restructuring and democratic citizenship practices. A result is that this workforce has become increasingly divided over the past ten years. Yet within workers' daily politics we also find subjective counterflows which suggest alternative enactments critiquing the public/private divisions so constitutive to workers' trade unionism. Through counterposing the hierarchies of trade union discourse to workers' less-than-articulated subjective experiences we recover a story of working class politics that opens up the ways in which labour's geography reproduces and transforms urban political space.

Arrigo Pallotti

(University of Bologna, Italy)

***Regional Governance in the Periphery. The Southern Africa Development
Community and Regional Economic Restructuring in Southern Africa***

Since the end of the Cold War, African multilateral institutions have been trying to reshape African countries' governance institutions, in order to promote their integration into the globalised economic system. After reviewing the priorities of the global governance project in Sub-Saharan Africa and the

security and development implications of the new “scramble” for Africa, the paper analyses the role the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) has played in Southern Africa after the end of the apartheid regime in South Africa. Behind the rhetoric of a mutually beneficial strategy of regional economic integration, SADC has been trying to foster the restructuring of Southern African countries’ governance institutions in line with the neo-liberal tenets of the Post-Washington Consensus. Due to its emphasis on trade liberalisation and private sector-led growth, SADC development policy not only strengthened the centre-periphery pattern of relations among South Africa and its neighbours, but offered no lasting solutions to the deep social crisis of Southern African countries.

Elke Zuern

(Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, USA)

Democratization as Liberation: African Perspectives on Democracy

Do the majority of Africans view democracy in procedural or substantive terms? This paper argues that African endorsements of liberal and procedural understandings are not as pervasive as Afrobarometer analyses suggest. Drawing upon Afrobarometer survey results as well as extensive fieldwork and interviews conducted over the last decade in South Africa, it demonstrates both the historical development and significance of these definitional understandings. By employing a substantive approach and thereby bringing questions of poverty and material inequality to the center of the analysis, this paper seeks to offer a perspective on democratization that helps to explain many of the challenges to the institutionalization of democratic regimes that procedural understandings fail to capture.

PANEL XI

Hierarchy and Power in the Sphere of Anthropology of Cyberspace

Convenors: *Alexei G. Loutskiy* (Moscow Government, Russia);
Oleg I. Kavykin (Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)

The panel's aim is a discussion on the following questions: Cyber Anthropology in the context of contemporary Cultural Anthropology, i.e. specifics of the subject, object and researcher of the sub-discipline; Power in Cyberspace / Power of Cyberspace (i.e. interactions between formal and informal relations in World village); Net and hierarchy as the principles of organization of users in information networks; Cyberspace as supporting system; Projective systems and Cyberspace (i.e. ideologies of the Net \ ideologies in the Net); Cyberspace and the processes of enculturation and socialization.

Elena N. Shklyarik

(Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia)

Ethical Aspects of Cyberanthropology

There is new situation for individual moral decision making because of the artificial intelligence design and because of the IT-devices substitution for human corporal and mental functions. Personal identity has been developing under the influence of cyber reality. Ethical conflicts take place in the sphere of biotechnology, as it changes the human nature, and also in media contacts and networks. Human evolution now faces the interpenetration of body and technology, the cognitive growth and social rationality change. Ethical problems here are: what are the borders for cyberpersonality, what is its legal status and the ways for self-actualization and self-control. Traditional problems for moral consciousness have new meaning when the foundation of ontology is desecralized and all questions of free will, responsibility, motivation and value have to be reconsidered. The meaning of power is based on the hierarchy of motives and goals for human components of the informational reality, such as: what is the level of rational control on IT-devices and resources; what is human and social potential in IT-interrelations; is the cyberactivity autonomous or instrumental; what is the constitution of moral subject as the biotech outcross. Ethics here indicates the transition from anthropocentric model to cybercentric postcorporal stage.

*Dana R. Herrera
Andras Margitay-Becht
(Saint Mary's College
of California, Moraga, USA)*

Virtual Rebirth and Reincarnation: Synthetic Lives

Two centuries ago enormous changes occurred in the most economically developed societies. Technological progress led to the transformation of labor. Ever larger portions of society became embedded in the faceless modern firms, causing the breakdown of standard social relationships and structures. Coupled with the ever-increasing focus on personal performance and output increasingly lead to the alienation experienced in modern societies these days. As Durkheim examined in his work, alienation from larger society has profound consequences for the individual. Alienation from the modern world has caused people to withdraw from the sphere of public life only to find refuge in virtual worlds caused by the same technological progress which caused the alienation in the first place. World of Warcraft or Second Life, while often dismissed as simply "games," are themselves thriving societies replete with their own cultural norms and values. As a new participant, people are socialized into expected language usage and behavioral patterns. They learn how to function within specific economic parameters to increase wealth and virtual possessions. Participants work with others to complete quests or tasks, thereby building and sustaining new communities. This paper examines the process of enculturation into these virtual worlds. We argue that the social and economic processes experienced by people within these contexts are as significant, and often more satisfying, as those of the "real world." Thus, while virtual worlds exists outside of traditional notions of space and place, they have very real implications for how social scientists understand the processes of alienation and community building and therefore, how we conceive, construct, and deconstruct society.

*Nasser Fakouhi
(University of Tehran, Iran)*

***Cyberspace as an Interaction field of Power,
A Case Study on the Evolution of Iranian Blogs and Cyberspace
in Recent Years***

Considering the number of blogs and websites, as well as the diversity of cyber communities, contemporary Iran and Persian language is one of the most presented on the cyberspace with an incredible and formidable devel-

opment in recent years. The forms of this evolution are primarily appeared by interaction between different social groups forbidden or limited in the real space to have these relations. Nevertheless the evolution of the virtual has transformed the society and social relations all over the country even in the remotest areas. The cyber interactions have for subject a large scale from politics to arts and information as well as life personal narrations. In a country which lives still in post- revolutionary conditions with official and prescribed forms of discourse, behavior and special forms of control over the production and broadcasting of all sorts of social thought and even personal styles of life, the cyberspace has become inevitably a mean of replacing the real space. This fact is more relievable for those communities such as youth, women and ethnics who are subjected to more limitations in the real world, to have on the cyberspace. The aim of this paper is to present an appraising of the situation stressing on the social uses for community identity construction in the three appointed groups above. The most important issue belongs to women blogs and websites which have become a real social net of communication in the line of their aspirations. For ethnics, the question is more centralized on the language, different from Persian, and for the youth, cyberspace is the main mean to join the style of life considered as “modern” and “free”. The differences between three groups and inside each of them are analyzed in another part of the paper.

Oleg I. Kavykin

(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)

Hierarchical principles of some forums in RU-net

The author’s purpose is an analysis of explicit and implicit forms of hierarchy among the participants of forums concerning seduction of women (called *pick-up*). The author asserts that there is sub-culture of youth dealing with seduction of girls in contemporary Russia. The basic principles and ideas of the subculture were elaborated by enthusiasts who discussed their ideas in Fido-net and later in Internet. Initially the subculture of *pickupers* was not marked by the spirit of commerce. Now some boards belong to commercial courses organized by former enthusiasts, but, forums are still open for guests. The author asserts that there is a whole spectrum of formal and (or) informal ranges for the people writing to the forums (from rookie to *guru*). There are, also, different attitudes to posts in accordance with these systems of ranges.

Matthias Tomczak

(Flinders University, Adelaide, Australia)

***Civilizations of the World,
An Electronic Information and Teaching Resource***

Today's global world is experiencing the interaction between civilizations more than ever before. But the study of history and civilizations is still largely focused on one civilization at a time and does not encourage a time-synchronous view. This is obviously necessary for any in-depth study, but it narrows the viewing field by blanking out what happened in other parts of the world at the same time. *Civilizations of the World* is a web-based application developed to overcome this limitation of historical study. It presents a time synchronous view of different civilizations from 3000 BC to today. Its Time Atlas provides a parallel display of events that occurred and prominent people who lived at a given time in Asia, Europe, Africa and America throughout the last 5000 years of human history. Hyperlinks give access to in-depth information on personalities and events. The paper describes the experience during the design and implementation phase of the Time Atlas concept from a computer science student's honours project to a web-based resource that can be edited by anyone. It gives examples how input from academic users influenced its structure, turning the Time Atlas into a research tool for historians while maintaining at the same time its initial concept of serving the interested lay person. The paper will discuss future development and discuss how researchers can influence its final layout.

Alexei G. Loutskiy

(Moscow Government, Russia)

Social Nets in the Cyberspace as Structures of Virtual Social Integration

The Internet, being the branched out and mighty information means, the market place, the wide communication channel, a public tribune for political activity, has given a powerful impulse to development of social networks. Overcoming time and space restrictions (*M. McLuhan*), the Internet became an effective remedy for consolidation of "imagined communities" (in terms of *B. Anderson*). As the major media channel, the Internet allows to build images in a close connection with expectations of members of "imagined communities". In the Russian political practice the special emphasis is placed on political activity in the Internet, as from representatives of ruling elite, and citizens. The lack of civil activity, absenteeism, political apathy, mistrust to power institutes is to a certain extent compensated by the statement of the opinion in the Network. The Internet becomes arena of political battles and

an ideological tribune for various social groups. Being an alternative information channel, the world Network also becomes a trusted source of information when mistrust to official sources, absence of the checked up information is replaced with "eyewitnesses' testimonies". For members of social networks the Internet gives information niches in which they live, distinguishing themselves from others. Besides aspiration to consolidation of own community it as well a way to be protected from superfluous information streams in the conditions of information overflow. Origination, formation and development of subcultures occurs more and more in virtual space, frequently without requirement for direct dialogue. One of the major possibilities for members of social networks on the Internet – possibility of self-representation when the member of this or that virtual community gets to public space. In an information field the alternative social hierarchy that gives the chance to a member of a social network to receive valuable status which can be inaccessible in a real life is built. For the individual – a member of virtual community it as well very important process of self-identification and self-comprehension, a social recognition and social integration.

Cyril A. Nikolaev

(State Research Institute for Restoration, Moscow, Russia)

***The Internet as the Environment of Works of Art's Existence:
Levels of Representation***

In the art environment basically two approaches and modes of work with Internet space are positioned: 1st – "traditional"; 2nd – "conceptual" (S.V. Zagraevsky). 1). The first type concerns, for example, creation of electronic databases of works of art. Here the Internet environment is considered as the closed display area for viewing of objects of art. 2). It is possible to carry to the second type, for example, a virtual museum or an interactive exposition. Here the important role is played by the presence moment, perception of three measured spaces and effect of real time. Mainly "conceptual" method assumes active integration of creative potential in sphere of Internet space and the maximum use of its hyperpossibilities. So electronic presentations of objects of art when product as the self-valuable object is realised in hyperenvironment of the Internet in the form of installation or media demonstration within the limits of a version of computer art, for example, are created. Thus, the object is not entered into the electronic environment, and is under construction its means. That is, it is literally – the artist does not use traditional toolkit for creation of object of art which then "numbers" (electronic means translates in network space), and operates with special multi-

media technologies. Here the Internet space acts in a canvas or sheet of paper role. In turn, the Internet artist creates quite in a context of art of a postmodernism. Important is, as in case of "the traditional" and "conceptual" approach the object of art "lives" in Internet space, actively contacting to the user of a network. Thus in "the traditional" approach objects репрезентируются as "prototypes" (high quality reproduction – an example of a digital copy) on which it is possible to make the general or defective impression about the original. "The conceptual" area of work with the Internet assumes that the spectator communicates with the primary source and at present time can study in detail its structure, i.e. is maximum receive all those information-sensual components which are received, for example, in the real world by the visitor of a museum. Now the big segment of the art market is concentrated in Internet sphere. It concerns also developments of Internet auctions, purchases through art sites of prints of known masterpieces of world art, products of various modern artists on their personal the Internet-pages or sites of commercial galleries. The process of creativity developed in "network" as its pioneers of network art regard, a main objective for itself sees communications process. As the media artist V. Mogilevsky has noted: "Feature of these works that they are adequate to hyperenvironment, instead of consider it as traditional art the technician and materials". Moving of art to the Internet removes «opposition between official and informal art, simultaneously creating a new field маргинальности in relation to art circles" (Т. Mogilevskaja).

PANEL XII

Leadership in Hunter-Gatherer Societies

Convenors: *James Woodburn* (London School of Politics and Economics, UK); *Olga Yu. Artemova* (Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow, Russia)

The focus of this panel will be on leadership in hunter-gatherer societies both in the past and at present. We will be concerned with societies with a known and locally acknowledged recent history of living largely by hunting and gathering including those societies whose present-day way of life may involve little or no hunting and gathering. Did such hunter-gatherers, and do they now, have distinctive forms of leadership? We seek discussion of the whole range of forms of leadership, both formal and informal, in both society-wide contexts and in smaller units including domestic units. We seek to consider both leadership roles which are exercised in a range of situations and those which are restricted to specific situations. Many, though certainly not all, hunter-gatherer societies have been characterized in the hunter-gatherer literature as lacking formal positions of authority, as lacking institutionalized and recognized leaders. How do or did such societies operate? How, in particular, are or were decisions reached? If many of these societies had no formal leaders, has this influenced the contemporary situation? Do formal relations of authority exist today and can those who today may occupy positions of authority persuade or compel other members of their societies to recognize and accept their authority? In what sense, if any, do those claiming leadership roles today (in political situations where leadership may well be crucial in the contemporary struggle with outsiders for land and other resources) gain the active acknowledgement, recognition and support of other members of their societies? Many of us in our research encounter individuals who claim to lead and represent their communities. Do other members of their societies accept their credentials and vest them with the authority to act on behalf of the community? How do such leaders come to power and how do they maintain their power? What continuities and discontinuities are there between leadership in the hunter-gatherer past and leadership in the contemporary world? The aim of this panel is to achieve a better understanding of the nature of leadership in hunter-gatherer societies and to make this understanding available to all those hunter-gatherer leaders and followers who are today working productively to enable their people to retain and develop their rights to land and resources and to maintain and enhance valued characteristics of their culture and society.

James Woodburn

(London School of Economics and Political Science, UK)
Hadza Political Organisation Past and Present

Thirty years ago I published a paper entitled *Minimal Politics: the Political Organisation of the Hadza of North Tanzania* (in *Politics in Leadership: a Comparative Perspective*, ed. W.A.Shack and P.S.Cohen, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1979). In this paper I discussed the Hadza political system and the remarkable absence of leadership in most social contexts. I reported that Hadza society “is maintained and perpetuated without undue disruption or disorder in the absence of most of the familiar political institutions reported from other hunting and gathering societies” (page 244) and I assessed the range of factors which contributed to this state of affairs. Since that time there have been radical changes in the Hadza way of life and in their social arrangements. But there are also some clear continuities. In my paper I will discuss and assess both the changes and the continuities.

Michail Drambyan
(Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow , Russia)
The traditions of leadership among the Hadza in the modern context (Lake Eyasi region)

This paper is based on data obtained during three fieldwork expeditions during 2006 and 2007 to the Hadza of the region in question. The Hadza, hunter-gatherers living in the North of the Republic of Tanzania, have to large extent retained their original social organization, economy and culture, despite the fact that they live in close proximity to other ethnic groups and maintain close contacts with them. Some of these neighbouring groups have traditional life styles and some have modernised ones. The Hadza social system is of great interest for anthropologists, largely because of their extreme egalitarianism. However, the Hadza have leaders in residential groups or camps, though their leadership is not of a formalized character. Today, a leader's function among the Hadza is being extended. A leader now is required to act as "negotiator", has to represent the people in the face of outsiders, and also has to become a sort of group financial manager. For a better understanding of Hadza leadership and their predominant social relationships, it is useful to compare their situation with data relating to some "sub- cultural" groups within modern western societies. Will the traditional Hadza way of living be able to adapt to changing conditions? Will it withstand the increasing contact with modernized groups living in different eco-

conomic environments and the increasing flow of tourists? These are the most important questions for the anthropologist today.

Marine Robillard

(Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris, France)

Baka Pygmies facing the conservation of nature: changes in power relations. How the conservation of nature changes power relations for the Baka Pygmies in Central Africa

In Eastern Cameroon, Baka Pygmies have faced multiple political changes since the colonial period. Known as an acephalous society, based on the primacy of their age classes, the Baka Pygmies' social organization is also inextricably blended with that of their non-Pygmy neighbours through their close relationships: kinship, product exchange, partnership. As a result of these relations, created in response to tribal wars in the region and the arrival of the colonists, a kind of leadership emerged simultaneously from the Baka's clans and families and from their non-Pygmy partners. At a community level, a limited, unstable and non-hierarchical leadership existed through the wisdom of the elders and the bravery of the elephant hunters. These persons were able to create, through intimate relations, political partnerships with other important ethnic clans. When the Germans and the French, during the colonial period, compelled people to build the roads, to bring in ivory and to harvest cocoa, they did not pay attention to the functioning of Baka society. They forced people to group in villages and to choose one chief as a middleman between themselves and the colonial administration. Because Baka lived far in the forest or in the villages of their non-Pygmy allies, they were treated as being administratively under the authority of the local village chief who was, and until now still always is, a non-Pygmy. Without their own recognised chiefs to guarantee their representation in the Cameroonian nation, and still despised as savages, Baka Pygmies have difficulties in getting their rights respected and in defending their access to land. Things are now changing as the government emphasises biodiversity conservation and sustainable management. NGOs working on biodiversity conservation and those promoting indigenous rights, together with the emerging civil society and the local administration, provide, in this new context, opportunities for the Baka and their neighbours to change their relations and their possibilities of leadership. I illustrate these changes on the basis of data collected in the field.

Beatriz Soengas

(Museum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris, France)

Power relations in a BaKoya Pygmy community (Gabon)

Bakoya Pygmies are one of the three groups of Pygmies living in Gabon. They are located in the Ogooue-Ivindo Province along two roads. Their oral tradition indicates a shift from a semi-nomadic to a permanent lifestyle around 1930 when Gabon was a French colony. During the colonial period French military officials imposed a requirement that a chief must be chosen for each village. For this reason the BaKoya chose one of their community to carry out this role. Today the village's chief embodies administrative authority at administrative cell level with diverse functions like, for example, the registration of the births and deaths which occur in the village. However, at the community level, the Koya chief consults the elders before making decisions. Pygmies are known to be an egalitarian community and have an acephalous political organization. When they were living in the forest in semi-permanent camps, there was no chief: society was based on the primacy of age classes, not in a hierarchy of individuals. There are different kinds of power relations in Bakoya society which accord with the scale of the analysis. For example, if we look at the household level, we see that in most cases men consult their wives before making a decision. Another important fact is, at the village level, the gain in "autonomy" of BaKoya with regard to their non-Pygmies neighbours, with whom they have had close relationships (subsistence, kinship) for many years. Thus, we see that sedentarization has had different consequences in intra- and inter-community power relations. At the national level, there is no Pygmy representation in the Government or in the Gabonese Parliament. However, non-governmental organizations, like MINAPYGA ("Mouvement des Minorites Autochtones, Indigenes et Pygmies du Gabon") founded by a Bakoya, work to bring to the national and international level the Pygmies' difficulties, and to give these populations more consideration at the social and political levels.

Seetha Kakkoth

(Kannur University, Palayad, India)

Leadership at the Eleventh Hour:

Dynamics of Leadership in a Vanishing Hunter-Gatherer Society of South India

This paper makes an attempt to understand the changing pattern of leadership among the Aranadan, a diminutive (population size of 284 people in 2007), re-settled hunter-gatherer community in the Nilambur valley of

Kerala, the southernmost State of India. By examining the way of life of this hunter-gatherer society before and after the two major interventions by the State (resettlement in the mid 1970s and the implementation of local self-government or decentralization of power in the mid 1990s), this study portrays how sedentarisation (including resultant issues relating to deforestation, livelihood, health, acculturation etc.) and dependency on non-indigenous society and the State have affected the very existence of this community along with the weakening of traditional leadership pattern based on territory (*chemmam*). This study also shows how this situation in turn has given space to non-Aranadan people (rather than to individual Arandan members of the community) to exercise power over Arandan society by representing the State. The changing notion of leadership among the Arandan is examined together with the reasons why this patrilineal society accepts (to an extent) an external leader into their social realm while keeping their ritual leadership intact.

David F. Martin

(Australian National University, Dickson, Australia)

Hunter-gatherer polities meet the western nation-state: incommensurabilities and challenges in the engagement of Aboriginal people with the wider Australian society

Despite the often devastating impacts on Aboriginal societies since the arrival of the first English colonists in Australia more than two centuries ago, there are also extraordinary continuities, even in those Aboriginal groups who may be generations removed from a traditional lifestyle. This paper argues that underlying these continuities is the nexus between a set of particular, and distinctively hunter-gatherer, values and practices which have proved enormously resistant to attempts to transform them. These include the very high value placed on personal autonomy within the context of a strongly equalitarian ethos—most particularly in the conduct of everyday life; the centrality of kinship in establishing not only personal identity but also political and ethical frameworks; and an ethos of opportunism and flexibility in Aboriginal social, economic and political practices. Nevertheless, while these values and practices exhibit a distinctively Aboriginal character and have their roots in the pre-colonial societies, they are not autonomous but are produced in an ‘intercultural’ social field in which they also draw on the forms, values and practices of the dominant Australian society. For example, contemporary Aboriginal political ‘leadership’ does not arise within a supposedly self-defining and self-reproducing Aboriginal domain, but also draws its forms

from wider Australian political culture. The paper goes on to outline dilemmas for both Aboriginal people and the dominant Australian society that are posed by this repertoire of distinctive, if changing, values and practices. For example, the requirement of both government and business for clearly defined sources of authority within Aboriginal groups; Aboriginal people's own need for broadly representative bodies to advocate for their rights and interests; and the necessity that Aboriginal-controlled organisations provide services on an equitable basis to their constituencies, are all to a greater or lesser degree incommensurate with widespread Aboriginal values and practices. The paper concludes by outlining some key principles for managing these incommensurabilities.

Michael Wood

(James Cook University, Cairns, Australia)

Leadership after logging in Lowland Papua

This paper derives from recent arguments made by Roscoe that we should consider many societies in PNG as 'hunter-gatherers'. By way of introduction to the Bosavi region of PNG, I outline forms of traditional leadership and subsistence production that highlight the 'hunter-gather-like' status of some of the societies of this region. The bulk of the paper reviews the emergence of new forms of leadership and power linked to industrial logging. I show how these new leaders gain and maintain their positions through complex relationships with the communities they purport to represent to the state, global corporations and other transnational organisations. I focus on the way these leaders become associated with hierarchies of power that apparently encompass the 'grass-roots' people living in the village. In debates about the legitimacy of these leaders the new forms of power are routinely linked to more traditional values such as 'compassion' and 'equivalence'. Building up a picture of these leaders I argue that they operate within the disjunctions and tensions between hierarchies of virtue and the new hierarchies of power.

Elena Batyanova

(Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow, Russia)

Women of the North as religious leaders (based on the field data collected in Chookotka and Kamchatka in 1980-1990)

In 1980–1990, the movement for “reanimation” of national traditions of the Indigenous peoples spread throughout the entire Russian North. This movement affected shamanism of the Chookchi and the Koryak. As in the other Siberian regions, in Chookotka and Kamchatka, the social status of shamanism considerably changed. People began to perceive shamanism not as harmful and annoying survival of the past, which should be beat, but as an important part of the native spiritual life. The status of shamanistic spiritual leaders has changed too. Indigenous women retained their prerogative to be religious leaders (as it was before the Perestroika), but their activity overstepped the limits of a family and a narrow kin spheres. Many of them began to propagate their ideology widely, competing with the leaders of other confessions, Christian Protestant preachers in particular (Protestantism expanded extensively in 1990s in the region under consideration).

“Renascent” shamanism in Chookotka and Kamchatka did not take “hypertrophied” forms as it happened among the Tuvintzi, the Buryat and some other peoples of South Siberia. Religious leaders of the Koryak and The Chookchi did not convert shamanism into commercial business. The most active of them assumed the roles of human rights activists and passionate propagandists of the spiritual heritage of their peoples.

Elena Fedorova

(Peter the Great Museum of Ethnography and Anthropology, St. Petersburg, Russia)

Woman the leader among the Mansi

Female leaders are very typical for contemporary social life of the Mansi (Western Siberia). Female leadership appears in various spheres of the Mansi life: in ritual activity, where functions are transmitted predominantly according to traditions; in subsistence with the accent on traditional occupations (hunting, gathering, fishing) adapted to current conditions; in the various types of social activity, which were not peculiar to traditional Mansi culture. The author of the paper is going to describe and to analyze all mentioned variants of female leadership using the field data collected in 1970s – the beginning of 2000s.

A.A. Kuban

(Institute of Archaeology & Ethnography, Novosibirsk, Russia)

Престижная экономика и «престижные технологии» в контексте социальной эволюции древних обществ

При изучении ранних этапов социальной дифференциации у древних обществ ряд исследователей акцентирует внимание на политико-экономических и ритуальных аспектах. Действительно, важность и взаимозависимость политических структур, престижной экономики и ритуала сложно переоценить. Базовыми категориями здесь являются престижная экономика и неразрывно с ней связанные т. н. «престижные технологии». Основу престижной экономики составляет реципрокация и публичное демонстрирование высокостатусных предметов (например, практика потлача у североамериканских индейцев). Наличие подобных изделий обеспечивало человеку высокое положение в социуме, уважение, определённую экономическую значимость, делало его бигменом. В дальнейшем всё это вело к усложнению социальной структуры коллектива, усилению дифференциации и, как правило, к появлению политического доминирования отдельных личностей или группы лиц. В этом контексте продуктивным может стать анализ и интерпретация предметов материальной культуры, известных в зарубежной археологической науке как «престижные технологии» (prestige technologies). Определение последних сводится к следующему: «престижные технологии» - это «создание престижных артефактов, направленное не на выполнение практических задач, а на демонстрацию богатства, успеха, силы и власти». В российской археологии существует аналоговое понятие: «высокие технологии», - которые трактуются как «производство элитных изделий, ритуально-церемониальных атрибутов, символов власти, предметов погребального сопровождения, требующих высочайшего качества сырья и исключительного мастерства». Уже само слово «престижный» подразумевает включенность вещи в сложную систему социально-экономических отношений. Отношение к объективной реальности в древних (и в целом - традиционных) обществах определяет и специфику использования предметов неутилитарного назначения в наиболее социально значимых процессах. Являясь предметами культов и ритуалов, данные артефакты одновременно выполняют функции определённых потестарных символов, без которых немислимо образование и развитие социальной дифференциации, иерархизации и эксплуатации. «Сакральное» и «мирское» здесь, таким образом,

неотделимы друг от друга. С другой стороны, сугубо внешние атрибуты престижа (власти, богатства, силы и т. д.) играют не меньшую роль в усложнении структуры социального организма, чем реальные потенции конкретных индивидов и/или их групп. В ряде случаев можно даже говорить о том, что ритуальная составляющая социальных процессов, направленная на презентацию различных форм могущества, предшествует соответствующим этому экономической и социальной деятельности.

Olga Yu. Artemova

(Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow, Russia)

Leadership in hunter-gatherer societies: a cross-cultural perspective

Among scholars concerned with hunter-gatherer studies there has been a great deal of argument about politics, power and leadership. Sharp and intense controversy occurred, especially in Australian Aboriginal studies, during the period from 1960 to 1980. "People without politics", "headless or acephalous communities", "societies lacking formal government", "cultures of anarchic tradition" - these and similar statements relating to hunter-gatherers prevailed in hunter-gatherer studies during that time. The emphasis was on the predominant absence of both formal power structures within communities and formal personal positions of authority in the traditional context. However, after that time, the whole topic became markedly less prominent on 'the academic stage'. It is sufficient to mention the fact that, at the International Conferences on Hunting and Gathering Societies (from the sixth to the ninth), there were no sessions directly dedicated to the organization of authority and leadership. This is a pity for a number of reasons: firstly, because there are (or at least were) some hunter-gatherer societies which had formal leaders in the traditional context (e.g. in North America and South-East Australia); secondly because there have been cases of societies which have created ad-hoc formal personal positions of authority in situations of crisis, especially when they have tried to withstand more powerful enemies with the use of weapons; thirdly, even in societies definitely lacking any indigenous formal leadership, there were and are people who possess considerable informal authority, whose social role should not be underestimated. Though they could not or cannot "command" the people or give "orders" to others, they were and are able to take responsibilities and to impel people around them to follow them. This is absolutely necessary in many situations of ordinary life. In fact, it appears that no society can exist without the organ-

izational efforts of these informal or situational leaders. Hunter-gatherer ethnographies provide evidence for a wide spectrum of outstanding personalities, whose activities are not only of great academic interest but also are of great value as a store of empirical experience. This is particularly important at the present time when some stigmatized and suppressed hunter-gatherer communities or their cultural successors in various remote corners of the Earth, still courageously try to uphold their autonomy and traditional cultural values.

PANEL XIII

Lineage as Legitimacy in Asian Religious and Intellectual Communities

Convenor: *Amy Holmes-Tagchungdarpa* (University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, USA)

This panel will explore various facets of how hierarchy is developed and legitimized in Asian religions through focusing on lineage discourses in several religious traditions in Asia. Lineage serves to link together religious believers and practitioners into an imagined collective through commonly acknowledged ties with previous masters. Lineage ties together groups that are otherwise socially and sometimes culturally unrelated, thereby creating cultural models that are open for emulation and that are legitimated by association with the power of previously renowned practitioners. However, as well as their religious significance, lineages can also have profound social, economic and political implications. The members of this panel all focus on different forms of lineage across different Asian civilizations in an attempt to portray the pervasiveness and potency of lineage in its various manifestations. Through looking at different cultures comparatively, several commonalities emerge that highlight the importance of lineage to the authority of religious communities. There are also important differences in the manifestations and depth of involvement of lineage for these collectives in their different cultural environments. Some religious groups remain spiritual in focus, while others become important political forces, or become linked to ethnic identity. This panel will also explore the different ways in which lineage is constructed, and the methods by which particular lineages are propagated. Rather than seeing lineage as an imposing monolithic force, here we define it as negotiable and fluid, the manifestation of the sum of the individuals who are affiliated to it. This perspective allows for a freer understanding of how lineage affects the societies within which it is formed, and its contestability also remains crucial to perceiving its pervasiveness in the imaginations of individuals across such varying civilizations.

Kalzang Dorjee Bhutia
(Tuscaloosa, USA)

***Lineage and Statecraft in Hidden Lands:
The Revelations of Lhatsun Chenpo in the Formation of Sikkim***

This paper explores the religious lineages connected to the Himalayan state of Sikkim as an example of the links between spiritual lineage and political statecraft in Asia. Sikkim was an independent Vajrayana Buddhist kingdom until it was absorbed into India in 1975. The foundations of the original kingdom however were interlinked with religious legitimacy in the personage of Lhatsun Namkhai Jigme (1597-1654), a Tibetan yogi who “opened” Sikkim as an appropriate place for religious practice following intense visionary experiences in the late 1630s. This “opening” was the first of several visits Lhatsun Chenpo made, which culminated in him formally enthroning a local chief named Phuntsog Namgyal as the king (Tib. Chos rgyal) of the Hidden Land of Rice (Sbas yul ‘bras mo ljongs). This early encounter between Lhatsun and the founders of the Sikkimese state developed into an important and ongoing relationship between the practitioners in the religious lineage of Lhatsun Chenpo and the kings of Sikkim. This relationship was most crucially articulated in the coronation ceremony of the kings which was repeatedly undertaken by subsequent incarnations of Lhatsun Chenpo, as well as by members of the institutions that he founded in Sikkim in the 17th century. This paper will look closely at these relationships by referencing the collected written works of Lhatsun Chenpo, as well as his visionary corpus, in order to understand how the lineage that Lhatsun founded in Sikkim helped to consolidate the religious and political identity of the state.

Ruth Gamble

(Australian National University, Canberra)

The Power of Perfection: Imagining the Competitive Faultlessness of the Dalai Lama and Karmapa Lineages

In 1288, in the southern Tibetan district of Kongpo, a four-year-old child was recognized as the 3rd incarnation of the Karmapa hierarch. This recognition institutionalised the idea of reincarnation lineages, or “Body Rosaries” (Tib: sku ‘phreng), that in time came to control religious and political institutions in Tibet. The culmination of this domination came about in 1642, when the 5th Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso (1617 – 1682), assumed temporal and spiritual control of Tibet. As these institutions developed, so did their explanatory, legitimising discourse. Those recognized as reincarnate teachers were called *Tulkus* (Tib. *sprul sku*), a translation and adaptation of the Sanskrit word *nirmanakaya*, (emanation body), a term that had developed as part of the *trikaya* (three bodies of the Buddha) theory of Mahayana Buddhism. As such they were imagined, at least philosophically speaking, as perfected/enlightened beings. Or, as the term was translated into English –via the Chi-

nese signifier *huófo* – “Living Buddhas”. This discourse helped support the development of large monastic communities – which were usually organized around one or more *tulku/s* – and encouraged the literature, art and architecture that these beings – who were given exemplary educations and relative artistic freedom – produced. But it also provided the theoretical backdrop for the many inter-sect rivalries, colonial intrigues and sporadic wars that have punctuated Tibetan history. Each sect and monastery supported their own perfected, enlightened Buddha, and the prestige of a monastery or sect depended on the “perfection” of its resident *tulku/s*. As a result, when there was conflict or competition between these beings, it could prove intractable. It is hard to argue with perfection. This paper will look at the problematic of “perfection” in the tradition of Tibetan *tulkus* by examining the changing relationship between two of its most eminent “Body Rosaries”: those of the Dalai Lamas and the Karmapas. It will examine the historical interactions between the two lineages; their traditions’ polemical claims regarding their “perfection”; and indications from their poems, hagiographies and contemporary, published interviews, that, indeed, being perfect isn’t easy.

Amy Holmes-Tagchungdarpa

(University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, USA)

Text, Blessings and Imagination:

***The Role of Textual Production in the Creation of Lineage
and Its Different Forms in Tibetan Buddhism,
As explored in the Life of Togden Shakya Shri (1853 – 1919)***

This paper outlines some of the means by which lineages are created in Tibetan and Himalayan Buddhism through a close reading of the biography of Togden Shakya Shri (1853-1919), a meditation teacher who was based on the borderlands between Tibet and China at the turn of the 20th century. Togden Shakya Shri remains a unique figure in wider Himalayan Buddhism, as although he was devoid of any of the conventional trappings of religious legitimacy in the Tibetan cultural sphere – including incarnation status, aristocratic lineage, or monastic affiliations – by the end of his life in 1919, he was renowned throughout the Himalayas. This paper will explore an important means by which Togden Shakya Shri became known over such a vast distance through reviewing the textual corpus associated with him. This corpus includes his biography, the biographies of his lineage predecessors and descendants, his meditation teachings and his visionary revelations (Gter). I will argue that the content within this textual corpus provided Togden Shakya Shri and his students with a unique series of teachings to spread within wider Himalayan Buddhism. However, the texts as objects themselves also remain

as indicators of how a lineage spread, as the different steps of production – from initial writing to codification (or decodification in the case of visionary teachings) to the patronization required for publishing the texts – all suggest the social, economic and political networks through which Togden Shakya Shri’s lineage spread. By recognizing some of the often unseen aspects of textual production, this paper will suggest more widely how the unique teachings of particular lineages in their tangible and intangible forms interact with social communities and create legitimacy for new forms of religious and social expression.

Shraddha Kumbhojkar

(Tilak Maharashtra University, Pune, India)

***Granting legitimacy to perpetuate hierarchy –
“Broken Men” from Atharvaveda***

The Vedas are the earliest scriptures of Hinduism. Described in the 15th and the 18th chapters of the Atharvaveda, Vratyas are people who have refused to follow any of the rules laid down by the Vedic scriptures. They do not follow any norms or hierarchies of the Vedic culture and are still so powerful that they cannot be completely ignored. The Vedic texts therefore, prescribe certain rituals to create a lineage for the Vratyas and then grant them legitimacy within the hierarchy of the Vedic religion. While the Vedic tradition prescribes the rules of Varnashrama for “normal” householders, it also grants legitimacy to the way of life followed by Vratyas or “Broken Men”. The present paper studies the Atharvevedic Vratyas to understand if it was a case of granting lineage and then legitimacy to powerful groups of men who refused to kowtow before the Vedic preference for lineage. This paper argues that the Vratya rituals described in the Atharva veda and later Vedic texts bear testimony to the fact that the Vedic religion even in its early stages of consolidation was aware of the deviants who posed a threat to its very existence. The Vedic religion negotiated a place for the broken men within itself, and thus, ensured continued perpetuation of the hierarchical mechanism of Varnashrama. Lineage thus, was artificially granted where none existed, just to ensure that the hierarchy of Vedic religion would remain intact.

Taysir Nashif

(Mercer College, West Windsor, USA)

***Religious Lineage as a Source of Political Leadership Legitimacy:
The Case of Amin El-Husseini***

For nearly three decades during the British Mandate on Palestine until 1948, when it was terminated, and even years after 1948, Amin El-Husseini was the most prominent political leader of the Arabs of Palestine. The claim, whether mythical or real, that members of Amin's family, El-Husseini, were descendant of Prophet Muhammad is assumed in this paper to be the most important source of Amin El-Husseini's political leadership legitimacy. Relying on historical Arabic sources, dating back to the 1920s, about Amin El-Husseini's public career, the paper at hand sets as its goals the following: 1). To show the importance of religious lineage as a source of political leadership legitimacy in the history of Palestine in the 20th century until 1948; 2). To show how Amin El-Husseini used the claim lineage to Prophet Muhammad in order to establish, promote and consolidate his political leadership; 3). To show how the people's acceptance of this claim did considerably help in sustaining and consolidating this leadership.

David Templeman

(Monash University, Melbourne, Australia)

The Lineage of Jo nang Taranatha – A Political Interpretation

Two agendas of great importance to Taranatha were to demonstrate the authenticity of his Indian master's own lineage and to irrefutably establish himself as the rightful inheritor of a lineage which commenced in the 11th century with the Indian *siddha* Krsnacarya. A considerable amount of his literary ability was bent towards these ends. It is arguable that the authenticity of his Indian master's lineage was in some doubt. As for the establishment of Taranatha's own lineage, he had a powerful competitor for that position. For Taranatha to achieve his aim, or at least as appears more likely, his family's aim of confirming his own incumbency, a series of literary strategies were set in place to make the lineage appear more reasonable. These involved the positing of an 8-year long hiatus in the lineage, to fill an awkward gap in the lineage, one which Taranatha alone claimed to have a perfect recall of. Taranatha's account of this brief life was aimed at confirming his own lineage rights. However the issue of whether Taranatha was in fact the rightful claimant was not to vanish so easily. A powerful alternative voice to Taranatha's claims was constantly in the background, a voice which emanated from no less a luminary than the Sanskrit teacher to the 5th Dalai Lama. His contentions and the dissent he fomented against Taranatha, especially at Chos lung monastery, become the foci of several vehement passages in Taranatha's Autobiography as well as in his various *Secret Autobiographies*. This paper

explores the issue of lineage authenticity and poses the position that even in well-accepted lineages there are sometimes perceived fault lines. These may offer us new and revealing windows on how generally accepted and textually attested lines of authority come into being and are perpetuated.

PANEL XIV

Macroevolution: hierarchy, structure, laws and self-organization

Convenors: *Leonid E. Grinin* (Volgograd Center for Social Studies, Russia); *Alexander V. Markov* (Paleontological Institute, Moscow, Russia); *Akop P. Nazaretyan* (Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, Russia); *Fred Spier* (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands)

It is increasingly realized today that interdisciplinary research has a great potential. The study of evolution very much belongs to this type of research. The panel “Macroevolution: hierarchy, structure, laws and self-organization” is aimed at bringing together major scholars investigating different types of evolution in order to exchange the results and unify the efforts. The panel is supposed to consider cosmological, chemical, biological and socio-cultural macroevolution as both consecutive and co-existing types of macroevolution. We believe that this is a very important form of interdisciplinary cooperation, which may well help to achieve a better understanding of the trends, patterns, mechanisms, and peculiarities exhibited by all these different types of evolution. The experience gained with using ideas originating within one particular type of macroevolution (e.g., biological evolution) for the study of another type of macroevolution (e.g. social macroevolution) indicates that such an approach can be very fruitful. In fact, in certain respects it appears possible to consider macroevolution as one single process. In this case it is especially important to understand the underlying regularities and laws, although some of these regularities and laws can be rather different, depending on the concrete entity evolving (cosmic, biological, or social). The following range of topics for discussion has been suggested: 1) Comparisons between cosmic, chemical, biological, and social evolution; 2) General issues within Big History / Universal History; 3) The “evolution of evolution” (the evolution of evolutionary theories); 4) Particular types of macroevolution, or macroevolution “at the border between two domains” (e.g. with respect to ethology or biochemistry); 5) Other topics, such as linguistic, cultural, epistemological, or psychological macroevolution. One of the main focuses for the panel is to look for those regularities and rules that are common for different types of macroevolution, as well as the analysis of the applicability of concrete rules to particular types of macroevolution. Our main starting points are the following. Firstly, evolutionary rules should not be regarded as rigid functional relationships that are necessarily found in all evolutionary phenomena of a particular class, but rather as certain principles that tend to be supported by empirical data and that can therefore help us to provide a more adequate ex-

planation of the studied complex processes. Secondly, there are important grounds for seeking to determine similarities between different types of macroevolution: a) In most cases we are dealing with very complex non-equilibrium, yet relatively stable systems. The general principles of the functioning and evolution of such systems are described by general systems and complexity (non-linear dynamics) theories; b) We observe a complex interaction between systems and their environments that can be described by a few general principles (although they emerge in somewhat different ways in different types of evolution); c) It is important to become aware of certain “genetic” links between different types of evolution. One further important task of the panel consists of the analysis of evolution of various types of hierarchically and heterarchically ordered structures within different types of macroevolution.

Barry H. Rodrigue
(University of Southern Maine
Lewiston, USA)

Revision or Revolution: Macro-History and Human Survival

The inclusion of macro-historical studies in the world’s educational systems is of vital importance for solving the devastating ecological, social and economic problems that our planet currently faces. While there was a shift towards offering “global studies” in universities after World War II, many of these efforts were discipline-based and in support of existing national or corporate systems. This academic direction has tended to evolve in two different directions in the last twenty years. The globalization or hierarchical model still tends to focus on power-relationships in regions and markets, seeking solutions through national and corporate systems. The mondalization or horizontal model, in contrast, is interdisciplinary and uses the entire world as its reference point, seeking solutions based on mutual international efforts. Both these tendencies appear in macro-historical studies. A problem that we face as macro-historians is how do we reconcile these two visions of global studies and how do we insert macro-history in each of our national systems for global benefit? This problem is the subject of my presentation.

Fred Spier
(University of Amsterdam, Netherlands)
Big History and the Future

In my presentation, I will first give a short overview of my explanatory scheme for all of history from the beginning of the Universe until life on Earth today (big history). This scheme is based on the ways in which energy levels as well as matter and energy flows have made possible both the rise and demise of complexity in all its forms. This scheme was first published as an article in *Social Evolution & History*, 4, 1, March 2005 (87-135). Subsequently, I will present some fascinating findings, ranging from cosmology to human history which I found in the literature during last few years while writing the manuscript of my new book about this approach, tentatively titled: *Big History and the Future*. These examples fit the proposed theory very well (I did not come across any examples that did not fit the theory). This will be followed by the application of my approach to what the future may have in store for all of us.

Alexander V. Boldachev
(St. Petersburg, Russia)

Synergetics and Evolutionary Paradigm

In modern scientific worldview, synergetics is often viewed as the theory of evolution and self-organization of complex systems, which seems an unjustified terminological and *conceptual* expansion of this term as well as of the results of exact science beyond the *limits of its subject matter*. First of all, it is necessary to pay attention to the fact that all studied and *mathematically described* synergetic effects – such as self-organization phenomena (*formation of dissipative structures*), effects of bifurcation transitions (*spontaneous choice* between different paths for systems development), etc. – are detected exclusively in streams and mediums which cannot be understood as complex systems. Really, in such objects of research as thermal convection, waves in plasma, etc., it is impossible to single out a set of elements with fixed links which would make it possible to consider these objects as systems. Hence, the application of the formalism of *synergetics* to complex systems is incorrect. Certainly, in such systems as biological organisms, economy and so forth, it is possible to find different streams and mediums in a non-equilibrium state. It is even possible to show that in certain situations, nonlinear processes in these streams and mediums exert an essential influence on the system's behavior. Yet this does not mean that complex systems are objects of *synergetics*. But the most serious problem with such extended interpretation of synergetics is the incorrect use of the term “evolution”. Certainly, such word-combinations as «the evolution of a chemical reaction» and «the evolution of convectional process» are generally accepted nowadays, yet

it is clear that these processes have nothing to do with evolution in the sense of the formation of unique new phenomena. Synergetic self-organization (the *formation of dissipative structures*) is no more an evolutionary phenomenon than the formation of crystals in solutions – both processes are experimentally reproducible, and consequently we cannot call them evolutionary. Similarly, all the reasoning about the bifurcation multi-choice direction of systems' movements has nothing to do with evolution – the existence of equations with several possible solutions in fact indicates that we are dealing with a reproducible process and not with an evolutionary phenomenon. However, there are certainly several positive results from applying synergetics to evolutionary researches – such as the concept of dynamic chaos as a detector of weak influences and some concepts as well.

Esther Quaedackers

(University of Amsterdam, Netherlands)

Building and Foresight from a Long-term Perspective

I am interested in the question of why people build the way they do as well as how people behave in reaction to building. Knowledge about the ways in which building and societies interact is important, not least because of the increasing responsibility of architects for this important aspect of everyday life all around the world. During the past century, however, because of its complexity the question of how building and societies interact has been difficult to answer. Research into the very long-term evolution of this complexity may shed some new light on this subject. By considering the evolution of the interaction between building and societies from its most basic stages of animal building to the largest modern building projects, a simple pattern emerges which appears to hinge on the concept of foresight. Early humans appear to have been able to imagine manipulating resources with the aid of constructions, even if those resources or constructions were not yet present in their direct environment. Such a type of foresight may have led them to gather resources in a certain place in order to manipulate them using a built-up structure. It may also have stimulated the creation of new built-up structures in order to manipulate these accumulated resources in novel ways. In doing so, a positive feedback loop may have emerged, which has led to ways of building in which foresight played an ever-increasing role. Over the course of time, the discovery of important new resources such as controlled fire, domesticated plants and animals, and fossil fuels as well as the consequences of these discoveries for the available social resources all led to new types of construction in which foresight became increasingly important. This provided

new opportunities for builders to control certain aspects of societies. Yet such types of construction characterized by more foresight often implied dealing with conflicting interests, the outcome of which very much depended on the power and dependency relations prevailing. Most notably ever since the Industrial Revolution, architects have had to take into account the interests of increasing numbers of people whose lives were affected by their constructions. In addition to new opportunities, this may have provided some new constraints for the builders. As I see it, these two major trends form the basis of the complex interaction between modern construction and society, while they may also provide some clues for solutions to some of the problems architects face today.

Sergey N. Grinchenko
(Institute of the Informatics Problems
Moscow, Russia)

On the Evolution and Meta-evolution

Animate nature is regarded as a *cybernetic hierarchical system* (<http://www.ipiran.ru/publications/publications/grinchenko/>), realizing its properties of adaptive activity and intention to energetically preferential conditions by means of the mechanism of hierarchic search optimization with goals and criteria related to energy. Comparatively high-speed processes, taking place in cellular and organismal contours of animate hierarchy, are called *adaptation* (respectively *cellular* and *organismal*). By analogy, comparatively slowly elapsing adaptive processes, taking place in biogeocenosis and in the biogeosphere contours of animate hierarchy, are subsequently called *evolution* (respectively *biogeocenosis* and *biogeosphere*). It is impossible to refer the processes associated with the increasing hierarchy of the animate system itself to evolutionary processes determined in this way. Let's define the concept "*meta-evolution*" as *the procedure of new tiers buildup in hierarchical system during its formation as such*. This term describes processes associated with the appearance in the distant past of the Earth of representatives of new tiers in the animate hierarchical system: about 3.6 billion years ago prokaryotes; about 2.59 billion years ago complex cell-eukaryotes; about 1.58 billion years ago multi-cellular organisms; about 0.57 billion years ago biogeocenosis. Under the circumstances, these meta-evolutionary processes of animate life take place quite *regularly*. The comparison of biogeocenosis and biogeospheric evolutionary processes with processes of micro- and macroevolution indicates that these two groups of terms demonstrate the large variety of the objects under consideration. As a result, the areas in

which species live are determined by its specifics and have a secondary effect for microevolution. The biogeocenosis evolution elapses in ranges of concrete biogeocenose (with a typical size – with a radius of its conditional circle up to 15 km) and covers *all* species, its population. Analogously, depending on the choice of the considered supra-specific taxon within the framework of its macroevolution, the size of the area containing it is being concretized too. In biogeospheric evolution, first of all these areas are distinguished by their typical size (up to 222 km, 3370 km and 51,000 km), to which the areas of life of all animate representative gravitate, actively interacting (opponent, symbiotically etc.) with one another within these boundaries. Thus, the suggested concept envisages a new aspect research of evolutionary processes in animate nature, in which microevolution appears as the primary stage of the investigation of biogeocenosis and of macroevolution: of biogeospheric evolution.

Igor Popov

(St. Petersburg State University, Russia)

What is Macroevolution?

The term “macroevolution” was coined in 1927 by Yury Filipchenko to describe the process of the appearance of characters distinguishing the groups of organisms of high taxonomic level. He believed that this processes had nothing in common with genetic mutations the geneticists play with. According to Filipchenko, the mechanism of macroevolution is not well known, but it might have been some kind of spontaneous transformation similar to embryogenesis. Among English-speaking biologists the term “macroevolution” became widely known after the studies of Richard Goldschmidt. He considered macroevolution as the sudden appearance of “hopeful monster”, i.e. an organism differing significantly from its parents which turned out to be successful in the struggle for existence. Today, macroevolution is usually defined as “evolution above the species level”. In parallel to all of this, geologists used the term macroevolution in other meaning, namely as the processes resulting in the global change of flora and fauna in the entire biosphere, which is reflected by the change of geological strata. The geological term seems to be relatively substantiated, unlike the biological ones. There are no reasons to differentiate macroevolution from other types of evolution, because it is impossible to distinguish the borderline between them. Usually all evolutionary processes taking place in the past are considered within a context of modern ones. However the essence of evolution changes over time. Ever since the pre-Cambrian time, when all phyla originated, the taxonomic

level of new groups has been decreasing continuously. Today only new populations or species can appear, and they are hardly able to give birth to new groups at a higher taxonomic level. The results of evolution change over time like the organism changes during his life.

Sergei Vadimovich Tsirel

(Institute of Mining Geomechanics and Mine Surveying
St. Petersburg, Russia)

Two Patterns of Evolution Speed Change

The paper presents an analysis of evolution taken in its most general aspect including social and biological processes as well as the history of the Universe, Earth and sign systems. On the basis of data on the evolution of social, biological and other systems we arrived at the idea of the existence of two main patterns of evolutionary processes. The first one is best studied in biological evolution. It consists of long stages of slow evolution, which are cut either by short crisis periods or by periods by speedy evolution. The second pattern includes both accelerating and decelerating evolution. The changes of speed characteristic of the second pattern demonstrate an abrupt change of parameters, by which we understand exponential even hyper-exponential laws including hyperbolic laws. The pattern includes approaching to the singular point as well as leaving it. Simple mathematic models are offered depicting hyper-exponential mechanisms of growth, in particular the growth of the Earth's population and GDP per capita. The dependence between the growth of the Earth's population and of GDP per capita is studied. The values of the Earth's population in different epochs are obtained as well the dependence between the GDP per capita and the degree of ecological niche filling. The relations between the two patterns of evolution are analyzed with special emphasis on the role of the observer's point of view while estimating the speed of current changes. The different forms of both patterns during the course of real evolution, by means of complicated and manifold ways, are embedded into one another. It is noteworthy that both patterns often conceal a more or less constant speed of change which leads to evolution. The above speed is, at the same time, limiting the evolutionary speed.

Konstantin S. Khroutski

(Novgorod State University
Novgorod Velikiy, Russia)

Macroevolution: from the Bio-cosmological Point of View

In his presentation and introduction of the original Bio-Cosmological concept, the author primarily aims at the substantiation of the two basic types of relationships with the surrounding and constituting world (Cosmos) – Organic (organicism) and Non-Organic (dualism and physicalism); and of the three fundamental approaches to the exploration of one the same cosmic reality: 1. Transcendent (A-Cosmist, Monistic); 2. Transcendental (Anti-Cosmist, Idealistic); 3. Bio-cosmological (Real-Cosmist, Realistic). In other words, for a proper consideration of major issues in macroevolution we need a clarification of our metaphysical basis. Substantially, Transcendent and Biocosmological approaches refer to the Organic (A-Cosmist and Real-Cosmist) relations to the world, while a Transcendental standpoint realizes an Anti-Cosmist treatment of the Cosmos as of inorganic space and the Earth's physical nature. Roughly speaking, in the domain of rational philosophy the first (A-Cosmic) form is based on the philosophy of Plato, while the second form (Anti-Cosmist) is based on Kantian philosophy as well as of other modern Western thinkers, whose philosophies are based on the axiom of dualistic interrelations of human mind and the surrounding cosmos. The third type is based on the realistic philosophy of Aristotle, which was rediscovered (in its full meaning) during the 19th and 20th centuries by Russian philosophers and scientists, yet violently suppressed since 1917. A cornerstone of the author's presentation (and the most important point for the discussion) could become the substantiation of the thesis that modern conceptions of macroevolution have a transcendental origin and are chiefly based on the all-embracing transcendental principles of "matter" or "information", or other transcendental essences. At the same time, the great potential of Russian organicism (cosmism, Aristotelism) still remains unclaimed, which is an alarming situation for the development of world culture. In his presentation, the author will advance and substantiate the model of a (macro)cyclic evolution of world culture, and will, subsequently, substantiate fundamental (a posteriori) principles of modern bio-cosmology (Real-Cosmism), and will, ultimately, characterize his own Bio-Cosmological conception. A discussion on Bio-Cosmology was started in the journal E-LOGOS (<http://e-logos.vse.cz/>), section – Bio-cosmology.

Alexander D. Panov

(Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia)

Science, Evolution, Resources

The face of the contemporary civilization is mainly determined by the liberal-market innovative economy closely related to science. Science also plays a leading role in the attempts to preserve the human environment for the future. Yet one may wonder whether civilization in the more or less distant future will actually be based on science, as well as what the possible place will be of science in progress in the future.

In analyzing these questions, science is considered as a typical phenomenon of the evolution within the frameworks of the universal evolutionism. Science is analyzed in this context as a progressive evolutionary phenomenon, yet it is noted that no progressive evolutionary phenomenon is an eternal “leader of the progress”; with the passage of time, other evolutionary paradigms may take over this leadership role. This point implicates the fundamental inference that science will lose its leadership position in the creation of the progress vector of the civilization.

The main focus of my work consists of the resource restrictions in the progress of science. The contemporary trends are such that progress in the most fundamental directions of the science becomes more and more expansive, and the costs begin to contradict the aggregate world profit of its civilization. A very dangerous process for fundamental science is thus being produced: the restriction of the monetary funds for science leads to decrease of the stream of new science results; the decrease of the stream of new science results leads to decrease of the interest of society in science; the decrease of the interest of the society in science leads again to decrease of the monetary funds for the science, etc.—the positive feedback loop is closed. This positive feedback loop may lead to almost sudden collapse of the fundamental researches.

The main focus of my work is related to the development and analysis of a mathematical model of this positive feedback loop. The model produces some nontrivial and even at first sight counterintuitive predictions. For example, it predicts that the growth of funds for fundamental science will lead to a far earlier collapse, while it cannot prevent this unpleasant moment in time from happening. It is discussed why the funding of fundamental science must be as high as possible in spite of this event.

Alexander V. Markov

(Paleontological Institute, Moscow, Russia)

***Paleontological Data Imply the Existence of Positive Feedbacks
in the Evolution of Biodiversity***

Biodiversity dynamics largely depends upon changes in average longevity of taxa. The hyperbolic character of the Phanerozoic biodiversity growth implies that there may be a positive feedback between the growth of alpha diversity, or within-community genus richness (D), and the increase in average longevity (stability) of genera (L) (Markov and Korotayev, 2007). One possible reason for the proposed positive correlation between D and L is that diversity can be expected to give rise to ecosystem stability, which, in turn, may slow down the extinction of taxa. The analysis of two global paleontological data sets (Sepkoski's compendium of fossil marine genera and The Paleobiology Database) shows that the correlation (i) actually exists in the Phanerozoic marine biota and (ii) is robust to some possible sources of errors in L and D estimation. Further analysis reveals that the correlation is not a secondary pattern caused by either or all of the following factors: (i) occurrence rate of taxa, which is greatly influenced by differential incompleteness of the fossil record; (ii) degree of sediment lithification, which is one of the major factors affecting the preservation of fossils; (iii) onshore-offshore gradient; (iv) parallel growth of both L and D through the Phanerozoic; (v) paleolatitudinal gradient. Although there may be other factors that influence both L and D in a similar way, the results generally confirm the hypothesis that higher alpha diversity may result in higher longevity of genera. Therefore, the paleontological data do not contradict the idea that the evolution of biodiversity can be influenced by positive feedbacks mediated by the hierarchical structure of the biota.

Anastassia M. Makarieva

Victor G. Gorshkov

(St. Petersburg Nuclear Physics Institute, Russia)

***RNA Viruses as Generators of Novel Genetic Information
and Drivers of Speciation in the Biosphere***

Among all possible sequences of genetic letters (nucleotide pairs) only few ones are meaningful and correspond to a genome of some species. Taking into account the universal biochemical organisation of life it is natural to assume that the density of meaningful sequences over the whole range of all possible sequences, μ^+ , is also universal. The probability of finding a new meaningful sequence is proportional to the total number of mutations appearing in the population and, hence, to the global population number of a species, the difference between prokaryotes and higher eukaryotes being about 16 orders of magnitude. This means that if the prokaryotic μ^+ were universal, then higher eukaryotes would evolve 16 orders of magnitude slower than

prokaryotes, that is, during the 4 billion years of life existence one would never observe a single act of speciation in higher organisms. If the eukaryotic $\mu+$ were universal, then prokaryotes would evolve 16 orders of magnitude faster than higher eukaryotes, which would correspond to one act of speciation per year per each of the 10¹⁴ square meters of Earth surface. This is in strong disagreement with the observed gross constancy of speciation rates (several million years for all taxa, deviations from that value being independent of the population size). This contradiction is quantitatively solved under the premise that RNA viruses, rapidly evolving due to a high mutation rate, synchronize the speciation rates in other biological kingdoms by supplying the biosphere with new meaningful fragments via horizontal gene transfer. Speciation occurs as an abrupt transition from one species to another, initiated by a novel meaningful fragment being incorporated into the genome, followed by a relatively rapid endogenic "tuning", which takes place via directional selection and results in the observed genetic differences between closely-related species being dispersed over the whole genome.

Nataliya V. Vdovina

(Nizhniy Novgorod State University, Russia)

Analysis of Self-regulation of Biological Systems in Evolution Aspect

Despite significant qualitative differences of structure and organization of living systems, all of them are open organized systems, characterized by their ability to actively preserve themselves (while expending energy) during a definite period of time. Self-preservation is the ability of living substances to design, to maintain and to reproduce their structure and to save in environment all their interactions with them. The self-preservation of living systems is provided by a "preliminary readiness" to their "inside" and "outside" interactions and by an ability of them for self-control. The preliminary readiness of living systems to interactions is shown by the differentiation of their elements, their functional specialization, and, with animals, in behavior as the function of its organism, which provides active interactions with the environment. The self-control as the management of the systems by the elements of their structure provides the execution of such conditions of systems' existence as "homeostasis" – the constancy of some parameters of the organism, and also provides possibility of coordinated alterations of the function level of all system's elements (the level of function) at its different states and maintain their interactions with the environment. Analysis of self-regulation of biological systems in evolution aspect allows drawing a conclusion about the interconnection between the organizational level and their system of self-

regulation. The results of the complication of the self-control system on the one hand leads to the increase of variants of regulating affects and expands the possibility to coordinate elements of the organism with each other and with its surrounding. On the other hand, it appears the necessity of regulating temporal dynamics and the force of different driving influences, the necessary to coordinate them. In particular, during the biological evolution the coordination between distant control and different local regulations took place, the efficiency of the control grew because of improvement of the feedback between control's system elements and objects of the regulation. The complication of interaction with the surrounding linked with the rise of the level of an animal organization led to the appearance of the emotional mechanism and to the inclusion a possibility to subjective experiences in it and also led to the formation of the organism demands fell them periodically. This complicates a control of the individual behavior. The philosophical comprehension and the analysis from the point of view of the Humanities and social sciences of peculiarities of the self-control of interactions in the animal's organism, and of interactions of the organism and the surrounding, may contribute to improving the efficiency of interactions and control in the society.

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On the Question about Developing by Hominids of the New Areal

The treatment of the questions of the arrival and establishment of hominids from Africa in the Northern latitudes has great importance for understanding the problems of the formation of stable populations of this group of primates in present-day Eurasia. The great majority of the well-known hominid burial places in Africa, the Near-East, the Caucasus, China, and Indonesia are confined to postvolcanic landscapes. The volcanic activity renewed in the Southern Caucasus at the end of the Neogene while maximum intensity was reached in the Anthropogene. This period is marked by the rapid development of a vegetative cover and of a fauna mainly of African origin. The burials of the rich complex fauna, which is confined to volcanogenic and volcanogenic-sedimentary rock masses with an age between 8.3 and 2.4 million years are discovered in the different districts of East Georgia. Among them is a place called Udabno (this name means desert) where the fragments of primate were discovered, which have been attributed to the group of *Dryopithecus* (age ~8 million years). In Dmanisi, the occurrence of the early hominids

(age 1.77 million years) has been confined to the sediments of volcanic origin. The culture layer lies just above the lava sheet of dolerite, where artifacts and faunal material had been buried in the volcanic ash. In Armenia there are numerous well-known Early Paleolithic camp sites of ancient people in blister caves. In the caves Yerevan-1 and Lusakert-1, the gorge of the Razdan river had stripped all the Wurm layers. The first layers contain therefore 10 (including 7 Mousterian) layers which were formed by aeolian transportation of the andesite-basalts' products of weathering (ash, scoria). Judging by the scarce data, the blister caves in the contiguous regions of Azerbaijan, Iran and Turkey might have served as shelters for ancient people from the Acheulian and Mousterian epochs. Among the various causes which influenced on the life and behavior of the first people in different parts of the world, volcanism was important and sometimes determined phenomena, which caused abrupt changes both in the environment's regime and in evolutionary reactions by the populations and individuals which inhabited these areas. Thus, the expansion of regions where organisms came to live took place by the mechanism of step-by-step moving of these populations from less favorable to more favorable habitats. This process of prochores we understand as partial case of the ecogenetic expansion, which is inherent to most of the living organisms.

Agnieszka Ryczek

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***The Evolution of Charles Darwin's Theory of Natural Selection
in Peter Singer's Bioethics***

Darwin's theory of natural selection and human societies' "struggle for life" has an important role in Peter Singer's theory of bioethics as it acts as a source of values, knowledge and truth within anthropology. As an influential paradigm within biology, it has also proponents within the philosophical field. An important factor in 21st century philosophy is 'social Darwinism,' which has its foundations in Utilitarian theory. Social Darwinism underpins Peter Singer's work on ethics and the study of bioethics of the Western World. Natural selection in human society has led to a continuous conflict, for instance over topics such as abortion or euthanasia. Do these western bioethical questions require a novel form of morality or structure of law, or a new vision of the individual, in order to answer them?

Edmundas Lekevičius

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***Ecological Succession – An Easily Available Model
of Evolutionary Assembly of Ecosystems?***

Over 50 years ago a famous zoogeographer P. J. Darlington called everyone's attention for the fact that local communities are functionally converging. Later, this idea was confirmed by the inventors of the concept of ecosystems. After a while it was called the functional convergence of ecosystems. It is foremost viewed as the convergence of production pyramids and of local nutrient cycles. Even though the convergence itself does not raise any doubts, it still lacks an explanation. Nonetheless, there are some facts that could show us the way. For example, it is known that local ecosystems can be assembled by migration and/or evolution *in situ*. Furthermore, ecological pyramids are assembled similarly in the case of both succession and evolution: the initiative always belongs to producers, who provoke the emergence of herbivores and so on, till the upper levels of the pyramid are assembled. Together with functional convergence this allows to suspect that the organization of ecosystems and their functional features as a final result do not depend on the exact manner of the assemblage. It is quite possible that both succession and evolution are directed by the same functional constraints. These constraints should be understood as permissions and prohibitions, or positive and negative feedbacks, which prevent the emergence of unstable structures. In my opinion, this hypothesis allows to explain why trends in the change of ecosystem parameters during succession (Odum, 1969) are surprisingly similar to the trends observed in evolution (Lekevičius, 2002). Maybe it is time that we, biologists, start thinking about a unified theory of the functioning of and evolution ecosystems. It is perhaps not necessary to take a long trip back in time to discover evolutionary regularities and mechanisms. They may well exist right here, under our feet, in an abandoned field or on the sea-bank, because forces that are operating today probably were active millions of years ago as well.

Aleksey A. Romanchuk

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Anthropogenesis as a Fluke:

The Problem of Non-random Causes of Hominid Evolution

Among the mainstream public it is commonly accepted today that the appearance of thinking creatures was the "goal" of evolution. Palaeo-

anthropologists, by contrast, consider anthropogenesis to be the result of random coincidence of some accidental factors (“The Eastside Story”). Supposedly these factors led the hominids to crisis and the only one escape for them was to become a thinking creature and to create culture. Was anthropogenesis really a fluke? To answer this question we should keep in mind that according to modern genetic data, *Homo sapiens sapiens* appeared in only one center – to be precise in East Africa. Furthermore, a monocentric (also African) origin is usually suggested for paleoanthropic humans as well. So the mysterious question is why Africa (in fact only East Africa) was the only “magical” place where new progressive forms of hominids appeared, even after hominids had spread out of Africa. The “idea of fluke” could explain one event but not the case of repeated events. The idea of “multiply origins” for paleoanthropic and neoanthropic humans contradicts the idea of “a fluke” from the other side. It seems that we should look for some non-accidental causes of anthropogenesis which would give birth to hominids in the same time and at the same place even if the “Eastside Story” had not happened. I suspect that the modern discoveries in genetics (as M. D. Golubovskii said, now we understand that “the cell and genome do not wait for random appearance of adaptive mutation but can respond to challenges of the environment by active genetic search”) provide us the possibility to detect these non-accidental causes.

Dali G. Mumladze

Nino N. Lomidze

(Institute of Geography, Tbilisi, Georgia)

The Role of the Climatic System in the Process of Man's Evolution

Over a period of centuries, the origin of life and, consequently, its evolution on our planet has been studied mainly by philosophers, biologists and astronomers. Yet the investigation of this problem from a geographical standpoint is urgent and advisable. It is hard to imagine the existence of the organic world and its evolution without the presence of the atmosphere, which is one of the important components of the climatic system. Without exaggeration it may be said that “No atmospheric air – no life”. That is why the origin of Man and his evolution is closely linked with the climatic system and its changes. Scientists who thought materialistically and were developing Darwin's ideas gave rise to well-composed and logical concepts. According to it, Central Asia is the center where separation of man's ancestors from animals took place (Acad. A. P. Okladnikov). The base of it was change of lifestyle of man's closest ancestors - ancient highly organized monkeys, which meant

their descent from trees to the ground in connection with dying out of timber plants. The elimination of forests was followed by the powerful orogenesis that caused large scale changes of the global climate, when multiple glaciations took place at the beginning of the anthropogene (~2 mln. years ago). Irrespective of which continent was the cradle of Humankind, in all cases of deforestation, which can be explained by changes of climate, was one of the important preconditions of man's evolution. It is evident that glaciation was the cause of devastation of the biodiversity of those species which could not migrate or adapt to the low temperatures and worsened conditions of the environment. Some species acclimatized to rigid and quickly changeable climatic conditions and new species were even formed. Most probably, due to stimulative impact of cold, apes became very active in the struggle for existence at that period and in due course developed into a modern man.

Vladimir S. Friedmann

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***The Basic Tendencies in Evolution of Vertebrates Signalization Systems:
From Sign Stimuli to Semantically Coding of Signals
and "Animal Language"***

We investigated some features of the vertebrates' signalization systems evolution. There are two groups of such features for different levels of communicative system progress: motivational signals and referential signals. Demonstrations for motivational signals (releasers) play a role on the motivational level and following animal behavior indicators. Demonstrations for referential signals have an external referent and reflect alternative categories of problem situations, which are generated in interaction. These categories are "names" of different situations and programs to solve them. Motivational signals force something to react as it necessary for the next process stage. Referential signals allow something to choose its reaction freely. They are arbitrary signs in its structure and function.

Elena N. Bukvareva

(Severtsov Institute of Ecology and Evolution
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The Principle of Optimum Diversity in Biological and Social Systems

We propose the principle of optimum diversity for biological systems above the organism level (populations and ecological communities). According to

this principle, the optimum values of inner diversity of bio-systems correspond to their maximum viability (effectiveness). We investigated a mathematical model of a hierarchical system. The subsystems of the lower level are interpreted as populations, while those of the upper level are interpreted as a community made up by these populations. The characteristic for estimating diversity – the ability of active existence (reproduction) under different environmental conditions. The model operates with diversity indexes at three hierarchical levels: diversity of individual reactions (a width of tolerance zone); phenotypic diversity within a population; species diversity in a community (number of populations). This hierarchical system exists in an environment with variable intensity and stable resource flows. The optimality criteria correspond to the maximum effectiveness of resource utilization by the bio-systems (maximum biomass/numbers at fixed volume of resource consumption, or minimum resource consumption at fixed biomass/numbers). The investigation of the model has shown that optimum values of diversity exist at population and community levels and that they depend on characteristics of individuals and the environment. For example, the optimum values of diversity at the population and community levels depend on environmental instability in an opposite manner: optimum species diversity increases in more stable environments, but the optimum intra-population diversity decreases. High intensity of resource flow corresponds to higher values of species diversity. Widening of individual reactions changes optimality parameters at higher levels, in particular, allows higher species diversity. The optimization may be considered as addition mechanism of forming and evolution of diversity on ecological and evolutionary scales (successions of communities, forming of intra-specific diversity, speciation, evolution of communities, origin of new structural levels of bio-systems). The model of optimum diversity is applicable to complex systems which consist of statistical and structural levels. In particular it is interesting to interpret the principle of optimum diversity concerning human society. In that case the investigated characteristic may be diversity of reactions (types of activity) of people; undifferentiated groups of people may be considered as populations; and the community level may represent any structured community which consists of groups with different interests or social reactions.

Andrey M. Burovsky

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**The Western Part of the Eurasia –
A Special Macroevolutionary Territory**

All families, classes, ecosystems and civilizations have their own origin: new biological taxa and new cultural beginnings are provided by certain territories. The most important for macroevolution ecosystems, biological taxa (including *Homo*) and new civilizations appear mostly in Africa and west Eurasian territories. This territory is closely linked with the appearance of mammals, most part of modern families and classes of primates and *Homo* (including *Homo sapiens*), the first appearance of agricultural civilization, art, animal husbandry, burial ceremony, house building, fire usage. In this certain space appear such phenomena as civilization, civil society, Christianity, New Age civilization. The birth of the modern civilization is closely linked to the nations which first appeared and developed in this region. The activity of these nations is tied to the possibilities of postmodern civilization. 20% of the land plays a decisive role in the development of the Earth. As a hypothesis explaining this phenomenon, we suppose that the contrasting, mosaic and variable characteristics of the environment of these regions determine its role. The drop of potentials between adjacent or near territories becomes the source of the rapid dynamics of all known forms of substance (this is the case for both inert and intelligent substance). In regions with a highly contrasting and mosaic character, all developments became rapid.

Leonid E. Grinin

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Andrey V. Korotayev

(Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow)

On Similarities and Differences between Social and Biological Evolution

We maintain that the most important similarities between the two types of evolution stem from the following points: 1. There are systematic similarities between biological and social organisms (including the division of functions between their organs); 2. The principles of the transmission of matter, energy, and information within a biological organism have certain similarities with the ones with respect to a social organism, within which the exchange of matter, energy, and information also takes place (*e.g.*, through the market exchanges, or the functioning of political subsystem); 3. In both cases we do not deal with isolated organisms; we rather deal with a complex interaction between systems of organisms and their external environment; 4. There is a direct “genetic” link between the two types of evolution; 5. There is a mutual influence between biological and social evolution; 6. Humans are biological organisms and social agents at the same time. The most important differences

stem from the following points: 1. The biological evolution is more additive and accumulative in its character. Up to a considerable extent it follows the principle “The new is added to the old”, whereas the social evolution (especially in the last two centuries) rather follows the opposite principle “The new replaces the old”. 2. An individual social organism can evolve, an individual biological organism does not evolve, the biological evolution occurs at a higher level (population, species *etc.*). What is more, an individual social organism can experience more than one significant evolutionary transformation. 3. Individual social organisms can evolve new socio-cultural elements independently as well as through the borrowing of innovations. An individual biological organism cannot evolve in either of these ways. 4. A social organism can evolve as a result of the conscious activities of social agents within this social organism who purposefully aim to achieve such an evolutionary transformation. There are no analogies for such types of evolutionary changes within biological evolution. 5. With respect to the transmission of key information, radical differences exist between biological and social evolution. Most notably, within biological evolution the acquired traits are not inherited, as a result of which biological evolution occurs at a very slow pace.

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Possibilities of Comparison between Biological and Social Macroevolution

The comparison between biological and social macroevolution is a very important (though insufficiently studied) subject, the analysis of which offers new significant possibilities to understand the processes, the trends, mechanisms, and peculiarities of both types of macroevolution. Of course there are a few rather important (easily understandable) differences between them. It appears possible, however, to also identify a number of fundamental similarities. One may single out at least three fundamental sets of factors which determine these similarities. First of all, they stem from the fact that in both cases we are dealing with very complex non-equilibrium (yet rather stable) systems, whose principles of functioning and evolution are described by General Systems' Theory as well as by a number of cybernetic principles and laws. In the second place, in both cases we do not deal with isolated systems but with a complex interaction between systems of organic systems and the

external environment, whereas the reactions of systems to external challenges can be described in terms of certain general principles (which, however, express themselves rather differently within biological reality on the one hand, and within the social reality on the other hand). Thirdly, it is necessary to mention a direct “genetic” link between the two types of macroevolution and their mutual influences. It is important to emphasize that the very similarity of the principles and regularities of the two types of macroevolution does not imply that they share similar identities. To the contrary: significant similarities are frequently accompanied by enormous differences. For example, genomes of the chimpanzees and the humans are very similar – with differences constituting just a few percent. Yet the very different intellectual and social capabilities of chimpanzees and of humans are hidden behind the at first sight rather “insignificant” differences between the two genomes. Thus, in certain respects it appears reasonable to consider biological and social macroevolution as a single macroevolutionary process. This implies the necessity to understand the general laws and regularities describing this process, even though their manifestations may display significant variations, depending on the properties of the concretely evolving entity (biological, or social one). An important notion possibly contributing to the improvement of the operational level concerning the comparison between these two types of macroevolution is the one that we suggested some time ago, namely *social aromorphosis*. This concept was developed as a counterpart to the notion of biological aromorphosis, which is well established within Russian evolutionary biology. We regard social aromorphosis as a rare qualitative macro-change, which leads to a very significant increase in complexity, adaptability, and mutual influence of social systems, thus opening up new possibilities for social macro-development. In our paper we discuss a number of regularities which describe biological and social macroevolution and which employ the notions of social and biological aromorphosis, such as, for instance, the “payment for arogenic progress,” “special conditions for the aromorphoses’ genesis” etc.

Mikhail V. Ilyin

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Another Distinction: The Evolution of a Species and an Oikos as an Important Factor in Biological and Social Evolution

Based on the pioneering study of common principles and rules of macroevolution [Гринин, Марков, Коротчаев 2008] this paper puts forward a distinction between evolution of a species and of an oikos adding to the differences

between biological and social evolution. The metaphor of a society as an organism has dominated social thinking for ages from Menenius Agrippa to the present day. However, this metaphor is fallacious. All the similarities between an organism and society [Hallpike 1986: 33] are nothing but their most general systemic properties. A proper analogy for a social community is an ecosystem or oikos. What could be a proper analogy for a species – the main unit and level of biological evolution? One may suggest that it is a social role – “The units which make up all social systems <...> are *roles*” [Almond and Powell 1966: 21]. In other words humankind being a biological species is a social system or oikos. This fact accounts for ambiguity of the distinction between biological and social evolution. A more clear-cut distinction can be made between the evolution of a species and of an oikos. Based on this premise one may also advocate that the evolution of both species and roles follows a Darwinian-like logic of selection, while the evolution of oikos (ecosystems, societies etc.) may have Lamarckian-like logic of adaptation in the case of ecosystems, or even conscious accumulation of acquired characteristics in the case of social systems.

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Andrey V. Korotayev

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Hyperbolic Growth in Biological and Social Macrosystems

Changes in biodiversity through the Phanerozoic correlate much better with hyperbolic model (widely used in demography and macro-sociology) than with exponential and logistic models (traditionally used in population biology and extensively applied to fossil biodiversity as well). The latter models imply that changes in diversity are guided by a first-order positive feedback (more ancestors, more descendants) and/or a negative feedback arising from resource limitation. Hyperbolic model implies a second-order positive feedback. The hyperbolic patterns of the World System technological, economic, demographic, and socio-cultural growth arise first of all from a second-order positive feedback between the population size and the rate of technological growth. The hyperbolic character of biodiversity growth can be similarly accounted for by a feedback between the diversity and community structure complexity. The similarity between the curves of biodiversity and human population probably comes from the fact that both are derived from the interference of the hyperbolic trend with cyclical and stochastic dynamics.

Alexander V. Oleskin

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***Useful and Harmful Interactions
between Hierarchies and Networks in Biological and Social Systems***

In recent decades, a novel interdisciplinary research direction, referred to as biopolitics, has been making good progress around the globe. It concentrates on comparative studies on living systems and human society, with special attention to political systems and their analogues in biosocial systems of various life forms. A focal point is the issue concerning the role and functions of centralized (hierarchical) and distributed (horizontal, network-type) structures. Both types of structures (and transitional structures) contribute to the development of biosystems and human society, and ideally networks are responsible for “postorganizational” activities after the hierarchy has not done its organizational job. Actually, hierarchy-network relations may be far from being harmonious, and this point is exemplified by (i) the political system interacting with networks in society and (ii) the human organism where the central nervous system performs hierarchical functions but the organism is also subject to regulation by decentralized agents such as networks of microbial cells inhabiting diverse niches including the gastro-intestinal tract. Network-hierarchy interactions can be beneficial for hierarchies: networks can strengthen the political system (exemplified by the *oprichnina* under John the Terrible or the “Nashi” network in the present-day Russia) or improve a person’s physical and mental health and social behaviour (the job of useful bacteria including probiotics). Networks can also produce deleterious effects on hierarchical structures, due to their systemic properties. The following points are emphasized: (i) a network can expand beyond the boundaries of a hierarchical structure and communicate with “outsiders”; (ii) a network’s excessive growth can disrupt the hierarchy’s activities; and (iii) a network does not behave in conformity with the hierarchy’s rhythms and can disrupt them. The presentation deals with strategies that can help us overcome the harmful effects of hierarchy-network interactions.

Yury I. Onoprienko

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The Analysis of Information Processes in Nature and Society

In the head of a corner of system-theoretical researches of the 20th century, the problem of the creation of universal general scientific methodology has

been put. Unfortunately, in the beginning of the current century this convention does not exist. The system-information approach offered here deals with this urgent lack in scientific knowledge. The approach, originally developed for the solution of problems of the macroevolution of tetracorals (*Rugosa*) on the boundary between the Devonian and Carboniferous, has led to unexpected conclusions, both in the field of evolutionary biology and in development of system-information representations, in fact in all areas of natural-scientific and humanitarian knowledge. A consistent axiomatics is offered based on the premises of information theory, including the definition of the last general organizational property of structured matter and its derivatives. From uncontested examples from the spheres of biology, psychology and sociology, *the law of preservation of the information* is proven, assuming the existence of the latter in the realized kind (structure and properties of material or ideal systems-carriers) is actual information, or in the latent non-system condition - the potential information which represents some kind of evolutionary "memory" of systems-carriers – evolutionary predecessors of the considered system. Hashing of these two types of information is interfered by *the law of consistency of the information* which follows by *a principle of self-preservation of systems*. The characteristic of system properties of the information rests upon *the concept of the information stereotype* and *the principle of cooperations*. Approach substantive provisions are stated in 7 monographies, 4 original manuals, in tens brochures and articles, reported at numerous domestic and international forums. About 20 years some courses of lectures on the given problem are being read at universities of the Far East. The laws characterizing system properties of the information are quite fit in the concepts of A. Einstein, L. von Bertalanffy, K. Popper and many other things scientists-theorists about the necessity of use of universal (isomorphic) laws, for creation of consistent general scientific methodology.

Alexander B. Savinov

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***Methodological Problems of Studying
Biological and Social Macroevolution***

For the development of the theory of evolution it is necessary to develop and use those scientific concepts and categories (i.e. most the general concepts) which allow to describe, analyze and predict evolutionary processes correctly. This is especially important while comparing biological evolution and the evolution of human society. In this context it is important to address L.E. Grinin, A.V. Markov and A.V. Korotayev's book «Macroevolution in

wildlife and society» (2008). The comparative analysis undertaken by the authors is based on laws, as biological and social systems submit to the same cybernetic principles of organization, functioning and evolution. However, the specificity of the specified systems is such that it demands a more strict definition of many categories and concepts. For these authors, biological macroevolution is «evolution at a level above a biological species». And a species is a group of morphogenetic similar individuals (organisms), freely interbreeding among themselves, but not with individuals (organisms) of other species. It is clear, that by borrowing evolutionary ideology and terminology from the theory of biological evolution, we cannot absolutely put the same sense in the borrowed concepts by consideration of questions of the organization, functioning and evolution of social systems. Really, it is impossible to specify analogues of biological species among social systems. In this connection social macroevolution is offered for treating as process «suprasocium changes on the basis of occurrence ... social aromorphosis» (Grinin *et al.*, 2008). Thus under social aromorphosis it is understood «the universal (widely widespread) change (innovation) in development of social organisms and their systems which considerably raises complexity, fitness, cohesion and mutual influence of societies». I believe, that for social aromorphosis it is necessary to supplement this qualitative definition by quantitative characteristics. In a complex of the last, obviously, there could be such parameters as, for example, gross national product, economy of industrial and ground resources, etc. Also deemed necessary are precise concepts describing the evolutionary status of social systems. In particular, apparently, it is necessary to specify social systems which could be considered to be elementary evolutionary units. In the synthetic theory of evolution (STE), the elementary evolutionary unit defines a population as a group of organisms of one kind. But also here there is a problem: categories such as organism and population characterize rather simplified models while ignoring important aspects such as symbiosis and symbiogenesis (Savinov, 2007). According to this principle, the first organic system level is autocenosis (i.e. system «host–symbionts»); secondly, it is necessary to consider as an elementary evolutionary unit not a population but democenosis, i.e. system autocenosis. It is proposed that such approach developed within the limits of an integrative theory of evolution (Savinov, 2008) opens up new prospects of researches not only in biological but also in social evolution.

Svetlana A. Borinskaya
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Interdisciplinary Approach to Study Traits:

Conservativeness and Frequency of Trait Usage in Different Systems

Each biological and social system contains elements with some specific traits. As elements of real systems are not identical it is important to consider what part of these elements has such a trait, i.e. what the frequency is of that particular trait. The primary trait of biological system consists of their genes: the nucleotide sequence of its DNA. The activity of different gene differs and depends on the intensification of a needed metabolic process at a particular period in time. In its turn, it depends on environmental conditions and, in case of multi-cellular organisms, on the type of tissue and on its developmental stage. Recently, some methods appeared which permit to measure the level of activity of specific genes. According to data from comparative studies of nucleotide sequences of different species ranging from yeast to humans, the rate of evolution of highly active genes is on average lower than that of genes with a low activity. The evolutionary rate was determined in terms of the number of changes in nucleotide sequences acquired during a certain period of time. Analogous data on the conservation of intensively used elements were collected not from a biological but from a cultural system. The comparative study of lexical changes in Indo-European languages demonstrated that frequently used words are better conserved. As demonstrated by Pagel *et al.*, 2007, in particular the rate of regularization of irregular verbs in English depends on their frequency of usage. Of 177 Old-English (~ AD 800) irregular verbs, 145 remained irregular in Middle English (~ AD 1200) and 98 are still irregular in Modern English. The authors indicate that the half-life of an irregular verb scales as the square root of its usage frequency: a verb that is 100 times less frequently used regularizes 10 times as fast. Analogous differences of evolution rate can be traced for such elements of spiritual culture as oral ethnic narratives. The more frequent a narrative is told within an ethnic group, the lower is its rate of its change, i.e. the larger the group of people who know and replicate a story is, the slower it changes.

Han Goo Lee

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The Evolution of Civilizations through the Fusion of Cultural Genetics

This paper consists of three theses: 1). Globalization should mean the fusion of civilizations. Currently it is difficult to argue for the uniqueness of civilizations. It is because we are excessively mingling with others in a single space of life. That civilizations cannot be reduced to a common denominator has become an empty and unrealistic theory of scientific paradigms. Fur-

thermore, it is the wrong approach to solve the problem of identity by returning to the original identity of the past. Identity should be sought from a creative standpoint that looks towards the future. Identity is not the same as an unchanging type. This is why I argued that we must advance towards synthesis of civilizations bypassing the clash or coexistence of civilizations; 2). The fusion of civilizations is the best way to bring about the recombination and creation of cultural genes. What is the fusion of civilizations? How is the evolution of civilizations possible? From the viewpoint of cultural genes, the fusion and evolution of civilizations can be explained by the recombination and creation of cultural genes; 3). Through the recombination and creation of cultural genes, the evolution of civilizations proceeds. What is the agent to make new civilizations? Is it cultural genes or human being? Do cultural genes manage the evolution of civilizations or do human beings produce the fusion of established cultural genes with new cultural genes? I argue that we can explain the evolution of civilization at the level of cultural genes, and that human beings are not the machines of cultural genes.

Vladimir Suchan

(University of Maine, Fort Kent, USA)

***What Does Materialism Mean for Our Civilizational Evolution?
(Mounting a Philosophical Offensive in the Global Materialist System)***

Life is evolution. This simple truism, however, begs a host of questions, of the more fundamental and critical being, “evolution of what or towards what”? Without understanding the so-called telos, end, or purpose of life, a key element in grasping the meaning and direction of life is missing. Without assuming the hubris of attempting to offer any definitive answer to the question of life or the meaning of evolution, it might, nevertheless, be possible to propose that life is a learning process, hence a growth in knowledge and wisdom. Life is then, accordingly, a growth in life’s self-knowledge. In other words, life is a learning of the art of living. In this, a tacit or implicit assumption is made, one that somehow connects, if not even equates, life with the mind, the spirit, or the soul. Conversely put, experience and learning then serve directly or potentially the great principle of evolution and prepare or impede a progression to the next stage. Arguably, the key ideological, cultural, psychological, and also scientific structures of our dominant world system are currently defined in terms of materialism. In its turn, materialism also represents a certain structure and even hierarchy of knowledge and power. In this context and also with respect to our civilization, our own time in history and our place on the trajectory of evolution, the following great questions

then arise: “If life is evolution that is based on certain teleological laws, what is then the meaning of our materialism by means of which the West has come to rule the world as one global system over the course of the last five hundred years?” “What makes materialism so effective and so powerful?” “What function does materialism serve in the game of life?” “Why materialism?” “What role and place does materialism have for life and human evolution?” “What is the telos of materialism?” These questions will be the subject of my conference paper, and I will approach them from a position of a Platonist, political philosopher.

Clément Vidal

(Free University of Brussels, Belgium)

Cognition: Its Evolution through its Externalization

In this paper, we argue that the externalization of cognitive functions have produced major transitions in the history of culture. The invention of language can be analyzed as an *externalization of basic mental processes* through their vocalization. This allowed the correlations made between objects in reality and an internal memory of an individual to be shared with other individuals. The apparition of language in the history of culture is certainly very important transition, as it probably allowed the first steps towards the socialization of humans. The next step is to register those vocalizations into an external medium. The invention of writing is precisely this *externalization of memory*. This allowed an accurate reproduction and a safeguard for knowledge. Indeed, knowledge could easily be lost and distorted in an oral tradition. Much later, the invention of computing devices allowed the *externalization of computation*. The general purpose computer inspired by the work of Church, Gudel, Kleene and Turing, and its formal specifications constitute the most general computing device. The invention of hypertext, and later of the web is an improvement on the invention of writing, and can be analyzed as a globally distributed, collective and dynamical memory. The idea to make to-do lists can be argued to be an *externalization of actions*. By writing down next physical actions to do, this process gives power on actions, because you free your mind from remembering them and having your future actions in an external medium gives you the ability to reorganize and reconsider them. By using logical diagrams, it is possible to *externalize reasoning*, (e.g. with Goldratt's theory of constraints) thus providing a greater control over problem solving and argumentation. The reasoning then becomes easier to criticize, revise, understand and discuss.

Elena S. Kurkina
(Mendeleev University of Chemical Technology, Moscow, Russia)
***Synergy Analyses of the Global Historical Processes:
Laws of Evolution and Images of Future***

Global historical processes are considered and laws of the global evolution of the world community are investigated. The world community is considered as united self-organizing complex system. The main result of its production was the creation of its own developing medium and world: economic and social-cultural superstructures. It suggested that the main driving force of socio-economic evolution was the positive reversal coupling between the number of people and the level of technological development, which was the origin of growth in the blow-up regime in terms of population and global economic indexes. Furthermore, every social-economical epoch was characterized by its own specific spatially distributed structures. The global dynamics of the world community during the whole of history is investigated through the prism of the development of spatial-temporal structures. The study of the mechanisms of their formation and interaction on different stages of evolution, leading to integration or to destruction, allows to establish and understand the laws of the global evolution. It is shown that evolution in the blow-up regime leads to strengthening processes of differentiation of society on different levels of hierarchy and to processes of concentration of people, money, knowledge etc in some central places. As a result, there is a decrease in the number of countries, cities, technological and scientific centers, which provide the dynamics of world evolution and concentrate the largest portion of capital. Furthermore, the instability of development is increasing, which leads in particular to the dramatically destruction of former complex systems. All of these processes can lead to collapse, or to crash of civilization. The alternative way is the transition to another type of existence, which is lacking yet within our World-System. At the present time the world community experiences the most important revolution or bifurcation in its history, which is connected with the end of the evolution in the blow-up regime and the transition to another type of civilization founded on the different laws of existence. The study permits to describe some of the most important characteristics of the future of human civilization. Almost certainly, a major feature will be the co-evolution between mankind and nature. The study is supported by the results of mathematical modeling.

Akop P. Nazaretyan

(Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, Russia)

***Technology and Psychology:
Researching a Mechanism of Anthropogenic Crises***

After investigating numerous episodes of man-made local, regional and global crises at different historical epochs, we revealed a systemic relationship between three variables of social existence: a society's technological power, the quality of its regulatory mechanisms, and its internal viability. Thus, a persistent pattern, which we named *the law of techno-humanitarian balance*, states that *the more developed a society's technologies are, both for production and military means, the more refined the regulatory means are which are required for its self-preservation*. For the formal apparatus, we distinguish between *external* and *internal* sustainability. The former, i.e. a society's ability to withstand natural and/or geopolitical fluctuations increases in proportion to its technological potential. The latter – its ability to avoid endogenous catastrophes – is a more delicate parameter. It declines if technological growth is not complemented by improving means of cultural regulation, including Law & Order, values and norms. The unbalanced society becomes more vulnerable to popular mental mood shifts, the whims of influential leaders, and other unpredictable factors. As technological power outstrips the quality of cultural regulation, a specific *Homo prae-crisimos syndrome* develops: mass euphoria, a sense of omnipotence and permissiveness, higher needs and ambitions, etc. Sooner or later, this development conflicts with the scarcity of resources, and the society falls a victim to its own unbalanced power. We suggest that this law has served as a selective mechanism through all of human history and prehistory: successive unbalanced societies went extinct by self-destroying their natural or political habitats. If, instead, a particular society found a radical way out of an evolutionary deadlock, this marked a turning point of history, and complex social, psychological and cultural transformations ensued. From the Lower Paleolithic up to our days, we describe at least seven such revolutions. Each involved new technologies with higher specific productivity, more effective information processing, more diversified and flexible social structures, and more refined value systems. Non-trivial corollaries of the hypothesis were used for verifying it. One is that, while technological power of destruction along with population densities have been growing for millennia, the ratio of violence victims to the overall population has not. To test this, we introduced a special comparative index, *Bloodshed Ratio (BR)* – the ratio of average deliberate *killings* for certain period ($k(\Delta t)$) to the *population* number ($p(\Delta t)$). Calculating this index for different epochs and societies (using available data and special formulas), we found an irregular downward trend in the long run.

(The research is supported by the Russian Foundation for Fundamental Research, grant №07-06-00300).

Vitaliy G. Sholokhov
(Dolgoprudny, Russia)

Society as Physical System with Consciousness

In the book “Productive forces and the historical process” Leonid E. Grinin has introduced the very important concept of “the through factors of historical process”. These factors are physical variables. They are elements of productive forces. And as physical variables they serve for the description of a human society. The meanings of this variable and their change are the skeleton within the framework of the historical process proceeds. We introduce the term system physical variable, which describes productions in a society. It encompasses labor, product, resource, energy, infrastructure and money. The analysis of the variables shows that only work is a naturally restored resource. Other variables describe what is created and consumed by human labor. The attitude of man’s productivity to the expended work is a measure of the productivity of labor. The conceptualization of a society as a physical system has its advantages and disadvantages. For example, it can be confusing that the human labor has a time dimension. But if one takes into account that man in his activities also uses other productive forces down to the geographical environment, the model becomes complex. The activity of the man is his exchange with the environment. It is natural to believe that the action of the man is equal to the counteraction of the environment. This equality is also the mathematical equation of human activity. The action of the man is a flow of entropy. We take the entropy in the form of a Rod. So man is in essence reasonable; the property of reflection of man is expressed in the way that the function of entropy has two lines variables. One line variables concerns man. The other line variables concerns the environment. The part of the environment forms society. The essence of reflection of human activity generates from a hierarchy of management, that is it generates from a system of authority. The control system is a system of self-organization. In the historical plan, the processes of self-organization of man and societies are evolution. The concept of self-organization of society is used for the analysis of the formula of the size of the productivity of labor. The results are used for an explanation of the change of public economic studies.

Lucy Badalian

Victor Krivorotov
(Millennium Workshop, Reston, USA)

***Systemic Exhaustion Followed by a Technological Shift
as Engine of Evolution***

The usefulness of any resource presumes the creation of a directed process of energy transfer from the resource to its user. The formation of typical trajectories for such transfers, further called feeding chains, is a system-shaping process. Its end-result is a coenosis, a fully formed system of hierarchical interconnected tiers. The lower levels of producers process resources, while the higher tiers of consumers control the process. This applies to both living and natural systems, including such as society, forests, the solar system, etc. Resources such as oil and coal had been known for millennia, but became system-forming only recently, in the 20th and 19th centuries respectively. A new type of ownership, ranging from communal property of the first civilizations to corporate ownership in the modern US, enabled the productive use of new territories, which were formerly considered wastelands. The rise of a new coenosis equaled a systemic technological shift. For example, the oil-based economy of the US grew in a region characterized by an extreme climate, which was unsuitable for the traditional farmer. Its supreme productivity was achieved by developing a brand new, oil-based economy around the mass-produced car, the conveyor-belt-style mass production for factories/fields, and the transportation of standardized interchangeable parts across continents. This process has its inner logic, with 2 main stages: 1). IN – large infrastructure projects between world wars announced maturity/scalability of the system, which could then radiate to its close periphery of the West; 2). OUT – the Oil Shock of the 1980s pushed the dominant power to reach for the resources/labor of the far periphery, despite its low productivity within the oil-based economy US-style. This was somewhat compensated for by its size and ever faster returns after developing the logistics of globalization based on computer chips and the Internet. The rapidly increasing global trade flows could be redirected by the tiniest differences in returns and became synchronized, thereby creating “hot money”, resembling a tsunami. In the “ocean” of transactions such as futures/contracts they were harmless, yet they acquired a destructive force of a Systemic Sudden Stop (Calvo, 2003) upon meeting with real countries/industries/goods. The current crisis is systemic – it shows the limits of the super-efficient overstretched global system. Any outside blow or even the slowing down of its flows can result in its collapse and in a systemic shift to a new techno-cultural package.

Tony Harper

(New Trier College, Winnetka, USA)

The Trajectory of the World-system over the Last 5000 Years

That history has a path, a trajectory through time, has been the focus of study by many prominent scholars including Marx (1859), Toynbee (1946), Diakonoff (1999), and others. It is the intent of this paper to delineate this path as a trajectory of the world-system through time. The term world-system is used here as initially defined by Wallerstein (1974) and then modified by Modelski (2003) to represent a single, global, world-system. This paper addresses the problem of delineating the trajectory of the world-system from a more quantitative and mathematical perspective than has previously been done. Assuming that urban areas through time have a Pareto-like distribution, a mathematical model relating the magnitude of the total world-system population, T , the ratio of largest to smallest urban area, a , and γ , a measure of the form of the distribution and also a proxy for the connectedness of the distribution, is constructed. The model is used to graphically represent all possible states of the world-system and to plot the actual position of the world-system through time. The actual trajectory has some notable large-scale characteristics which are discussed. Other smaller scale trends are also noted. A partial analysis of the constraints limiting this system is given and includes a consideration of the magnitude of changes in each of the model variables, the relationship between changes in the variables, α and C , of the distribution of urban areas, and a consideration of the relationship between γ and future values of that variable removed by one, two, or three centuries. The (apparent) scale-free nature of the model is also assessed. Finally, it is noted that the analysis of residuals of the linearized relationships between γ and both T and a yield cyclical changes with very long term periodicity.

Maksim Tsvetovat

(George Mason University, Fairfax, USA)

Conflict Cascades and Self-Organized Criticality in Dynamic Networks

The complexity of human social structures often masks the simplicity involved in their development. Social networks are a product of dynamic processes and feedback. In other words, the ties that people make affect the topology of a network and the form of a network affects the ties that people make. Therefore, social network structure evolves in a path-dependent manner. Conflicts, or breaking of network ties, are a crucial force regulating the network structure. As ties are created, network density can increase beyond a

sustainable level – and conflicts serve to thin out the structure and provide room for cyclical development and shift of structural properties. Under certain conditions, conflicts may propagate through the network, resulting in a cascade. We demonstrate structural role of conflicts through a simple agent-based model. This paper shows a parsimonious model of network self-organization and creation of societal complexity based on Heider's theory of structural balance. These rules generate a variety of complex structures that correspond statistically and qualitatively to those observed in the real world. We find that as a social system grows, it undergoes two phase transitions - a transition from a linear to an exponential growth regime, and a transition to a dynamic equilibrium where growth and conflict-related link destruction counter-balance each other. Further, we find that certain conflict-related patterns (e.g. polarization against a common enemy, conflict by proxy) prove to be more stable than common-friendship patterns (e.g. Symmelian ties, previously thought to be highly stable), leading to the conclusion that conflict and conflict cascades are an essential force of societal formation.

Sergey V. Dubovsky

(Institute of Systemic Analysis, Moscow, Russia)

Social Evolution and Cycle of Kondratiev

In my presentation I offer the model of the Kondratiev cycles constructed on the axioms of non-stationary scientific and technical progress. Cycle waves during the historical period between 1793 and 2008 year are considered, while their possible dynamics during the rest of the 21st century is predicted. The characteristics of a cycle (minima and maxima of these waves and of the gross national product and rates of return) are compared to social cataclysms during this historical period. An interpretation of various social cataclysms during various characteristic situations of such a cycle is offered, as well as a forecast of a calendar of similar social cataclysms for the rest of the 21st century. The forecasts published in 1993, which turned out to be correct about the year 2008, are considered separately. The possible influence of the exhaustion of natural resources and of processes of globalization on the dynamics of the Kondratiev cycles and on social evolution is discussed.

Sergey Y. Malkov

(Academy of Military Science, Moscow, Russia)

The Logic of the Evolution of Geopolitical Structures

In this study an attempt was made to use the mathematical method for the analysis of the regularities in the geopolitical interaction between different states. The main peculiarity of social systems (including states) is the fact that they belong to the systems with a positive feedback (the most powerful has more opportunities for further reinforcement). The systems with a positive feedback are known to be *unstable*. Therefore the question arose if in such systems at least temporary stability could be obtained. This problem was investigated with the aid of complex systems' analysis, including states interaction modeling (the conditional information struggle model by Dmitriy S. Chernavsky). This model demonstrates that there are two principal ways to ensure comparative stability of geopolitical structures. They could be defined as: (a) union of weaks *around* the strong and (b) union of weaks *against* the strong. These two ways imply different strategies, the efficiency of which depends on existing conditions (resource base etc.). The main characteristics of these two ways are presented in the following table.

	Union of weaks <i>around</i> the strong	Union of weaks <i>against</i> the strong
Geopolitical structure	hierarchy of ally states	competing states (unions of states)
Stability attainment mechanism	reinforcement of the leader, concentration of the resources, delegation of powers	suppression of reinforcing enemy, allying against the strong
Stability reduction factor	rise of distrust and inner rivalry	competitive advantages, monopolies
The way to rise stability	increase of trust in the system, voluntary delegation of powers	increase of competition
Ethical principles	“declaration of the good”, play rules setting, unity of purpose	“prohibition of the evil”, play rules agreement, pluralism
Type of political system	powerful center, authoritarianism, hierarchy of power	weak center, separation of power, containment and counterpoise

Some historical examples are examined. The logic of formation and evolution of geopolitical structures is explored.

Anatoliy A. Shtyrbul

(Omsk State Pedagogical University, Russia)

Anarcho-Polity:

The Evolution and Transformation from Theory to Practice

In the middle of the 19th century the ideological doctrine of anarchy was established that rejected the government as such and strived to its immediate elimination, in fact, to its abolishment «not today then tomorrow» (though later this aspect was corrected by anarchists from time to time). The first practical attempts of the social anarchic revolution enforcement «according to Bakunin» were undertaken in 1870s (France, 1870, 1878; Spain, 1873; Italy, 1874, 1877; Russia, 1877). All of them failed. Only the Paris Commune stayed alive. The anarchists — prудonists acting together with the other political left-wing parties also tried to implement their own conceptions. Later, anarchists repeated their social experiments (Mexico, 1910-1911; Brazil, 1918; Russia, 1917-1921; Spain, 1931-1939). Of all the attempts to put anarchy theory into practice only two turned out to be successful: in the Mahno coalition in the southern part of the Ukraine (the so called «Mahnovia») in 1917-1921 and in Aragon («Aragon Republic» or «Aragon Commune») in 1936-1937. In the 20th century these revolutionary centers might be considered as average communities: these territories were inhabited by hundreds of thousands of people. However, while implementing the theory into practice the original idea had greatly been changed: the anarchists of both revolutionary centers could hardly avoid such «birthmarks» of the class governmental society as strict powerful structure, socioeconomic inequality, political violence. The latter applied not only to class enemies but also to the dissenting workers and “simulated political confederates” (the so-called national socialists). However in both cases all of that was caused mostly by the civil war and intervention. And if on the one hand it explains and somehow justifies such anarchists’ activities, on the other it proves the Marxists’ point of view concerning the impossibility of the state abolition “not today then tomorrow”. “Mahnoviya” and the Aragon anarchy were not the “anarchic states” as some Marxist and liberal researchers claim. But they did not conform to the anarchic model of the stateless society either. In 1936-1937 in Aragon there existed the pro-governmental military and political anarchists’ dictatorship, which externally resembled a state but in fact was still not a state. The followers of the Mahno politics established a certain anti-state form of powerful hierarchy that might be classified, according to our point of view, as military and political leadership and that might equally be considered as the pro-governmental form. The term “*anarcho-polity*” suggested as the classification name of the average anarchic center was introduced to pub-

lic attention in our book “The Stateless Societies in the Nationality Epoch” (Omsk 2006). The experience of both anarcho-polities, which really existed, shows serious contradictions between the model of anarchic society and its practice.

PANEL XV

Material Landscape of Power: Gender, Political Identity, and Complexity in Archaeological Context

Convenor: *Nikolay N. Kradin* (Institute of History, Archaeology, and Ethnology, Vladivostok, Russia)

As a discipline distinct from anthropology and history, archaeology studies the longue duree of human life. From the traditional perspective history as a narrowly defined discipline begins with the invention of writing. Ethnologists investigate recent non-state societies, groups already influenced by modernization. Historical and ethnological studies are useful for archaeologists. Archaeological sources are more fragmentary than written sources and the observations of ethnographers. Ceramics, fragments of artifacts, and stratigraphy levels are all that the archeologist has. How is it possible to study authority with these poor data? What does a rich burial signify for status position or property? Is there a correlation between social inequality, power, and domination in prehistoric and traditional societies? How may we distinguish, for example, chiefdoms from other complex non-state societies and the states and civilizations using archeological sources? We suggest to discuss the following problems: (1) Archeological criteria of rank and power; (2) Age, gender, and status in archaeological sources; (3) Elites, material symbols, and identity of cultural groups; (4) Landscape of power: architecture of habitation before and after death; (5) Archaeology of political spaces: peer polity, chiefdom, early state in material culture.

Nikolay N. Kradin
(Institute of History, Archaeology, and Ethnology
Vladivostok; Russia)

Archaeological Criteria of Archaic Civilizations

Some years ago, at the conference “Hierarchy and power”, I have given a report on the archaeological criteria of the complex societies which were called by Childe “civilizations”. Later on, these ideas were published in the paper (SE&H, 2006, No. 1). As the investigation source, the Murdock’s data base from his paper with Provost about criteria of cultural complexity (1972) served. The principal conclusions of my study lie in the fact that none of the Childe criteria is an indication of civilization with 100% guarantee. However,

there are some indications which are more characteristic of civilization - developed class structure, permanent residence, agriculture as a basis of economy, metallurgy. The Murdock's data base includes 186 societies, mainly, ethno-historical examples. Murdock tried to take into account the Galton problem and remove the cases of autocorrelation. But he could not take into account the global diffusion of technologies, institutions and ideologies. For this reason, many simple societies were already acquainted with the achievements of the complex societies at periods of pre-industrial world-system and, later, at a period of colonialism. The data base for the Peregrine (2003) prehistorical societies includes the examples from local groups to complex societies, pristine civilizations, and early states (2300000 – 600 BP). The results of examining this base show more substantial correlation between the indications (signs) than the results of my early study. The most significant results of this report are: (1) All the societies with the population of "large settlement more than 400 persons" are obligatory sedentary. (2) There are no societies with "true writing" which would have the "large settlement under 400 persons". (3) The societies with "true writing" have obligatory "3 or more levels above community" and "3 or more social classes or castes". (4) The societies which have "vehicles" are necessarily characterized by "3 or more social classes or castes".

Andrey V. Epimakhov

(Institute of History and Archaeology, Chelyabinsk, Russia)

Archaic Leader Image: the Bronze Age of Urals

The reconstruction of ancient social structures is one of the most popular subjects in Russian "social archaeology". The results of mortuary sites analyses are usually used as evidences for social heterogeneity. Mortuary rite differences are often treated as direct reflection individual status while alive. In my opinion, the situation is much more intricate because in ritual sphere the "ideal" social relations are rather represented and they are not necessary coincided with real ones. This thesis can be good illustrated for Ural area by means of comparison of kurgan necropolis models which changed during the Bronze Age (3rd – early 1st Millennium BC). Formal evidences allow us to determine this process as the social de-evolution. However, the level of social complexity variation is not only one possible explanation. Modification of reflective means of individual social position as another factor is also important. There were postmortem selection for the kurgan interment; complicated mortuary ritual; monumentality of funeral constructions; prestige signs; attributes of professional affiliation and so one. In general, it may suppose

some ideological transformation as the result of the key conceptions changing, which the archaic leader embodied. All these aspects will be developed in my paper. Basing on the concrete archaeological materials I will represent the possibility of reconstruction of this idea complex and also factors that determined this domination in specific historical situation.

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Petr K. Dashkovskiy

(Altay State University, Barnaul, Russia)

Religious Aspect of Political Authority
of Ancient and Mediaeval Central Asian Nomads

World outlook complex of ruler's sacralization as a person had formed in nomadic societies of South Siberia and Central Asia since Scythian epoch. He got his special status and position of supernatural forces will. Beginning from Xiongnu times and especially in Mongolian period there starts the formation of notions that whole ruling family was "chosen by God". Each member of Maotun, Ashina, Chinggis Khan kin got the status of "Eternal Heaven" envoy or that of the chosen one. Sacralization process found its reflection in world outlook views, burial-funeral complexes, literature sites, power symbols and other objects. The reflected in sources data about different forms of sacrifice, magic, mantic, funeral-burial complexes and cult buildings testifies to compound religious-mythological system and further tendency to forming and development of peculiar category of priests. Priests were bearers of important sacral information and could influence political events in nomads' empire, for instance, overthrew leaders. However, the formed religious elite did not transform into corporative social group of professional sacrifice for the reason of specific social-political organization of nomads and historical processes.

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Svetlana Sharapova

(Institute of History and Archaeology
Ekaterinburg, Russia)

Configuring Identity:

Patterns of Material Expression in Iron Age Societies

Recent advances in western anthropology and archaeology focus on assumption that prehistoric peoples present about themselves through their material culture (Morris 2000; Wells 2001; Meskell and Preucel 2007; Insoll 2007; etc.). Iron Age peoples of the temperate Eurasia were for the most part non-literate. Personal appearance, including head deformation and varieties of tattoos, combination of weaponry and jewellery are among non-verbal media that offer possibilities in which the individual can create and express identity. In non-literate societies memory plays a much greater role in preservation of tradition, and because of reliance on memory practice is more diverse (Goody 2000). Thus material objects play crucial roles as mnemonic devices. In the Iron Age (500 BC – 300 AD) socio-cultural landscape of the temperate zone of Eurasia was represented by the antiquities of the Sargat entity, the burial attributes of which contained evidence of developed social hierarchy (Koryakova 1997; Matveeva 2000). Geographically beyond the core zone some data (usually historical records) demonstrate the long-distance effect of expanding societies (mostly complex ones) on other communities. In cases where no written records document such long-distance effects, as in Iron Age Trans-Urals, imported goods, borrowed styles and mortuary practice can serve as proxies through which we can examine such a change. In the Iron Age archaeology of the Trans-Urals past studies of the Pontic beads and bronze utensils from China of the Han dynasty, the emphasis of research has been on using the imported objects for establishing chronology, studying trade systems, borrowing of customs, and exploring mechanisms such as prestige-good economies, centre-periphery interaction (Mogil'nikov 1973; Koryakova 1988, 2006; Matveeva 1994; Pogodin 1996). The undertaken research suggests how we can understand imports and other material manifestation in terms of the ways they were used for structuring identities among the peoples who acquired them.

Sergey A. Yatsenko

(Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow)

***Symbolism of Prestigious of Clan and Family Identity Marks (Nishan)
of the Ancient and Medieval Iranians***

The usage of identity marks of the Iranian World was widely spread beginning from the second half of the 7th c. BC, from the period when the large political formations of nomads in Tuva and the Altai mountains, Minusinsk valley in South Siberia and also the state of Chorasmia, Achaemenid Empire and the city of Samarkand in Sogdiana appeared. In many nomadic Iranian societies the identity marks were the signs of nobility. We see such signs on

horse harness and weapons details, on the stone slabs of funeral aristocratic complexes. Nishan-signs in the ancient times and, partly, in the Middle Ages kept (in a number of situations) archaic functions of a magic protective symbol. They can also be used in scenes of worshipping different gods. The fact of hundreds ancient Sarmatian clan signs being used by both their descendants and neighbors in the Northern Caucasus for about 2000 years seems as a strange. But there was an Iranian origin tradition: after the last representative of a famous ancient clan died, its identity mark became property of another neighboring one to adopt its power, strengthen its authority and get some good luck. The sign of aristocratic clan of nomads could also be used by dependant sedentary clans and also by allies and adopted brothers from other peoples. It is possible to clarify the direction of marriage connections between noble clans from different regions of Sarmatia analyzing dowry items (bronze kitchen cauldrons and special mirrors). In Sidak Mazdeist sanctuary in Middle Syrdarya region we see the signs of the rulers of neighboring regions which were made by the officials - their representatives. They were discovered, among them, on the big pottery wares (hum) with human bones.

Evgeny V. Vdovchenkov

(South Federal University, Rostov-on-Don, Russia)

***Monuments of Sokolovsky Type and Social Stratification Level
of the Don Region Population, 7th – 8th Centuries***

Nomadic tribes consolidated in powerful political associations in VII-VIII centuries in steppes of the Eastern Europe. Written sources speak about short-term existence of Great Bulgaria and occurrence of Khazars Khaganate. Similar processes should be accompanied by allocation and isolation of the nobility from a society. This isolation was reflected in the material culture traced in archaeological culture. The special attention at the analysis of a political situation in steppes should be turned on Sokolovsky type monuments (a number of researchers connected this culture with Khazars). Part of these sites contains the subjects possessing high social prestige: magnificent belts, rings, earrings, the precious metal ware, expensive fabrics, gold coins. Rich barrows differ from ordinary burials in the sizes of an embankment (height to 1,5) and the area limited by ditch (27×60m, 35×40). Richest sites contain catacombs. It is necessary to notice that the difference between rich and ordinary burials does not carry basic character. Ordinary burials differ only more poor stock and in the smaller sizes. Prestigious subjects in rich complexes adjoin to simple household things. It testifies that the culture of the nobility

has not turned yet to the independent phenomenon. Military traditions, universal arms of the population which have left monuments of Sokolovsky type, absence of burials with it is underlined by the low status speak about homogeneous enough society. These conclusions have preliminary character, and will be corrected with new finds.

Natalya A. Bersenyeva
(Institute of History and Archaeology, Chelyabinsk, Russia)
Weaponry as the Gender Marker
in the Iron Age Western Siberian Pastoral Societies

The gender distinctions system often has been immediate connected to vertical social hierarchy. The important of gender becomes much more obvious, if the redistribution and access to different material resources affects it. Appearance contains extremely important gender-distinctive information. Rank insignias were reinforced in complex personal funeral monuments. Also these sites included the gender insignias – codes of clothes and accessories for men and women. The objects connected with individual appearance were used to naturalize of social inequality. Huge royal (leaders') Sargat kurgans are clearly displayed the fact that the Iron Age societies were quite hierarchical and complex. The most magnificent (so-co-called "gold") tombs with full set of weaponry including the complete set of defensive and offensive weapons are identified as male. A minimum 60% of Sargat male burials contained a one or another weapon; and 20% of the women were accompanied with weapons. However, 30% of male graves and more than half of the women ones do not contain weapons or jewelry at all. The grave goods of such burials appear to be gender-neutral; they contain ceramic vessels, animal bones, iron knives, and individual beads or ornaments. Thus, the gender stereotypes, associating with "femaleness" and "maleness" social constructions, are performed more often and in full measure during a male interment. If the person was significant, its gender affiliation was reflected more clearly and firmly. "Men-warriors" gender category is most unambiguously demonstrated in the Sargat mortuary contexts. The weaponry in burials is main gender marker. It may indicate both the gender and vertical social position (for women) of buried. The gender distinctions inside one family, perhaps, were less pronounced (or visible) and significant than in sedentary communities of comparable complexity. Family ties are fundamental for mobile societies, because of the mobile mode of life and the different relationship to property. Both vertical and gendered social roles can be recognized between families (in particular, in the form of right of weapon possession). Probably, the armed women may

have been part of a group of women in the higher echelons of nomadic society; they could participate in raids on greek settlements or other sedentary communities. Female participation in raiding may have included a system of military obligation.

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Rozmeri Basic

(University of Oklahoma, Norman, USA)

***Use and Misuse of "Material Landscape of Power"
in Minoan and Etruscan Societies***

This paper will discuss issues of power identity of selected cultural groups from the point of view of art historians. The discipline of art history is complementary to archeology especially regarding problems of analysis relevant to material remains. I agree that "archaeological sources are more fragmentary than written ones," but then there are civilizations where the preserved written sources cannot help. For example, the Etruscan writing system is not comprehended in satisfactory manner. In case of the Minoans, a Linear A system is yet to be deciphered. According to present knowledge, the class system in both civilizations was clearly pronounced. It encompassed, in addition to others, the elites with identified material symbols suggesting rank and power as signs of their authority. But one of the major problems, regardless of methodology and disciplines applied in classifying collected materials, is the proper use of data. Existing published works concerning mentioned civilizations reveal bias and nationalism of early scholars and their personal desire to "discover something big." Therefore, my question for discussion is how to avoid misuse and distortion of material finds best demonstrated by Sir Arthur Evans' statement: "The Palace of Knossos was my idea and my work."

Svetlana V. Prishchenko

(Omsk State Pedagogical University, Russia)

***Vessel as a Hero's Attribute in the Ancient Complex Societies
(After Heroic Eposes)***

In the complex societies (chiefdom, early state) the visual symbolism has emphasized the vertical relations in the society. The symbols have to accurately indicate social status of individual. In the simple chiefdoms the social

distinctions were often related with ritual-etiquette activities. The clothes, hair-dress could differ the chief from another people during the rituals and everyday life. Since the increase of the social complexity a specific distinctive signs have been appeared (for example – staffs, crowns). The important place between elite's symbols belonged to weapons. Sometimes the vessel (bowl, beaker or cauldron) served as power symbol. As a source for the “thing” symbolism investigations in ancient societies I have used the heroic eposes because they have reflected arising of early states. Furthermore, the eposes are not accidentally called the “heroic”. Also eposes reflect a making of charismatic leader – warrior and creator. Epic Hero (after E. Meletinsky) is universal personage. He presents in all world mythologies. He is first ancestor; later – legendary king of warrior chief. Hero obtains “kitchen” fire for the people, various goods, he introduces the social and religious institutes and realizes protective function. As a result of my epos investigation was found that clothing (including a belt) and weapons (firstly – a sword) are mostly associated in texts with of epic heroes. Nevertheless, clothing, weaponry and accessories were often used for utilitarian purposes. In contrast to these objects, the vessel performs «non-standard» functions. The vessel was often associated with most important episodes of Hero's biography: birth, initiation, death. In these rituals a vessel takes directive part, sometimes playing the most important part than the Hero. In my paper will be showed how the discovered in eposes trends are realized in archaeological contexts of Western-Siberian forest-steppe Iron Age cultures.

Evgeny Alexandrovich Shinakov
(Bryansk State University, Russia)
Ivan Christov Dzhambov
(Paisiy Chilendarsky University
Plovdiv, Bulgaria)

***Politiyas with the Multilevel Structure of Power
in the European Early Medieval State Genesis***

Typological research of the forms of the European politiayas (level of "barbarous" statehood, «complex chiefdoms», and rarely – “the early states” – in the terminology of political anthropology), and pathways of their emergence have not been finished yet. It is supplemented with I Bulgarian kingdom before reforms Omurtagus and Krum (the end of VII – the beginning of IX centuries) and synchronostadial to it complicated politiya «Rosia» (in Constantine Porfirogenetus's terminology) of the end of IX – the middle of X century. They have typological similarity in military and contractual character of the

pathways of state genesis (in "Rosia" it is supplemented by foreign trade) as well as in the form of "barbarous" (pre-Christian) statehood. It has multilevel - "federal" character. At the head there are Turks-Bulgarians and "rosi" ("rusi"), whose settlements had limited territory, «slavinii» with own structure of the power are subordinated to them and supervised by strong points of the power of "federal" level. Its basis is not only in the fear of the weapon, but also in the treaties, based on reciprocity. The common interest, was, for example, the participation in robbery of Byzantine empire and international trade. At first peacefully, then with conflicts Bulgaria was transformed into unitarian -territorial state by the reforms of pagans Omurtagus and Krum, then Christian Boris (the latter led to the conflict in the top level of the power - aristocracy of Turks-Bulgarians). In Russia multilevel statehood was almost broken up after the Russian-drevlyan conflict at Igor, but was revived on the new bases as «the early state» due to activity of Olga and Vladimir the Saint's reforms.

Evgeny Alexandrovich Shinakov
Alexandr Sergeevitch Yerokhin
(Bryansk State University, Russia)

***Comparative Content-Analysis
of the Emergence of the State in Britain and Rus***

In the early Middle Ages History of Britain and Rus we discover some traits of typological resemblance in the political and social structure, as well as in the nature and degree of reflection in sources. Content-analysis and correlation analysis applying many times to classify the archeological artifacts and to compare the images and plots of written texts in the period of the Dark Ages of Rus can afford to find out the objective reasons of such likeness. The comparison of the emergence of the state in Britain and Rus are taken with the special purpose. The genesis of the state in Britain and Rus developed under similar conditions: the definite role of the conquests and defensive wars, the certain influence of Roman (Byzantine) institutions such as Church, written language, the principle of codification of statutes with the predominance of self-development and Scandinavian 'catalyst', which influenced in different ways. It covered in sources from "Chiefdom" to "Early State" quite detailed. Their states will be compared in separate types of works, and the data will be synthesized for each state separately as well as in comparative aspect. For analysis each state is divided into identical compound elements (as correlation principle demands). These elements are the sings, which can get different meanings depending on the definite content of

sources that allows comparing it objectively. Conclusions will enable to ascertain whether the primary hypotheses were right or not including the degree and reasons of similarity and differences of the emergence of the states.

Evgeniya I. Gelman
(Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnology
Vladivostok; Russia)

Ceramics and Exchange Models in Bohai Polity

I offer this paper in an effort to identify the models of ceramic exchange in the Bohai (698-926) state drawing on the results from the analysis of technological level and socio-economic particularities of the ceramic production. Ceramic materials under consideration come from 16 Bohai sites located throughout Russian Primorsky kray (Russian Far-Eastern Maritime Province). The Bohai ceramics combines three technological groups. Handmade ceramics was a minuscule component in the Bohai family life, but the steady one too during the whole time of the Bohai's existence due to the capability of maintaining certain ethnic traditions (cooking methods, familial relations, funeral ceremony, etc.) Wheel-made wares constituted an overwhelming majority of mass-produced potteries, the demand for which was very high and stimulated the successful development of potter's workshops in every settlement. Most probably the actual output could not be reached without division of labor, in order to supply and prepare a raw material, provide a designer's work, fuel, and firing. The Bohai's glazed ceramics were rare and, judging by technical specifications, made at a dedicated workshop whose potters possessed the skills of high-temperature firing and glazing resulting in sophisticated physical and chemical features. Feldspar glazes meant even more complex techniques and technologies. The feldspar-glazed goods were coming exclusively from the Tang China's kilns capable of making them. All of the three technological groups of ceramics might give the impression of having been equal participators in the barter operations in the situation of the absence of the Bohai's own monetary system along with the irrelevancy of Chinese coins in Bohai. However, we are to recognize a more intricate, multifaceted pattern of exchange activities in the State of Bohai if we consider the details of ceramics usage, archaeological background, particular technological aspects, and an estimated popular demand for different ceramic ware types with the Bohai people.

PANEL XVI

Movements and Revolutions from Net to Hierarchical Structures

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

The history of humanity has witnessed various types of state system in which the main subject had always been the distribution of power towards maintaining the true values of own. In each type, the old or modern, theocratic or democratic, despotic or pluralistic, different classes and groups have played different roles either in supporting or opposing the ruling power which may have some relation to a particular context of cultural, religious, social and economic power. Classes such as nobles, clergies, bourgeoisie, proletariats, and peasants and groups such as patriots, zealots, and nationalists may insist on their will and not ease until the victory of the revolution and the collapse of the whole system. But even when the revolutionaries came to power, they would find the distribution of power as the their first task. This game continues with the opposition groups as the counter revolutionaries. 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 old or modern state, and the power it wields to use historical and contemporary materials to illustrate the theoretical analysis and the different and changing will and need of the ruling and revolutionary groups and classes. The Russian, Persian, British, American, Turk, Arab, Indian, Chinese, and African revolutions, old or new, are examples that will surely be interesting and appreciated in this panel. I invite the interested participants to discuss the cause and process of movements and revolutions and to find a way to ease tensions among the civilization as a whole.

Bahram Navazeni
(Imam Khomeini International University
Qazvin, Iran)

Who Rules Iran?

There has always been a question as who rules Iran? This question is always raised not only by political scientists but also by the western politicians who were confused as how to behave with the Islamic revolutionaries of Iran. This confusion is partly because of their unwillingness to confess to the realities in

the current Iran and partly because of the revolutionary structure of power in the Islamic Republic. The fact is that the Islamic Republic is a form of government symbolising the will of the Iranian people to establish a government based on the Islamic ideals and the course of religious movement in Iran that opposed both the tyrannical government and its status quo great powers. The Iranian officials are the elected actors either directly or indirectly by the people or their representatives in a variety of assemblies such as the Leadership Expert Assembly that elects and supervises the supreme leader of the state or the Islamic Consultative Assembly (Majles) that gives vote of confidence to the cabinet ministers and supervises them. The president, himself, who lead the cabinet is both directly elected by the people and supervised by their representatives in Majles. This paper is to investigate that beside this official power distribution structure, there is also a net structure inheriting in the religious movement that came up with the victory of the Islamic revolution. Powerful organs in this regard are mosque networks interlinked through a network of foundations, charities, corporations, theological seminaries, associations and universities.

Leyla Rouhi

(Williams College, Williamstown, USA)

Rebellion and Expulsion in Early Modern Spain:

The Case of the Moriscos and the Key of Don Quijote

After the Fall of the last Muslim kingdom in Spain in 1492 CE, the treatment of Muslim converts to Christianity became increasingly hostile in the Iberian Peninsula. Christian Monarchs had initially promised tolerance and the possibility of co-existence, but by the mid-sixteenth century, the pressure to discard all forms of Moorish life -- behavior, ritual, dress, language -- had grown. In response to this ever tightening circle of restrictions and a perceived loss of autonomy, in 1568 CE, a community of Muslim converts to Christianity living in Granada revolted against what they saw as the Monarchy's unreasonable pressure to change their 'Moorish' ways. The rebellion was repressed, and consequently life became even more difficult for Muslim converts to Christianity, culminating in their expulsion in the early part of the 17th century. In my paper, I propose to trace one of the many outcomes of

this revolt and more specifically the expulsion as they manifest themselves in literature. If the actual socio-political reality of Castile in particular and Spain in general shut down the possibilities of co-existence, peaceful dialogue, and the easing of tension, curiously literature was one area in which a dream of better relations or at least a problematization of the issues did take place more fully. This is particularly true of the work of Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616) in which the distribution of power between Muslim and Christian is analyzed in key moments of his masterpiece *DON QUIJOTE*. I hope to show that literature, particularly this novel, is a surprisingly useful place to trace the processes of power distribution when one group (here, the Christians) has toppled another (here, the Moors), and how reactions are formed subsequent to this distribution of power.

A. Baran Dural
(Trakya University, Edirne, Turkey)

Kemalism's Historical Inheritance: 6 Arrows

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who has established a young and secular republic over an empire inheritance that was unable to keep pace with the age and named as "sick man of Europe", is a rare leader that managed to provide 20th century's suppressed nations the key to "speak in equal conditions to" Western civilization. 6 Arrows, which constitute the backbone of Atatürk's historical and intellectual inheritance, house Kemalist revolution's essence in itself. These basic principles; "Republicanism, Nationalism, Revolutionism, Secularism, Populism and Statism", are aimed at conveying Turkish people to modern civilization level. Kemalist Revolution, which especially based on "Nationalism-Populism and Secularism" triangle, has a characteristic of being a complete reply given to Western civilization, which insisted on not seeing Turkish nation as a nation in Western terms during War of Independence. In that respect, "6 Arrows", which constitute the essence of Atatürk and his revolutions, cannot be regarded only as an inner value of a political party. 6 Arrows, which gave Turkish society a roadmap for modernizing and summarizes Atatürk's basic political philosophy, are the most concrete building stones that carry Turkey from past to now, and from now to future. This article's main aim is to give a brief overview on the basic principles of Kemalism and Turkish Revolution. At a time that political Islam is on its rise in Turkey, one should first try to understand the basic struggle of Kemalism which proposes an alternative way of liberation and salvation method for the under-

developed Islamic societies before criticizing the ideology for political purposes.

Pingchao Zhu
(University of Idaho, Moscow, USA)

On the International Front: Wartime Culture in Guilin, 1938-44

From 1938-1944 during China's war against Japan, Guilin, a city located in southwestern part of China, was spared of Japanese occupation. As a result, the city attracted people of various political background and nationalities to form their respective wartime alliance and to continue their fight against Japan and international fascism. Among them were many foreign patriots from East Asia, Southeast Asia, America and Europe, who soon became active components in Guilin's wartime cultural and intellectual movement. Intellectuals working under a relatively stable and liberal environment in Guilin became extremely productive and their literary pieces and political works produced during this period were of amazingly high quality, many later became China's literary masterpieces. Activists of different political backgrounds worked in an unusually coexisting fashion producing hundred of thousand of literary and political pieces to reflect the ideas in nationalism, regionalism, liberalism, conservatism, as well as internationalism. The wartime culture in Guilin during this time was characterized by a strong international presentation seen in two major developments. One was the translation of foreign literature and political works ranging from *The Communist Manifesto* to Pearl Buck's *Chinese Novel*. Many leading intellectuals, such as Mao Dun, Xia Yan, Qin Yi, were involved in translating 177 foreign works into Chinese. The second development was the active participation of many foreign patriot groups including *The Southwest Branch of the Japanese People Antiwar Alliance* (JPAA), *Korean Volunteer Group* (KVG), and *The Vietnamese Alliance* (VA). Internationally known individuals such as American scholar John King Fairbank, writer Ernest Hemingway and his wife Martha Gellhorn, radical writer Agnes Smedley, Vietnamese nationalists Ho Chi Minh and Vo Nguyen Giap, and Japanese antiwar activists Shikaji Wataru and Sakamoto Hideo were involved. The paper reveals how wartime culture transformed nationalism and internationalism. This paper explores major features of this international phenomenon in Guilin's wartime culture. By situating Guilin in a greater framework of World War Two in the Pacific, the paper argues that wartime Guilin remained vulnerable, affected directly and indirectly by war developments in China, in the Pacific, as well as in Europe. Three major phases marked changes of political climate both at home and abroad and their

impact on the cultural sentiment in Guilin. Japanese full scale invasion of China in 1937 ignited China's intellectual momentum, and the Japanese 1941 Pearl Harbor attack refueled cultural and political enthusiasm in Guilin. Ironically, Japanese surrender in 1945 ended all the intellectual excitement once permeating in the city. It was a world war that gave the city a new war-time culture, which subsequently ended with the conclusion of the war.

Anjali Dewan

(St. Bede's College, Shimla, India)

***Globalisation, Higher Education and the Changing Status
of Indian Women – Emerging Issues and Challenges***

Globalization has brought in a number of changes in the world today changing it into a global market. The direct nexus between the industry, corporate world and higher education has brought a transformation in the skills required for various jobs. Natural and Pure Sciences are not considered supreme anymore. Applied Sciences and professional skills are much more in demand now. The new developments have led to the de-evaluation of the subjects in the fields of Humanities and Social Sciences. Women used to take admission in the Colleges in General Education, Arts or in Humanities in the early 1990's. The trend is very much different now. They are now entering into the Professional courses offered by Public and self-financing Private Institutions for pursuing higher education in masculine dominated disciplines. The impact of these changes draws attention to the social change and gender equity. Feminist perspectives on women's educational qualifications have expressed their concern on their under participation, underachievement and under-representation. This paper deals with the appraisal of the changes in choice of subjects available to them and the reasons for this change. The impact of social, cultural and economic disparities across various states in India on the enrollment of women varies from state to state. It is a well known fact that the proportion of women from the dalit and adivasi community is negligible. It is thus imperative to create a broad based database on higher education which is gender sensitive. It is high time that the Government evolved a framework on the appraisal of the role and functions of higher education, both public and private. For this, a focused vision is required which will reach out to more women by encompassing the issues of access to and equity with respect to education of women in the higher education sector.

Seyed Abdolamir Nabavi

(Institution for Social and Cultural Studies, Tehran, Iran)

The Radical Islamism and the Causes of Its Failure in Establishing the Islamic Government; Reviewing the Experiments in Iran and Egypt

Most of the radical Islamist movements in the Middle East, notwithstanding their long-lasting struggles and agonies, have been unsuccessful in their paramount goal: establishing the Islamic government. Due to the features radical Islamic movements in Iran (*Jamiat-e-Fadaiian-e-Islam*) and Egypt (*Takfir-va-alHijra*) have in common, this paper attempts to study the causes of their failure. Many analysts have accentuated the influence of the “iron punch” (extended and continuous oppression) policy used by the existent governments, in addition to the broad support from the West the political elites in these countries have felt on the failure of the radical Islamist movements. Studying the issue from the sociological point of view, however, we might recognize the prominent role variables like ideology, leadership, hierarchy in decision-making, modes of membership, and the mutual relation between the leaders and the members in these movements play. Though the role that the two former variables played is undeniable, this study attempts to exercise a depth analysis approach (studying the innermost aspects of the movements). Thus it considers the simplicities and obscurities evident in the Islamist approaches to the socio-political issues as the main causes of their failure. In other words, it was especially these factors that hindered Islamic movements from constituting a broad social movement and thus establishing an Islamic government. In addition to reviewing the mutual relation between the leaders and the members, beside the modes of decision-making and membership, I shall here study and analyze thoughts of *Seyed Mojtaba Navab-e-Safavi* (the leader of *Fadaiian-e-Islam*) and *Shokri Mostafa* (leader of *Takfir-va-alHijra*) too.

Ahmad Djalinoosi

Sara Najafpour

(Isfahan University, Iran)

A Comparison of Islamic Revolution in Iran and “Velvet Revolutions” in Central Asia Based on Political Culture

There are various theories that they try to explain why revolutions are happened in different societies. Some of those theories say that economic factors are most important, but others pay attention to political and cultural factors. On the other hand it's a cardinal point that each of huge revolutions has dif-

ferences with each other, so we can call them unique social phenomenon. This paper will compare the political cultural of Iranian society before Islamic revolution in 1979 and Central Asia political culture. In fact the main question which is as follow: Does political culture in Iran and The Central Asia has impact on different kind of revolutions which happened in their society? And if the answer of this question is positive, what kind of differences exists between their political cultures? The Hypothesis of this article is as follow: Iranian people before Islamic revolution had a kind of Subject political culture, but in period of time, international developments, cultural problems and paradoxes between government and people's belief and desires and demands; caused that they suddenly protested Pahlavi political regime. Also people who leave in The Central Asia have had undemocratic government for a long time. As a result, they protest their political regimes too. Of course it is important that in Islamic revolution of Iran, religion had a serious role, but in the Central Asia religion especially in U.S.S.R government was powerless and it cause that form of changes in those societies were different. The methodology of this paper is based on descriptive-comparative method.

Liyan Liu
(Georgetown College, USA)

Modern Schools and the Rise of Radicalism

This paper explores the links between the educational reforms and the rise of radicalism and the making of the nation-state by using Hunan First Normal School as a case study. The Hunan First Normal School in Changsha was one of many reformed schools established in China in the early 20th century in response to the urgent challenge of modernizing the nation. The history of the Hunan First Normal School is a tapestry woven of traditional Chinese and modern Western threads. Chinese tradition figured significantly in the character of the school, yet Western ideas and contemporary social, political, and intellectual circumstances strongly shaped its policies and practices. The dramatic story of Hunan First Normal combines several ideological strands from China's turbulent twentieth-century history to form a colorful and intricate fabric of conflicting classes, forces, and social agendas. Students including Mao Zedong who attended Hunan First Normal in the second decade of the twentieth century became the founders, principal ideologues, and activists of the Chinese Communist Party. How could an ordinary normal school have fostered so many radical intellectuals? How did the transitional era--the end of the old exam system and the emergence of this new modern school system – in the early part of that century affect both mentors and students? What

effect did the changing Chinese elite – the teachers – have on the intellectual development of their students? This paper addresses those questions by examining the background, the curriculums, and the reforms of the school, as well as its teachers and those radical students. By doing so, this paper argues that modern schools, such as the Hunan First Normal, provided a venue that nurtured and spread new ideas and became the hotbed of revolution producing the first generation of Communist leadership in the 1910s.

Mohammad Idri
(Punjabi University, Patiala, India)

***The Great Revolution of 1857:
A National War of Independence against the British***

British Rule in India started in 1757 when in the Battle of Plassey Forces of British East India Company defeated Siraj-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Bengal. After 1757 the British had used their control over India to promote their own interests. In its long History of the 200 years the nature of British rule and colonialism, as also its policies and import ,changed pattern with changing pattern of British's own social, economic and political development. Initially, the British East India Company was interested only in money there own monopoly of the trade. British Capitalism was also beginning to enter its most vigorous phase of development during this time both the objectors the monopoly of trade and control over financial resources-were rapidly fulfilled. A powerful national struggle against British imperialism emerged in India during the second half the 20th century. To understand this clash of interests it is necessary to study the basic character on Indian society. The paper highlights the nature of the forcing rule which resulted in nationalistic sentiments arising among the Indians, moral, intellectual and political conditions for the rise and development of the great revolution.

Morteza Bahrani
Mohsen Alavipour
(Institute for Social and Cultural Studies, Tehran, Iran)

Hizbollah Movement and the Problem of Power

Islamic movements' approach to power should be considered as an important issue. Studying the issue, Oliver Roy, provides a framework within which he shows that as the movements would capture the power, their identity as an Islamist group vanishes. Accordingly, it is a west-friendly strategy to help

them capture power in their own countries. Evidence for this claim could be found in Turkey, where the Islamists transformed as they captured power. Iran is counter evidence; however, considering her special features, it seems that Iran is a special case. For the purpose of this article, we wish to apply this approach in analyzing the Islamic movement in Lebanon. Therefore the question is: whether Hizbollah, as an Islamist group, would lose its Islamic feature in getting access to power? The noted framework considers power as essentially a secular matter and therefore supposes that execution of power in a continuous way for such movements makes the turn down of most of their religious claims necessary. It has been one of Hizbollah's targets to constitute an Islamic state in Lebanon. However, what has been going on in last three decades provides evidence for the Roy's approach. For example, while the initial name of the Movement (Islamic Revolution in Lebanon) has carried "revolution" as a main feature, now the focus of the movement is on "resistance" against Israel (as is evident in the new name: Islamic Resistance in Lebanon). In addition, it has too changed its symbol and added an Olive Leaf to the previous one, presented as a weapon and a punch. This paper attempts to portray a possible feature for Hizbollah in relation to power; analyzing its evolution from the beginning onwards, in addition to the interior and exterior challenges it meets as a political party.

Jalal Dorakhshah
(Imam Sadeq University, Tehran, Iran)

Islamic Revolution of Iran and the New Theory of Sovereignty

The concept of sovereignty and its role in the constitution of political power and the state have been among the most controversial issues in political and legal thought. Two separate views have dominated the classical debates in constitutional law on the origins of sovereignty: the "transcendental sovereignty" view and the "popular sovereignty" view. The victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran and people's endorsement of the "Islamic Republic" in the 1979 Referendum and the subsequent enshrinement of this notion in the First Act of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran ushered in a new reconceptualization of the notion of sovereignty. It was now possible to combine the principles and characteristics of democracy with those of religion. This article attempts to analyze the substantive views expressed in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran on the origins of power and sovereignty in the new Republic and to elaborate on the position taken by this Constitution on religious democracy.

Mojtaba Maghsoudi
(Islamic Azad University, Central Tehran Branch, Iran)

Jungle Movement and Political Power Challenges in Iran (1915 – 1922)

Among social movements of early 20th century in Iran is the Jungle movement that was led by Mirza Kochak Khan and started a few years before the victory of Bolshevik revolution. It challenged government forces and British and Russian forces around seven years in northern part of Iran and the bordering parts of the country with Russia. Jungle movement as a regional movement and with the support of people could control and influence Gilan, Mazandaran and Astrabad regions. The Jungle movement challenged the political power structure of the country during two phases of its activities and with the slogan of freedom and rejection of dictatorship and injustice showed a limited and unsuccessful experience of cooperation and alliance among nationalist and socialist forces. Discountenance of Soviet Union's support from the Jungle movement and the end of the alliance among the main factions of the Jungle movement, caused its weakening and susceptibility to more failures. In this situation the traditional political structure of the country, due to fear of success of the Jungle movement and increase of influence and power of the Soviet Union in Iran and also possibility of disintegration of the country, planned a coup in Iran with British support and by young officers of the army which was named 1920 coup. The new regime, by preserving and maintaining monarchy and its social structure, prevented the influence and domination of Marxist-Leninist and Bolshevik ideas in Iran and also the disintegration of the country.

Jamshid Ali Khan
(Punjabi University, Patiala, India)

Revolutionary Movements in India

Modern Era is an era of democratic system. In democratic system the grievances of different sections of societies are redresses through constitutional and democratic methods at the disposal of ruling elite to solve the genuine problems of a particular section of societies or the society in general, the revolutionary movements took place in India, which is land of social diversities, has experienced many such revolutionary movements over a period of time. These movements included revolt of India 1857 and Gadar Movements and Babbar Akali movement in Punjab province of India and Naxalite

movements in various parts of the country. The present paper seeks to analyse the bases, working and impact of this movement on the politics of India.

PANEL XVII

Political Dynamics of the Muslim World and Evolution of Islamic Political Thought from a Comparative Perspective

Convenors: *Igor Alexeev, Pavel Basharin* (Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow)

The panel aims to discuss various problems of political history of Muslim societies and evolution of Islamic political thought from a wide interdisciplinary perspective. The panel's concern revolves around understanding of both traditional forms of Islamic political culture and the recent developments. In particular, the panel seeks to evaluate the dynamics of traditional socio-political structures and ideological complexes as well as their transformation under the influence and impacts of modernization processes. Our theoretical premise is that the interaction between the tradition and modernization is by no means unidirectional, as well as the very meaning of these conceptions can hardly be unified. The panel participants are invited to theorize processes of crisis and transformation as permanent factors of political dynamics of various societies of the Muslim World. On the other hand, metaphysical and theological presumptions and constructs reflecting the dynamics of religion as politics and politics as religion can be also helpful to understand processes of intellectual reflection of the political as a general category of thought. That is why we are welcoming political historians and historians of thought as well as political scientists, anthropologists and other specialists interested in this problematique.

Ali Sinan Bilgili

Mehmet Takkaç

(Ataturk University, Erzurum, Turkey)

Sources of Power of Political Authority in Turkish States from Past to Present

German sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920) focuses on three ideal types of sovereignty in his study of power emerging differently throughout history. These types which are indicative of political authority are as follows: Traditional authority: based on establishment and traditions; Charismatic authority: based on supreme and sacred features; Legal (bureaucratic) authority: based on a system of rules. The above types that Weber determined have existed in Turkish states from past to present. In Huns and Gokturks the source of

power is traditions and sacred things. Law takes an important place in Mongol (Chingizids) and Timurid states. In Seljuk's and Ottoman states the source of power took a religious stance because of the effect of Islamic religion and a new model was formed with the integration of religious rules into traditions. Although the source of power lies in religion in Safavid state, which was established in Iran, the influence of traditional and legal aspects of Mongol and Turkmen states exert their impacts. The source of power in Turkish republic at present is democratic rules. This paper is intended to take into consideration the sources of power of political authority, the process of transformation and development of the sources, and the factors contributing to this transformation and development in Turkish states starting from the first state organization, Huns, to the republic of Turkey.

Maksim S. Cherepanov
(Institute for Problems of Exploration
of the North, Tyumen, Russia)

Islamic Political Conceptions as a Factor for Formation of Socio-political Views of the Muslim Community in Tyumen Region

Social transformation of the society provides conditions for change of individual and group identities, for formation of socio-cultural, socio-political and other communities. This article is aimed demonstrating of those Islamic political conceptions which are the most common for the different groups of the Muslim community in Tyumen region. Muslim communities of the region are more or less formally affiliated either to the Muslim Religious Board of Tyumen region, Department (*qaziyat*) of the Muslim Religious Board of the Asian part of Russia or the regional administration (*muhtasibat*) of the Central Muslim Religious Board of Russia. However, there are Muslim groups in the region which are not related to any official Islamic structure and not officially registered. The major part of Tyumen Muslims are Sunnis, however interpretations of Islamic doctrine are quite different. It results in circulation of various religious and socio-political ideas of Salafi origin, as well as so-called "traditional Islam", Sufi *tariqas* (*naqshbandiya*, *shadhiliya*). Some regional Muslim activists are adherents and propagators of radical Salafi political ideas elaborated by foreign authors of the second half of the 20th century like Fathi Yakan, Abu 'Ala al-Maudidi, Sayyid Qutb. Ideas of *Hizb al-Tahrir al-Islami*, a banned Islamic political party are also popular among a certain part of local Muslims. Of course, we cannot say that all of Salafi political conceptions have a radical nature. Islamic political conceptions, originated from "traditional Islam", are being realized in social pro-

grams, statements and speeches of all-Russia centralized Muslim structures' leaders. These conceptions are being spread in the regional Muslim community through Internet, Muslim mass-media and activities of the local structures of Central Muslim Religious Board. We can note that different Islamic political conceptions, which coexist in the Muslim community of Tyumen region are potentially able to influence on formation of various socio-political views.

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Moscow, Russia)

***Social and Political Development of the Arab World
in the 21st century and Islamic Factor***

The Social and political dynamics of the majority of countries in Arab World early in the 21st century is characterized by two important tendencies: the democratization of State system and social and political practice and the raise of Islamism or political Islam, including its radical interpretations. In Arab countries we can observe an increasing attention to the Muslim identity, which has not only religious, but also its cultural, social and political aspects. The ideologists of Islamic political thought propagate "the Islamic project". They regard Islam, Muslim culture, moral and ethic norms and also some elements of the "Islamic economy" as an indispensable condition of subsequent development of Arab and Muslim World. The contemporary raise of Political Islam in the Muslim World can be considered as a social and political phenomenon. It reflects the aspiration of a part of Muslim societies to preserve their religion, historical traditions and culture, i.e. their civilizational identity before the challenges of the modern world and the processes of globalization. Nevertheless the democratization can be considered as the main way of subsequent evolution of the Arab World. In the same time each society has to find its own form of the political system (in the presence of the main and basic democratic institutes of the state and civil society) which could be most acceptable and corresponding to its historical traditions.

Mohammad Rahim Eivazi
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Qazvin, Iran)

Theories of Revolution: Transitions or Invalidations?

As the Islamic revolution of Iran does not fit within the previous theories of revolution, many efforts have been made to pinpoint its *raison d'être*. Some theoreticians tried to introduce a single variable as the final analysis of the revolution, while others presented multiple variables in their analysis. Marxists and leftists emphasized on economic factors, while others proposed individual and public psychological analyses to explain the revolution. Marvin Zonis the author of "The Fall of the Shah" is one of these scholars who introduced Shah's personality as the main reason for the Islamic revolution. Other theoreticians focused on political and cultural factors. However, many analyzers believe that revolution is the offspring of many factors and variables and cannot be the result of just one or two factors. Explaining the Islamic revolution of Iran, Imam Khomeini emphasizes on cultural factors as the most important ones in analyzing this event. Overall, while the Islamic revolution of Iran is an important event which is in concordance with distinguishing features of revolutions, it introduced and reinforced cultural factors as potential reasons in this regard.

Samuel England

(University of California, Berkeley, USA)

Impudent Literature and the Buyid Political Economy

There is a substantial amount of literary theory that considers jocular literature a social and political critique. This paper argues that, in the Islamic Middle Ages, such literature is also a means of social and political *control*. There are two factors that enable the authoritative potential of literature: (1) a heteroglossic literary environment and (2) a certain power dynamic of author, audience, and patron. My political and literary figure of interest is Al-āib ibn cAbbād (938-95 AD), the Buyid vizier, poet, and literary patron. I contend that, when a ruler occupies all three positions in the course of his career, he maximizes that authoritative potential. This is shown most clearly in scandalous *mujūn* poetry, a favored genre of Ibn cAbbād. Superficially, *mujūn* appears politically subversive; closer inspection shows that it is an instrument for *preserving* power structures. Ibn cAbbād's specific techniques for literary transgression lend themselves to economic analogies. He pays others to swear and joke on his behalf in the form of *mujūn* poetry, rather than authoring such works himself. (The poetry he writes is generally panegyric and theological.) This language of economy deliberately echoes Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital. Perhaps the most important of Bourdieu's claims, as far as this study is concerned, is his insistence that taste is inseparable from social and scholastic training. This is certainly applicable

to Ibn cAbbād's situation, as an ethnically Persian ruler, Arabic philologist, and *mujūn* aficionado. This study will analyze his court's *mujūn* poetry in historical context, explicating the political work Ibn cAbbād does in his threefold cultural identity.

Hakem Ghasemi

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***Islamic Republic of Iran:
The Synthesis and Interaction of Tradition and Modernization***

After the beginning of modernization in Iran, some of the intellectual groups tried to create a liberal political system in Iran. Some other groups tried to establish a socialist system. On the other hand, Islamic groups tried to Islamize the political system of Iran. But at the 1979 the Islamic revolution achieved a victory and founded Islamic Republic as a new political system. In my opinion Islamic Republic as a new political system in Iran is the synthesis of the interaction between the tradition and modernization. The leader of Islamic revolution as a Mojtaheed (The expert and theoretician of Islam who knows the Islam very well and can adopt it with the social changes and new conditions) creates an integration and solidarity between the aspects of traditions and the impacts of modernization. This new pattern of political system faded the gap between the tradition and modernization in Iran. In the present paper, I am trying to explain how the Islamic Revolution resolved the problems, which were the result of the gap between the tradition and modernization. I will explain the aspects of Islamic Republic and its relevance to tradition and modernization in Iran.

Irina Kudryashova

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Turkey as a Phenomenon of Modernity

The paper traces the dialectics of interaction of Islam and nationalism in Turkey from the period of Ottoman modernization in the XIX century to the AKP rise nowadays, covering the main stages in the development of Islamic and Turkish nationalist thought. Prof. S. Huntington called Turkey a 'torn' country and indeed its identity problems are so deep that they define the dynamics of national political development. On one side there was a successful

transit 'from empire to nation' (R. Emerson) under the guidance of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, on the other there is a passive conservative revolution of AKP which was on the brink of being banned by the Constitutional Court in 2008 on the grounds that it had become a focus for activities designed to undermine the principle of secularism, which is enshrined in the country's constitution. Actually in the bipolar world it was much easier to secure Ankara's Western credentials than in today's conditions of shifting world's hierarchy. A balance between secularism, Islam and desired Western identity (accession negotiations with the EU) appears increasingly elusive. Why it happened and what factors predetermine the current choice, constitute the main research question.

Ksenia Kulikova

(Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow)

***The Christian-Muslim Dialogue
(The Middle East Orthodoxes' Standpoint)***

The crises of secular Arab nationalism, as well as the fact that the religion here comes to play more and more important role in constriction of one's identity, enable some researchers to question continuing of prosperity and even the existence itself of non-Muslim minorities in this region of the world. At the same time religious revival in the Middle East is not a specific of Muslims only. In many Christian communities, in spite of reduction of their numbers and emigration, we can see intensification of youth religious organizations, revival of monasticism and scientific and theological work. Even though the Church theoretically is a supranational institute, in the Arab countries religious organizations and clergy often take an active part in construction of their community's national identity. An intriguing role in deciding this issue plays conception of "Eastern Christianity", which can be interpreted in a way convenient to prove certain community's affiliation to a nation or a civilization. A good example for this process gives the rhetoric of Antiochian Orthodox Church (Syria and Lebanon), which presents itself as an Arabized Church since long ago. University of Balamand (northern Lebanon), a secular educational institution established by the Church's initiative, is regarded as a leading intellectual center of the community. Among declared goals of the University there are confirmation of the community's Arabic identity and study of Muslim-Christian relations and promotion of the dialogue between religious groups. For these reasons the Center of Muslim-Christian Studies was established in the University, Metropolitan George (Khodr) of Mount Lebanon playing a prominent role in its activities. Metropolitan George and

his supporters are often criticized for accepting a possibility of prophesy after and out of boundaries of Christianity (even though they are not ready to accept Muhammad as a prophet with certainty). At the same time Khodr sees his theological work in this field not only as an instrument for consolidation of national unity, but as a “awakening of Christ in the night of other religions” e.g. as a kind of missionary work. Another reason for the dialog between Orthodox and Muslim communities – demonstration of “multidimensional identity” developed among Orthodox, as an alternative to “unitary identity” based on Sharia having impact on every sphere of life.

Alexander Matveev

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***Islam as a Way of Creating the State in Arabia:
The Secular Aspect of Muhammad's Preaching***

Despite all incontestably high significance of the rising of Islam, from the point of view of general history, for Arabia itself the new religion was not a “goal”, but a “tool”. Muhammad’s preaching helped to solve inner problems faced by the Arabian society. Falling of trans-Arabian trade by the end of the 6th C. destroyed internal relations in the Arabian tribal society and destabilized it. Appearance of Islam was a sort of response – both spiritual and social – to this instability. Finally, the social crisis was solved by the creation of a unified Arabian state and its further expansion. However, this transition from the *tribal society* to the *state* could not be done without the new Faith. The power of tribal traditions in Arabia was so strong that no *human* ruler could overthrow it: the example of the fallen Kindi “kingdom” in Central Arabia is a perfect one, as for the Ghassanids and Lakhmids they were able to persist only by external support by neighbouring empires. Consequently, only appeal to the Highest authority could overturn the tribal system. Thus, some of Prophet’s revelations were a sort of response to the problems which Muhammad faced on this way of state-building. On the basis of Qur’an, *Sira* by Ibn Hisham, some *Sunna* and *tafsirs* materials, it is possible to trace main stages of the Muslim state formation. Obviously, Muhammad himself and his followers understood what he has been doing in strictly religious terms, acting according to the direct God’s instructions. But historically all that were steps towards establishing the *state*, quite similar to those made by other early states, such as the Seljuk or Mongol empires, or later, the Wahhabi state in Arabia. Even the very “unification” of Arabia and following “expansion of Islam” were merely steps needed to save the newly born polity from otherwise inevitable disintegration. Thus, such an approach can enhance our in-

sight of Muhammad's activities and their framework, as well as help to understand some basic Islamic issues – from explaining of Qur'anic passages to answering such cardinal questions as Muhammad's own idea about the way of succession to the leadership in the Muslim *Umma*. On the other hand, it is a part of a wider problem of the Philosophy of History – the emerging and development of the State as a social and historical phenomenon. From this point of view the process of creating the Muslim state is especially interesting as we have a number of written sources, seldom available for early stages of the incipient state formation.

Anna Igorevna Matochkina
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Secular and Spiritual Power in Conceptions of Ibn Taymiyya

The unity of secular and spiritual powers is one of the fundamental principles of Islam. However this principle is considered to have been broken during the reign of the Umayyad dynasty. After that the Islamic *Umma* has been searching for the compromise between secular and spiritual origins in her administration and governing. Studying of reasons, conditions and forms of for which the attempts of uniting these two branches of power has been taken, may help us to explain many trends of political life in the countries of the Middle East today. My paper deals with the views of the medieval theologian and legal scholar Ibn Taymiyya, concerning the problem of overcoming the non-conformity between the actual political realities and the ideals of Muslim law. Ibn Taymiyya lived in the epoch of such significant events as the split of the once solid Islamic world, the Tatar invasion from the East, and the crusaders expansion from the West. He was elaborating his political theory while the Muslim society was in crisis. The scholar was participating actively in the recovery from it, both on the field of battle and in the ideological disputes. Ibn Taymiyya considered that the gap between the political theory and practice can be filled by backtracking to *Shari'a* as the only basis of legislation and politics. It is only the overwhelming authority of the *Shari'a* that is able to preserve the caliphate as the universal idea and secure the unity of the *Umma*. The views of Ibn Taymiyya give evidence that he was trying the resurrect the theocratic idea and that the prestige of religious leaders has been increasing. Spiritual leader enjoyed the respect of the authorities, were the mouthpiece of attitudes of the common people, and participated vigorously in political life (especially those who belonged to the Hanbali school of Muslim law). Ibn Taymiyya was thrown to jail many times, because the ruling circles realised and feared the influence of the scholar on townspeople. Ibn Taymi-

yya conceded the power of the ruler as political leader, who is needed to preserve the laws of the *Shari'a* and provide the prosperity of the *Umma*, although it is not important whether the ruler was the actual or the nominal head of state. The vital thing was the interaction of Islam, the leader and the *Umma*. If he did not possess the qualities necessary for public activities then he should have nominated assistants who did possess such qualities (similar views were expressed by al-Farabi and Plato). The ideas of Ibn Taymiyya were given a new life by the founder of the new religious ideology Abd al-Wahhab, who strived to unite the Arab tribes in order to oppose the external enemies. The historic events which are to some extent similar to those which had taken place 400 years ago required resolute actions.

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***Modern Chechen State Organization
and Alternative Tendencies of its Development***

Formation of independent Chechen statehood in the 1990s initially envisaged secular democratic principles, but during consecutive events and in consequence of the political and religious and ideological cognitive dissonance between various groups of the Chechen society in the territory of Republic began implemented a *shari'a* norms (February 1999). A result of the referendum's implementation in 2003 became acceptance the new Constitution which has proclaimed the Chechen Republic by an imprescriptibly part of the Russian Federation. Nevertheless, the conception of Islamic government has as the continuation in the present (the announcement in October 2007 of the Islamic State – *Imarat Caucasus*), and the positive opportunity of a practical embodiment in the future.

Galina Khizriyeva
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Oil against Tradition in Chechnya and Ingushetia (1817 – 2007)

In 1817 Russia officially proclaimed the North Caucasus conquered and to be a part of Russian Empire. In 1823 oil had been discovered in Chechnya. Historians of Caucasus argue that Russian new acquisitions in the region promised very little in terms of natural riches and oil by no means was a reason of

invasion of Russia into the region at the beginning of the 18th century. Nevertheless the importance of mines was evident from the very beginning. Among the main obstacles for mines exploitation Russian administration officials admitted the absence of manpower, roads and other technical facilities. In the late 19th century Russia became already one of the leading oil-producing regions in the world due to the oil of Grozny oil-province. The 'oil factor' was getting to play more and more important role for the domestic policy of Russian Empire from the early 60-s of the 18th century. From 1920-s Grozny became the knot of regional pipe-lines and from early 1950s an industrial oil giant of Soviet economy. The historical reminiscent of the Russian conquest re-emerged due to the chain of tragic events which lead to the "center-periphery" oil-and-territory conflict which burst into the war of 1994/5 and was officially declared to be over by Vladimir Putin in 2000. The conflict attracted attention of journalists, political scientists, and specialists on conflict studies for its military and oil constituent. But the approaches were often haunted by the 18th century historical studies that focused on political and religious issues but not on the anthropological one. The journalists' conflict descriptions were full of deceiving images of the Vainakh communities as deeply traditional, archaic and romantic. I argue that 1994-2000 "Chechen wars" was a result of deconstruction processes of traditional institutes of Vainakh communities started with oil-extraction in the region. The process resulted (in 2000) with proliferation of newly constructed tradition-like socio-religious institutions in Chechnya in order to save natural resources for the purposes of ethno-national development. I also try to explain connotations of widely used political term 'traditional Muslim values' in the perspectives of this development.

Mehmet Ozkan
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***Islamic NGOs in Modern World:
A Sign of "New" Theoretical Perspective?***

Theoretically, the role of religion in international politics has been one of the most neglected subjects. However, after 9/11 religion is back with more persistence and influence both secular and Islamic states' foreign policy decisions. How to look and analyze the role of religion and locate it within theory is as problematic as its results. By taking an international NGO in Turkey as case study, this paper argues that religiously-inspired NGOs work as an alternative to existing states. They are not only influential in reaching out the world, but shaping the minds and forcing states taking certain foreign policy

decisions. This has two important conclusions for theory and practice. One is that such NGOs are socially and intellectually alternative to states' policies and their influence has to be felt in the long run. Second, they are another way of Islamism as mostly organized and founded by ex-Islamists. This is a newly termed soft-Islamism that rejects violence but intend to control the nature of social elements through persuasion. This paper concludes that political Islam has not been ended as argued by many, but re-fashioned itself in a way that is explainable to the west through western terminology. Can this be seen as a new trend in Islamic political theory? Or this should be taken as a result of political situation that forced to happen? In any case, I argue that this is a revolutionary development theoretically and practically at analytical level for the future of Islamic civilization.

Rufat Sattarov

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“Islamic NGOs” as New Actors in the Process of Production and Transmission of Islamic Knowledge in Independent Azerbaijan

The phenomenon of so-called "Islamic NGOs" has been particular to Islamic dynamic in Azerbaijan at least since the beginning of the 21st century. By the irony of fate, the pace of development of this phenomenon has been indirectly accelerated by the Administration of the Caucasus Muslims (*Qafqaz Müsəlmanları İdarəsi*, QMI), an institution with Soviet legacy responsible for control of Muslim religious communities in post-Soviet conditions. Striving for total control of Muslim religious communities in the republic, QMI artificially withheld its recognition from those of them whose stand and activities seemed to be "too independent". Members of such communities, in their turn, started establishing parallel social structures, seeking alternative ways to legalise their religious activities. It was that way that NGOs of religious orientation, the registration of which was not the responsibility of the QMI but that of Justice Ministry, appeared. And it was that way that many "Islamic NGOs" were created. "Islamic NGOs" play important role in the process of production and transmission of Islamic knowledge in Azerbaijani society of today. The current study aims to examine the phenomenon of "Islamic NGOs", both Shi'a and Sunni, on example of particular case-studies, and to analyse peculiarities of the process linked to production and transmission of Islamic knowledge in independent Azerbaijan.

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***The Role of Shura Councils
in the Modern Mechanism of Power Realization***

At the end of the 20th century in states of the Persian Gulf serious social and political changes took place that affected traditional structures of the society. Then, economical and social changes entailed the necessity not only to widen and strengthen powerful foundation within traditional social stratum, but first of all to engage other social stratum in the process of taking the most important political decisions and forced ruling elites to maneuver, redistributing some governmental functions within established monarchical structures. Having taken the course for dosing some changes of State administration, monarchies by their orders began to create consultative councils (*Shura* Councils), forming of which was based on a traditional Islamic principle of “consultation” and was included in some chapters of basic laws of these states. Consultative councils, that were formed in Arab monarchies according to consultative tradition, appeared to be a particular answer to arising political challenges while monarchies were joining in constitutional development and modernization of the traditional Eastern society. The Islamic character of these consultative councils is determined not only by direct references to Koran and Sunna, but also by their status, e.g. by rules of the complication, reasons for defining members, procedures of meetings and etc. Amongst Russian and foreign (Arab) constitutionalists there is a lasting discussion about correlation of principle of *Shura* and parliamentarism. Within the scope of this polemic different opinions are talked out on principles of forming, competence and activity of these State organs. That discussion is carried on between supporter of “modern law” and traditionalists, and that is a real reflection of very difficult social and economic processes, that take place in modern monarchies, joining in process of modernization. However, all the researchers agree that nowadays the role of these structures in State mechanism of power realization has risen up, and also has been marked a serious tendency towards widening of authorities of these organs and important changes in their formation and function.

Pavel S. Shabley

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Jihad in Muslim Political Thought of the Volga-Ural Region and Central Asia: Historical Representations from a Comparative Perspective

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Джихад в мусульманской политической мысли Волго-Уральского региона и Центральной Азии: сравнительная ретроспектива исторических репрезентаций

Репрезентация джихада в мусульманском мире Волго-Уральского региона и Центральной Азии строилась в соответствии с социально-политической легитимацией новых режимов, антиколониальных движений, завоевательных действий, а также через его исторический конформизм как попытку выражения лояльности власти в советский период. В зависимости от контекста употребления джихада складывался новый образ ислама, выступающий связующим звеном в эмоционально-политической плоскости взаимоотношений власти и общества. В сравнительном аспекте это хорошо прослеживается через историческую ретроспективу, т.е. изучение знаний, мнений и обоснований (призывов) «священной войны» (лишь как сложившего стереотипа, заслонившего другие стороны коранического смысла джихада) в системе пред-, пост-, и колониальных отношений. Региональный разрез позволяет выделить исторические традиции и ситуации конкретного формирования репрезентации джихада. Джихад в Коране рассматривается в нескольких смыслах: джихад меча, джихад руки, великий джихад, джихад языка. В политической жизни Центральной Азии периода позднего средневековья классическим примером репрезентации джихада является сочинение XVI в. Фазлаллаха ибн Рузбихана «Михман нама-йи Бухара». Автор, рассматривая взаимоотношения шайбанидов с казахами, интерпретирует джихад как противостояние правоверных мусульман и язычников (или ненастоящих мусульман). Смысл и репрезентация оформляются в конкретном историческом контексте. Акцент и содержание джихада смещаются в плоскость политической лояльности автора сочинения. Поэтому обосновывается легитимное право М. Шайбани вмешиваться в жизнь соседних народов. Благодаря апелляции к догматическим традициям ислама (Абу Ханифы: джихад как всеобщая обязанность) создается видимость новой идеологической ситуации в геополитическом соперничестве шайбанидов и казахских ханов: «дар уль ислам» – территория ислама и «дар уль куфр» – территория неверия. В XIX в. в практике этноконфессиональных отношений в Российской империи репрезентация джихада приобретает новые черты. В сочинении башкирского историка и суфийского шейха М. Рамзи «Талфик аль-ахбар» делается акцент на роль религиозной идеологии в антиколониальных движениях башкир

в XVIII в. Желание автора свести джихад к консолидирующему мусульман политическому лозунгу – защита национальных интересов, не является в реальных условиях абсолютно приемлемым для положения ислама в регионе. Реакция на политику правительства через формулу «дар уль харб» – территория войны у М. Рамзи прослеживается как стратегия сопротивления широкомасштабной христианизации, предполагаемая (но не осуществимая) программа сопротивления, одна из возможных альтернатив в череде конфронтационных событий. В советский период в Центральной Азии в среде мусульманских интеллектуалов обосновывается конформистская версия джихада. В политических дискуссиях о характере отношения ислама к советскому строю в 70 – 80-е гг. XX в. известность приобретают взгляды таджикского ученого и религиозного мыслителя Мухаммаджана Хиндустани. Либеральное отношение государства к верующим и отсутствие препятствий в исполнении религиозных ритуалов признаются автором достаточным основанием, чтобы признать легитимным такое государство, даже если оно управляется «неверными». Лояльное отношение к власти является для него условием критики воинствующих религиозных идеологий прошлого (восстание Дукчи – ишана), и основой собственной репрезентации «советского ислама». «Джихаду меча» он противопоставляет «джихад языка» как призыв освободиться от стереотипов, дурного нрава и неведения.

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Sufism and Power in Daghestan in the 19th – 20th Centuries

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Суфизм и власть в Дагестане в XIX – XX вв.

На разных этапах распространения суфизма в Дагестане взаимоотношения суфиев и Российского государства было неодинаковым и, в зависимости от исторических реалий, существенно менялось. В российской и зарубежной историографии постулируется тезис о том, что суфийское братство Накшбандийа на Кавказе претерпело изменения и трансформировалось в новое религиозно-политическое учение – мюридизм, в основе которого лежала идея джихада. Однако источники рисуют обратную картину. Анализ сочинений дагестанских шейхов XIX – XX вв.

показал, что в их основе лежат духовно-нравственные аспекты, то есть идея большого джихада, который в интерпретации суфиев направлен на борьбу мусульманина со своими пороками и нравственное самоочищение. Не лишним будет отметить, что ни в одном суфийском трактате дагестанских авторов нет ни слова о малом джихаде – войне за веру. Однако, поскольку со стороны официальных чиновников царской администрации была выдвинута определяющая роль суфизма в Кавказской войне, то после падения имамата Шамиля российские власти на Кавказе уделяли пристальное внимание распространению суфизма, «вредного» с их точки зрения течения. В бурных политических событиях периода гражданской войны первой четверти XX в. сложно сказать какая идеология и какие политические идеи были близки дагестанским суфиям. Тезисы свободы совести, выдвигаемые социалистической группой, привлечение на свою сторону или установление довольно сносных отношений с наиболее авторитетными суфийскими шейхами. Однако гарантии, выдвигаемые большевиками мусульманам о внимательном отношении к религии и духовенству, после утверждения советской власти не были осуществлены. Укрепив свои позиции в Дагестане, органы Советской власти начали борьбу с влиянием духовенства на массы. Многие представители духовенства, в том числе и суфии, были высланы органами НКВД или расстреляны. Активная антирелигиозная пропаганда среди дагестанского населения, административные и уголовные преследования активистов суфийских братств привели к тому, что к середине XX в. легальная деятельность в Дагестане была прекращена. Несмотря на преследования властей, нелегальная деятельность суфийских братств продолжалась. Возрождение религиозной жизни, в том числе и суфийских братств, в республике началось со второй половины 80-х годов XX в. С этого периода за весь досоветский и советский периоды именно суфийский ислам перестал быть объектом давления со стороны государства. Более того, видя в суфийском исламе основного идеологического оппонента распространившемуся в постсоветском Дагестане религиозно-политического течения – ваххабизма, региональные власти республики стали поддерживать суфиев. Таким образом, за весь период распространения суфизма в Дагестане в период господства Российской власти на Кавказе отношение к суфиям и суфийскому исламу менялось от крайне негативного в досоветском и советском Дагестане, до положительного в постсоветский период.

Irina A. Tsaregorodtseva
(Russian State University of Humanities, Moscow)

Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt: On the Way of Creating a Political Party

The Society of Muslim Brotherhood (MB) is the oldest and the most influential Islamic movement in the Arab Republic of Egypt (ARE). In spite of being banned since 1954 it had not lost its influence. MB members display their political and public activity at different levels – from mosques, schools and hospitals to universities and trade unions. The important stage in the movement's history – parliamentary elections 2005 as a result of which the Muslim Brotherhood had generated the largest in whole history of republican Egypt opposition in National Assembly – it has won about 1/5 seats. Success on the parliamentary elections and strain relations between MB and the Egyptian authorities have forced Muslim Brotherhood to raise again a question on a formation of its own legal political party. MB tried to do it more than once but the previous attempts were failed. The information about Muslim Brotherhood's intention to create its own party was published on 14th January 2007 in the Egyptian press. The preliminary program of the party which in many aspects has coincided with the "Initiative of the Reforms" of March 2004 appeared in August. The official application for creating a party had not been made till now. The preliminary program of MB's party has caused many questions, and inside of a management of Muslim Brotherhood there is no common opinion on this problem. The relations between Muslim Brotherhood and Egyptian authorities have recently become too aggravated. However both of them are interested on a long-term prospect in MB's participation in a political life of Egypt. MB party's formation will help the Islamic movement to prepare for coming parliamentary elections of 2010, and the Egyptian authorities – to stimulate democratic processes in the state. Ignoring and total interdiction of Islamic movements, including Muslim Brotherhood can lead to stagnation of political system and general discontent of people who are likely to support them.

Igor L. Alexeev

(Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow)

Moral Values as a Factor of Socio-Political Dynamics in Ibn Khaldun's Muqaddimah

ʿAbd ar-Rahman b. Muhammad ibn Khaldun (1332 – 1406), a statesman, historian and philosopher and one of the latest representatives of classical Islamic thought is often regarded as one of the most important predecessors of modern sociology and theory of history. His model of socio-political dynamics, elaborated by him in his famous *Muqaddimah*, and generally consid-

ered to be a first non-metaphysical conception of society in Muslim philosophy. Most often, Ibn Khaldun's theory is described as a model of interaction of transpersonal 'objective' social factors, like opposite ways of social being ('*umran*) - *badawah* vs. *hadarah*, e.g. "rural/desert [periphery] – urban/civilized [center]". However, there is at least one leading factor in ibn-khaldunian model, which may be interpreted like moral factor of an individual's social activities. I mean '*asabiyyah* – generally understood as 'tribal solidarity'. It is obvious that 'solidarity', even being naturally (*tabi'iyyan*) based on kinship ties, constitutes itself an evident moral value, related, according to Ibn Khaldun, to other values of the same class like bravery (*shud-jja'ah*), courage (*ba's*), freedom (understood as unconformity to power regulations – '*adam mu'anat li-'l-hukm*). All this is based, as Ibn Khaldun discovers, on generally greater closeness of rural people ('deserters' - *badawiyyin*) to the good in comparison with inhabitants of urban centers (*ahl al-hadar*). Ibn Khaldun explains this by the Islamic concept of an initial purity of human spiritual nature (*fitrah*), which is more characteristic to *badw* as primordial form of social being of humans. In this paper we attempt to analyze such moral values concepts focusing on semantics terminology within the context of *Muqaddimah* as well as historical evolution of these concepts in Arab culture.

Pavel V. Basharin

(Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow)

Futuwwa and Javanmardi: The Problem of Identification

A problem of the origin of *futuwwa* and *javanmardi* institution in Muslim world connects with the male unions in the urban medieval society in the Middle East. These unions are inherent in all traditional societies. The information about the unions of the Indo-Aryans can be reconstructed from the Vedic epoch. The Vedic deities Maruts, who constantly accompany god Indra, are the personification of the male union of youth-soldiers (S. Wikander, S. Kullanda). Iranians also have the tracks of the male unions (striking example is a character of *fravashis* as the warriors of light, who oppose to the dark and to the evil creations of Ahriman). The institute of *javanmardi* appeared in Sasanian Iran as a form of urban male union. After the arrival of Islam had a place the synthesis of *javanmardi* and *futuwwa*, the highest form of Arab virtue. Consequently, *futuwwa* began to be called the secret urban organizations, which arose in the east of caliphate. In Islam Iranian idea entered in the concept of *jihad* as holy war. The *futuwwa* organizations arose on the boundaries of Muslim world. *Fuqaha* and historians called the members of

this organization robbers (*ayyarun, shuttar, runud*). Being serious force, *futuwwa* frequently interacted with the supreme power. *Futuwwa* had a strict hierarchy as the closed organization. All elements of initiation up to the handing of distinctive clothing were perceived by Sufi *tariqas*. Sufi masters adopted the concept of *futuwwa* into their ethics. The central position of their doctrine became sincere self-sacrifice for God, without the claims on the retribution. The absence of personal interest drew together *futuwwa* with the *malamatiyya*. As a result the ideological rapprochement of *futuwwa* with the *tariqa suhravardiyya* began its rapprochement with Sufi *tariqas*. In Iranian Sufism the term *javanmardi* began to be connected with the disinterested love for God.

Aidar Yu. Habutdinov

(Russian Academy of Justice Kazan Branch)

***The Concept of Power and State in Tatar Society
in the late 18th – early 19th Centuries***

A *memoire historique* concerning Turkic khanates considered to be a form of national states was one of main components of self-consciousness of the late 18th – early 19th Tatar elite from Hisametdin Muslimi to Mullanur Vahitov. First of all their attention and interest were focused on the states existed on the territory of contemporary Tatarstan. In the late 18th century Hisametdin Muslimi advocated a revival of traditional fundamentalist model of Islamic state. In the second half of the 19th century Shihabetdin Mardjani aimed to create a Tatar Muslim unity (*millet*) within Russia on territories of former Muslim states of Volga-Ural region and Siberia. On the eve of the 20th century sacred history of Islam has been replaced by the ethnic history discourse. The central idea here is a unity of Turkic peoples starting from the pre-Islamic period. The earliest stage of this unity was considered to be found in the epoch of Turkic khaganates, then Tchengiz-Khan empire was interpreted as the next stage of Turkic unity. In the 1910s with the beginning of the World War I, and especially after the Russian revolution of February, 1917 a question of national state revival in the form of authonomy within the new Russian state has arisen.

Yuriy Averyanov

(Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, Russia)

Dervish Tekkes, Their Cultural and Political Identity in the Ottoman State

The dervish *tekkes* were supported by religious foundations and were exempt from tax. They were situated at the main routes and based know for free accommodation and shelter for wayfarers without religious distinction. The revenue of donations (foundation of *waqf*) must to be spent on the guests of the dervish *tekkes*. They were also refuges for the dervishes of some religious order in time of their journeys. Dervishes assumed the function of feeding and clothing for the poor. Names of many villages in Turkey connect with the word *tekke* or *zawiye* or with the name of a saint patron of the place. The dervish *tekkes* were the centers of Sufi etiquette. The sheikhs and dervishes established relations with all kinds of people lived around them and with all sorts of pilgrims. The *tekkes* played an effective cultural role in outside the cities and among the nomadic people. Mystical extasy of the Sufi based more on the sensuality of the masses than theological model of education. Literature of *tekke* was abundant. It was the origin of literary knowledge and a certain access to Ottoman high culture. Although teachers of *medresses* and the sheikhs of the dervish *tekkes* belonged to the same cultural circle, Sufi literature assumes ever greater importance as a crossroad with the oral tradition. Dervish *tekkes* were the centers of spiritual knowledge, dance and music tradition, arts. Each of these *tekkes* was a center of communication and different activities. Their spiritual power supported not by force but more likely by humanistic principles based on benefit and charity. Various Sufi schools and tariqats (followers of Muhyiddin al-Arabi, Shihab ad-Din as-Suhrawardi, Ahmed Yassawi, Qutb ad-Din Khaidar and others) deeply influenced elite together with the popular Sufism in Anatolia. Each of these schools carried social, cultural and political peculiarities of their origin. Some of Sufi leaders turned to the elite, some others addressed themselves to the ordinary people. It was also dervish *tekkes* that became centers of Shii propaganda and were by this way engaged in the political activities at the time of the struggle between the Ottomans and the Safawids in the 16th century.

Diren Çakmak
(Hitit University, Çorum, Turkey)

Islamic Proletariat in Turkey

The presentation paper focuses on Islamic proletariat in Turkey. It is thought that the implementation of neo-liberal economic policies since 1980s in the country, facilitated the emergence of Islamic bourgeoisie that is well-integrated with the international markets. In August 2001, the expansion of Islamic bourgeoisie resulted in the establishment of the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) and in the November 2002 general elec-

tions Islamic bourgeoisie carried this party in power in cooperation with Islamic proletariat. In the period of rule of AK Party, Islamic bourgeoisie was strengthened and AK Party got in power for the second term in the July 2007 general elections by the support of both Islamic bourgeoisie and Islamic proletariat. Islamic proletariat is a new type of proletariat. It pronounces its differences from laic proletariat through its Islamic ideology. "The term of Islamic proletariat" may seem an oxymoron. Because historically the proletariat is thought to have secular world view. However in Turkey today there are poor people who reformulated their Islamic ideology in the globalization process and seems like proletariat in the sense of their way of life. They have close connection with the ruling party, the Justice and Development Party which is a moderate-Islamic party. It is thought that this extra-ordinary class is worth for evaluation. Although the term Islamic proletariat has not been used yet by social scientists in Turkey in academic writing, it has been used in conversation language by both social scientists and journalists for the last few years. In the paper, "the term of Islamic proletariat" will be evaluated scientifically and the term will acquire an academic definition. The paper is planned to have three sections. In the first part, the term of Islamic proletariat is defined. In the second part, the effects of the emergence of Islamic proletariat on Turkish political life with a particular emphasis on the policies of AK Party are illuminated. In the third part, the cooperation between Islamic bourgeoisie and Islamic proletariat in the last two general elections is elaborated. It is thought that the paper will open new discussions in the issues such as embourgeoisment and proletarianisation of Islamic circles in Turkey, the relationship between capitalist mode of production and Islamic ideology and povertisation in the globalisation process.

PANEL XVIII

“Republic of Letters” as a Net Structure in the Cultural Space of the 16th – 18th Centuries

Convenor: *Violetta Trofimova* (St. Petersburg State University,
Russia)

This panel seeks to analyze various aspects of the birth and development of the “net” of the Renaissance and Early Modern European intellectuals called “*Respublica Litteraria*” or “Republic of Letters.” The term itself was made popular by Erasmus in the early 16th century, and later was to describe the community of European scholars of the Western world in the Early Modern period. From the very beginning “The Republic of Letters” was an elite community, and at some stages and in some countries it did not eliminate the idea of hierarchy – see, for example, T. Boccalini’s *Ragguagli del Parnaso* (1614), where the head of the “Republic” is Prince Apollo. Nevertheless, by the end of the 17th century the authors who discussed the phenomenon of the “Republic of Letters” underlined its non-hierarchical nature. As for the Enlightenment period, which is considered the separate stage in the existence of the “Republic of Letters,” it saw the wide spread of the ideas of universalism and cosmopolitanism, which had been promoted by the citizens of the “Republic.” The end of the 18th century marked the eclipse of the very idea of the “Republic of Letters.” This panel focuses on the image of the “Republic of Letters” as a net-like, hierarchical/non-hierarchical structure in the minds of Early Modern people. It strives to represent “Republic of Letters” as a cultural phenomenon. It invites papers which discuss this phenomenon in the whole, as well as various subcultures in the “Republic of Letters,” for example, separate intellectual networks, figures of intellectuals belonging to this community, literary works which were the result of the existence and activity of the “Republic of Letters” etc. It invites scholars to analyze the phenomenon of the “Republic of Letters” from historical, philosophical, sociological and other points of view. “Republic of Letters” was an early predecessor of the Internet, and the ideas of the “citizens” of the “Republic” became the ground for such political structures, as UN and EU, as well as for the very concept of the global world.

Mohammed Sanaullah
(Aligarh Muslim University, India)

The Republics of Letters in Islam: A Retrospect of Universalism and Cosmopolitanism in the Philosophic-spiritual and Literary Lyceums of Islam (Arabia, Persia and India)

Our history can not downsize or marginalize those Muses, philosophers and Sufi-masters who are best remembered for successfully forming Republic/s of Letters in various phases of the Muslim history in Arabia, Persia and India. The first part of the paper would give a cursory account of the thesis of universalism and cosmopolitanism in Islam. It would also maintain the basic difference between Islamic/Ummah Universalism and the Universalistic doctrines of the Muses, the Gnostic thinkers and the philosophers in early and medieval Islam. The second part would go through the Universalistic thought-patterns between X-XV centuries in Islam represented in the Sufi-mystic and literary figures such as al-Hallaj (d.922), Avicenna (980-1037), al-Ghazzali (d.1111), Averroes (1126-1198), al-Suhrawardi (d.1191), Abu al-Alaa al-Ma'arri (973-1057), Jalaluddin Rumi (d. 1207-1273) and Mahmud Shabistari. The Egyptian Ibn al-Faridh (1181-1235) and the Andalusian Murcian Ibn Arabi (d.1240) are the greatest spiritual guides who stood for the universalistic thought-patterns among Muslims during thirteenth century. In Mughal India, there are several names among the prominent Sufi-masters who preached for theosophical universalism. The names of Baba Farid Ganje-Shakar (1173-1271), Qutubuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki (d. 1236), Nizamuddin Auliya (1247-1324), Gesu Daraz (1321-1421), Prince Dara Shikoh, Sarmad and others figure prominently during 13th-15th centuries in this respect. Abdullah Shattari (d.1406), Syed Muhammad Ghauth (d.1562) and Shaikh Wajihuddin Alawi Gujarati (d. 1589) are known for their non-conformist thoughts and advocacy of universalism in India during XV and XVI centuries. The Indian sub-continent during XVIII century witnessed the emergence of some reformist movements. The paper aims at synchronizing the theme in historic and literary-philosophic perspectives of Islam, with an analysis of thoughts and endeavours that not only made their presence felt in the Muslim world in different phases of history, but also were responsible for some immensely powerful and pleasant changes in the Muslim psyche and social behaviour.

Violetta Trofimova

(St. Petersburg State University, Russia)

The Ideas of the "Republic of Letters" and the Political History of Europe

The ideas of the universalism and cosmopolitanism date back to the ancient times, at least the notion of the unity of the world and of the mankind is the basis of the world religions. On the secular level, we can trace back the vision of the united world at least to Roman times and can find it in the writings of Seneca. He apparently saw the Roman Empire as an entity encompassing most of the world. Such ideas were revived in the Renaissance period by the number of Italian scholars and philosophers, but mainly by Erasmus of Rotterdam. The latter promoted not only the idea of a supranational community of learned men, but also the political idea of European republic. At the turn of the XVI-XVII centuries there appeared a project by the minister of the French king Henry IV Maximilian Sully, which aimed at the union of European countries in the shape of a Christian republic. This idea was developed by Jan Amos Comenius, the greatest educator of the XVII century, whose major work, "De Rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica," was itself a grandiose plan of establishing the union of the countries in the entire world. Comenius discussed not only the political problems, but also religious, language, educational and many others. William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, proposed a purely political project "An Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe by the Establishment of an European Diet, Parliament or Estates" (1693). The XVIII century – the Age of Enlightenment – saw the further rise of the ideas of universalism and cosmopolitanism, which reflected in the sphere of the political theory as well. We can name the treatises by Saint-Pierre, Immanuel Kant and many other philosophers. The French Revolution marked the temporary end of the idea of the Republic of Letters.

Larry D. Harwood

(Viterbo University, La Crosse, USA)

An Early Republic of Letters among the English Puritans, 1580 –1640

From the ouster of the puritan Thomas Cartwright from Cambridge University in 1571, until the trial of the puritan organization of the Feoffees for Impropriation in 1632 in the court of Charles I, the English Puritans doggedly aimed, in the words of the Puritan Richard Sibbes, to "set up some lights in all the dark corners of this kingdom." In this paper I will examine details of how these Puritans established an early republic of letters amongst themselves, and also encouraged non-hierarchical and democratic notions in their efforts to enlighten their countrymen. Furthermore, I will contend that much of the opposition to the Puritans was opposition to their implicitly democratic notions at variance with those of an English government and church still held

captive by royal and episcopal traditions that stringently resisted too much self reliance or self governance. Certainly, the Puritans are primarily religious thinkers, but like the famous thesis of Max Weber, that the Puritan religious mentality contributed to the rise of capitalism, so too the Puritan religious mentality contributed to a measure of political freedom implicit in the Puritan religious mind. The recognition of literary as requisite for the Puritan devotion to scripture contributed to a growing individualism that retained neither monarch nor priest as necessary intermediaries between God and men. Charles I and Archbishop William Laud rightly feared an emerging Puritan religious consciousness that would diminish and displace them in religious importance. This puritan religious consciousness, evident in the early republic of letters amongst notable Puritans, evidences the criticism of a hierarchical society that the Puritans saw as impugning their efforts to enlighten their countrymen. Finally, the notion of religious individualism implied in the Puritan's writings was a major historical step toward the later notion of the autonomous individual argued for by later secular thinkers.

Ekaterina Ovcharova

(St. Petersburg State University, Russia)

François Bernier as an Opinion Leader of the 17th Century

Anatole France mentions Bernier twice in his novel "The Angels' Rebellion" and makes him one of the central figures of the epoch, in which we can easily recognize the seventeenth century. The French physician, thinker and traveler François Bernier (1620-1688), who lived at Mogul court for eleven years, is most famous as an author of the book on India (1680). But Bernier also promoted Gassendi's philosophy both in Paris in a well-known saloon of Madame de la Sablière and in India at the Secretary's of State for Foreign Affairs. For the noblewoman's saloon François Bernier wrote "A Short Account of Gassendi's Philosophy" (1664-66), for Indian nabob, Aurangzeb's official Danech-mend-khan he made a translation of Gassendi's works into Persian. Incidentally, Bernier translated into Persian Descartes' works too. Danech-mend-khan enjoyed the discussion of the European ideas; though, he still wanted to convert his physician into Islam. Bernier wrote about Danech-mend-khan in a letter to M. de Merveilles: "Besides, my Navaab or Agah, *Danech-mend-kan*, expects my arrival with much impatience. He can no more dispense with his philosophical studies in the afternoon than avoid devoting the morning to his weighty duties as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Grand Master of the Horse. Astronomy, geography and anatomy are his favourite pursuits, and he reads with avidity the works of *Gassendy*

and *Descartes*.” Bernier also translated from Persian the abridged version of Indian legends, which the Emperor Jahangir had ordered to compile. It seems that France was right, when he included Bernier in the context of his novel. Bernier was a living link between the Western and Oriental civilization, he exposed both East to West and West to East. He was a kind of a double agent of influence, at the same time he occupied no serious post and had no real power.

Marianna G. Muravyeva

(Herzen State Pedagogical University, St. Petersburg Russia)

***Legal Networks: Training and Intercommunication of European Lawyers
in the 18th Century***

The eighteenth century is an important period in the formation of that system of the European law, which we are used to analyzing nowadays. In this period there appeared and developed the so-called “legal networks.” Those were the centres specializing in specific branches of law (for example, the University of Edinburgh was intended for studying natural rights, the University of Leiden – for studying the so-called moral justice, the University of Gottingen – for criminal law, the University of Paris – for civil law etc.). They helped create, on the one hand, the diversification of law, on the other hand – the unified system of the centres. Such structure allowed starting the new codification of the European law. Simultaneously, Russian lawyers became a part of these networks. First of all, those were the lawyers who were educated in these European centres (for example, Semyon Desnitsky who studied in Edinburgh). They also took an active part in the codification process (for example, in the activities of the Novoulozhennaja Commission of 1766-68). As a result, by the middle of the 19th century they had appeared a specific unification which concerned not only the attitudes to the system of law, but also the grounds for deducing these or those categories of the Law. The impulse for the successful functioning of such networks was the ideology of the Enlightenment, which created the new basis for developing the theoretical principles of the Law (for example, instead of the principle “what is just is lawful,” there appeared the principle of division of the justness, law and right).

PANEL XIX

Socio-cultural Perceptions of Globalization: A Global Resemblance or a Local Recognition?

Convenor: *Irina Vasilenko* (Victoria University, Melbourne, Australia)

In today's world, Globalization is more than the capstone of economic transition that drives local economies; more than the production of the higher-order capacity necessary for effective communication tools; it is a critical pillar of human development worldwide that, indeed, has remarkably intensified a socio-cultural transformation. A multifaceted nature of this influence creates an immense complexity in transformation registered in all spheres of social and cultural life affecting each nation or individual. The socio-cultural transformation manifests a complicated character of changes, conflicting tendencies, and a contradicted pattern of simultaneously occurring processes, endorsing assimilation, adaptation, and adjustment along with a reinstatement. Globalization motivates changes occurring in traditions, culture, and mentality, collective as well as individual, and indeed, in education, arts, communication, and other social institutions. These changes are central to the transformation of not only a national intellectual capacity of local knowledge of being sufficient in a global environment, but also to a promotion of worldwide practices necessary to update individual knowledge and skills. A widespread discourse of these changes demonstrates that Globalization is more influential than ever in respect to the social and cultural transformation. At that same time, to challenge the global influence is appeared to be the most critical dimension in the process of socio-cultural transformation. The increasing importance of local knowledge, tradition and culture is significant for surfacing the inverse changes answerable for a reoccurrence of traditionalism, conservatism, and nationalism in the post-industrial, industrial and transitional societies. It is also responsible for maintaining the various forms of social and cultural estrangement and for developing an intricacy of socio-cultural perceptions in different societies. The complexity of socio-cultural transformations in a rapidly changing global environment has made necessary for a further discussion in respect to the theoretical assumptions and policies concerning a global influence on a socio-cultural transformation in general, and a role of socio-cultural perceptions of Globalization for a national development on the core of a country's competitive advantage in the global environment, in particularly. The Panel invites scholars, social scientists, social anthropologists, humanists, international educators and independ-

ent researchers to discuss the complexity of socio-cultural perceptions of Globalization in the environment of traditional, post-industrial, industrial and transitional societies. The Panel calls for a presentation of papers, case studies, research, surveys, or personal observations informing about cultural and social transformations taking place in human development and revealing currently occurred changes in social life, psychology, arts, education, and culture as well as in the social institutions their represented. The interdisciplinary theme of the Panel opens a wider opportunity to discuss different paradigms of socio-cultural perceptions of Globalization in various milieus; tendencies that support or restrict a worldwide integration; and forms of socio-cultural estrangement. The participants also encourage in stimulating a dialogue on both advantages and disadvantages of socio-cultural transformation, how different social institutions are responding to the challenges and opportunities of the global environment; and how Globalization affects not only the shape and mode of national operation but also a life of the individuals.

M.S. Ahluwalia

(Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla, India)

Westernization and Globalization: Crises of Identity in Sikhism

The concept of westernization and globalization has broadly been identified with modernization which has affected every section of the Indian society. The paper analyses briefly the impact of westernization and globalization which has seen a phenomenal rise in all walks of Indians, including the Sikhs. Globalization has undoubtedly brought not only the news ideas and institutions but it has also brought significant rationalization on some of the traditional Sikh institutions and ideas. The Sikhs lived in the western world and adopted attractive aspects of modernization world-wide. However, it may be pointed out that in their social and domestic life they still continue to be largely traditional following the guiding principles of the Sikh religion. As a result of such dualism, the Sikhs particularly are facing a crisis of identity. The paper examines the depth of the crises that have emerged in Sikhism, its multi-cultural base, and forces behind of the crises which appears to be mainly due to the onslaught of globalization. But by and large, the paper argues, there is spontaneity in borrowing the western elements. The paper concludes that in spite of being the most cosmopolitan and liberal, the Sikh identity is at cross roads and faces the challenge evoked by globalization.

Penny Gamlin
(Melbourne, Australia)

Contemporary Sudan: Shaky Global Journey towards National Identity

The main purpose of this paper is to address cross-cultural perceptions of identity among the main ethnic groups of the Sudanese society, both within and outside of the Sudan. These include the Dinka ethnic group from the south, the Darfurians of the west, the Nubians and Arabized Sudanese of the north. The paper is aim to discussed issues related to the flexibility of a cultural identity of these groups and its understanding in different cross-cultural environments. One of the issues tackled by this discussion is the controversial influence of imported Arabic culture in relation to Sudanese identity. This controversy is related to a flexible perception of identity inside local communities and different understanding beyond the national boundaries. It seems that the existence of a neutral, third-party power assists in reducing conflict between Sudanese ethnic groups. As the Australian case shows, impartial governance has helped to sustain a balance of power between the groups. Unfortunately, inside Sudanese society, impartiality is generally displayed only by aid organizations, which have no power and therefore cannot be more than minimally functional in building national identity. The paper discusses reasons for the fluidity of identity of the Sudanese people. Cultural self-perception is defined by the government which lacks legitimacy and the consensus of its people. The discussion of identity reveals a significance of the newly created forces closely associated to a war which continually burdens the life of the Sudanese people. The civil war has created a new global division of Sudanese people. On the one hand there are refugees who during the refugee experience and resettlement develop an awareness of their shared African identity and discover mutual recognition and tolerance. Those who remain within the national boundaries are seemingly trapped by a history of war, betrayal and mutual distrust, which informs their personal identity but leaves them with little choice but to follow a government-prescribed national identity scenario. The actions of Sudanese governments since Independence have had unpredicted consequences, which are also a subject of discussions offered by this paper.

Tunde Adeleke
(Iowa State University, Ames, USA)

Black Cultural Nationalism and the Challenges of Globalization

The political, economic and social dominance of whites, coupled with the deepening crises of black impoverishment, and marginalization, has reinforced black alienation and strengthened separatist ethos and consciousness among blacks in the United States. In the last two decades, preserving and safeguarding black cultural identity and heritage has become a critical component of discourses on the black condition. This entailed the ideological construction of a distinct black cultural space and heritage; a strong determination to validate social and political spaces. Black cultural nationalists perceive America as an arena of conflict between contending and diametrically opposed cultures—Whites against Blacks. In response, they advocate cultural isolation and vigilance, and are opposed to any move toward greater cultural interactions with whites, which, in their judgment, could potentially erode the cultural identity, and thus undermine the survival, of blacks. Thus, black cultural nationalists are opposed to globalization which they depict as a threat to the cultural survival of blacks. Rather than embrace globalization, they advocate isolation, and the development of a distinct black cultural paradigm that privileges race and ethnicity. They are skeptical of cross-cultural and inter-cultural discourses and interactions, and dread the possibility of global cultural citizenship assuming preeminence over, and displacing, primordial conception of identity such as race and ethnicity. This paper examines the implications of a racialized and essentialist construction of the black struggle in the context of globalization. The analysis centers around the following critical questions: Is globalization truly detrimental to the cultural survival of blacks? Should blacks welcome and embrace global cultural citizenship? Is globalization compatible with cultural specificity? Or, is globalization the demise of cultural identity? Should blacks embrace inter-culturalism? Or, is intra-culturalism more desirable? Can the global arena be truly accommodative and reflective of multiple cultures? Can it facilitate a healthy context for multiple cultural interactions and coexistence? Is such context possible and desirable?

Srdjan Radović

(Institute of Ethnography, Belgrade, Serbia)

***Perceptions of Euro-Integration and Globalization
among Serbian Students***

Globalization in Serbia is a process that primarily reflects a comprehension of cultural and symbolic conceptualization of Europe, in general, and a position of Serbia within a context of European unity. However, there are some evidences challenging the structural and cultural redefinition of globalization

within a context of contemporary Europe. The socio-anthropological research was conducted in 2007 among Serbian students studying at colleges and high schools pupils. These groups were specifically targeted because they could eventually produce, recycle and disseminate socio-cultural discourses of globalization in the future. The study was focused at investigating their perceptions of the contemporary Europe and globalization process in Serbia. The paper presents the main findings of this research related to a strong association with the concept of Europe alongside with the process of globalization. It also provide the analysis of the main characteristics regarding the comprehension and vision of Serbia among European countries. The analysis of questionnaires and interviews reveals that a majority of responders represent a continuation of elements of prevailing isolationist discourses on Europe and globalizing (Western) world from the 1990s. Such clear cultural distance towards the presumed notion of Europe shows a strong counter-orientalist pattern. Such position reflects, from one side, the fascination of economic strength in order to perceive monolithic Europe, and, from another side, it also shows the opposition and distance towards presumed cultural characteristics of imagined Europe. The study demonstrates that globalization was understood as a process that is more often being perceived as cultural, rather than economic. The prevailing ambition for accession with EU is combined with clear occidentalist notions about Europe – an image of Europe as one responded noted, “a turbine of globalization” reflecting a capitalist super-power forces that for most respondents would like to become evident. At the same time, some respondents display a pessimistic and negative attitude towards capitalist and mercantile ethos and its following cultural effects. Finally, the paper discusses the finding in respect to self-identification and self-representation of “Us”, Serbian, within the context of Globalization.

Catherine Earl

(Monash University, Churchill, Australia)

Virtual Vietnam:

Exploring Transformations in Urban Youth Culture Online

The most dramatic social and cultural transformations that have taken place in Ho Chi Minh City, the largest city of Vietnam, have occurred through the process of economic reform (*đổi mới*) initiated in 1986 that evolved the centrally planned economy of socialism into a global market economy. Two decades on, with the opening of Vietnam's economy to the global market, young people and urbanites in Ho Chi Minh City have experienced greater access to a more diversified selection of imported influences of popular culture, includ-

ing material as well as intellectual elements of foreign culture. A mushrooming of Internet cafés across the city has further given urbanites direct access to a virtual world of cultural influences and online connections with members of Vietnamese diaspora communities, and others, across the globe. Based on recent ethnographic fieldwork conducted among the urban youth in Ho Chi Minh City, this paper will explore the complicity of transformations dealing with contemporary urban Vietnamese youth culture in online and digital contexts. It will consider the nature of social and cultural transformations in urban Vietnamese lives in the post-reform era by analyzing how young people and urbanites adapt to conflicting influences faced in nationalistic and globalized cultures they encounter through contemporary popular culture. Among the issues raised in this paper is whether young people can embody a cosmopolitan cultural identity through a virtual world.

Morteza Monadi

(Azzahra University, Tehran, Iran)

***Global Media and Iranian Youth:
Resistance and Challenges of Iranian Family Traditions***

The process of globalization becomes a matter of increasing concerns for people especially to those who live at the Third World countries. Starting from the changes affecting initially the economics and political spheres, the globalization is now embracing social spheres, evoking profound changes in culture, as well as in education. These changes have been the main reason for a sort of resistance towards different aspects of cultural globalization; however, the level of such resistance can be varied between societies as well as between the social and economic domains. In contrast to a mild reaction of a society of a third world country towards changes occurred in the fields of economics and politics, the changes taken place within the cultural and educational domains produce much stronger reactions from the old generations and become more evident against Globalization. Based on a field work undertaken in Tehran during 2006-2008, the paper is focused at the case study of the youth of the upper middle class of the Iranian society. By applying qualitative methods towards collected in-depth-interviews on the use of STV and Internet, this paper analyses the means of communication related to the challenges dealing with the global media and Iranian family's traditions. The paper shows that the contemporary changes in communication have affected the different aspects of everyday life of the Iranian youth: a social position for women, the power of education praised by a family, the marriage choice and choice of a partner, etc. The paper is also demonstrated that these newly

arisen ways of communication closely associated with the global trend, bring the inter-generation issues and does affected traditions and culture of an Iranian family.

Irina Vasilenko

(Victoria University, Melbourne, Australia)

***Youth Culture Personal Classifications:
Influences of Pop-culture or Personal Rebellions?***

A comparative analysis of surveys conducted during 2005-2008 in Australia, Russia, and Ukraine demonstrates that the young people in their age between 14 and 17 y. o. have a strong tendency towards a creation of their own personal classification, or Youth Culture Personal Classifications (YCPC). This process is very active among teenagers of all groups in these countries and has tendency of further developing. The paper discusses some findings related to the driving forces of this global phenomenon and its cross-cultural amplitude functioning within similar as well as dissimilar cultural groups. The paper signifies a role of social and cultural context in the process of YCPC formation and explains advantages and disadvantages of its socio-cultural paradigm. The discovered ambiguity between the personal and social use of YCPC is also a subject of discussions. Some striking similarities of the YCPC use that has been detected across different cultures and languages are raising important questions: What are the driving forces of this phenomenon occurred in the groups of teenagers who live and study in the different social and cultural environment? How has this tendency occurred? Does it mean that the mentality of our next generation will be identical? Will there in future be a social development of the next generation entirely shaped by the forces of Globalization? Has the role of the socio-cultural context of this process played any role? If yes, how, and to what degree, are the influences of native culture reshaping this global phenomenon of pop-culture? At the same time, by analyzing the dissimilar characteristics of YCPC that are used among various sub-groups within a national boundary, the paper indicates a role of cultural elements. It also provides evidences that existing YCPC paradigms demonstrates a significant cultural resistance towards the influence of pop-culture. Formed on the particular cultural fundament, it also reflects the cultural canvass, integrating national and personal values. The paper concludes that the influence of pop-culture is greatly overstated as well as the significance of global tendency towards the unification of the youth culture. As the study reveals, there will be always culturally-specific ways of adopt-

ing, assimilating and, the most important, comprehending the common global trends within a cultural boundaries of upbringing.

Kamala Kumari

(Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India)

Impact of Globalization: Changing Indian Culture

Indian culture has been undergoing tremendous changes. The culture, in this paper, means the Indian way of life, its religion, language and region. In the contemporary globalised world, the information travels as much faster as ever before, specifically it becomes relevant to the global trends and news. The young generation seems to be highly influenced by the western style of living. Due to globalization, business outsourcing has increased. India has emerged as a lucrative destination for outsourced businesses. This has created a vast field of opportunities for the Indian youths. By Indian standards, the Business Process Outsourcing (BPOs) provides decent salaries to their employees. Unlike their parents, the majority of a middle class of young generations does not bother about family liabilities and splurge in various activities. This new trend has created both long term and short term implications on the Indian culture that are particularly evident in urban areas. Some values like celibacy, obedience, family-life orientation, community feelings and spiritualism are always remained of being the significant integral parts of the Indian culture. However, these values are gradually disappearing that could be seen in the outlook and behavior of the youths. Interestingly, new trends are setting in with the silent approval of the society, the original land of Buddha and Gandhi. Like for any other industrialized countries, the rapid industrialization and modernization have created a plethora of challenges for India as well. However, their positive impact on the economy and standard of living cannot be denied. More people are moving into the cities and bigger towns to fetch better jobs and opportunities. This influx of the younger generation to settle in cities is slowly destroying the traditional family system and values. What appears pleasant today may infuse several problems in the future of Indian society and culture that might be difficult to tackle. This paper assesses the impact of the globalization and business outsourcing on the youths in particular and Indian culture at large.

Rishi Pal Sing

(Govt. K.R.G. P.G. [Autonomous] College, Gwalior, India)

The Expatriate Indians and Global Trends in the Trinidadian Society:

A Critique of V.S. Naipaul's Novels

Disintegration, exile, alienation, disorder and a quest for identity are the terms often applied for defining the experiences of the Third World nations. Under the global influence, these second-rated nations are desperately engaged in searching their identities for a socio-cultural development and political stability on the one hand, and for economic potentials and capacity to correspond the global expectations on the other. Undeniably, the process of globalization has exposed these societies to certain new challenges and they find it difficult to achieve their economic self-reliance. The paper offers an original reading to these uprooted Indians' society, their social strata and how they experience a fear-psychosis of a complete dissolution of their heritage and identity amidst the new challenges in the era of globalization. Mainly based on a critique of the four novels of V.S. Naipaul, the Nobel Laureate of Indian lineage, the paper analyses the predicament of the indentured Indians - rather Asians who are now facing the crisis of socio-cultural disintegration, ethical evaporation and hapless dereliction on an alien land. By following the relentlessly truthful predicament of Naipaul's vision and his way of making an admixture of facts and fiction in his stories, the paper offers an exciting journey deep into the soul and psyche of the expatriate social groups in Trinidad (a Caribbean Island). The way how they have been satirically-rather sardonically-depicted the audacious literary giant with multi-cultural background-an Indian by ancestry, a Trinidadian by birth and an English by sensibility, demonstrates that socio-cultural conditions of these 'half-made societies' in the 'slave countries' is miserable. Searching for the truth among the treacherous alleys of the heterogeneous society of Trinidad, the paper demonstrates how the flux of globalization has made the disintegration and deracination to be a dominant moral fibre of the socio-cultural characteristics. The paper concludes that the crisis faced by these societies is neither exclusively economic nor purely political. The economic and political aspects are only two visual appearances of a much larger socio-cultural crisis, the heart of which is laid at the global moral decline.

Marine Robillard

(Musée national d'histoire naturelle, Paris, France)

Baka Pygmies and Biodiversity Conservation: How Globalization Changes Relationships between Forest Communities in the East Cameroon

The paper focuses at the historical and contemporary changes occurred in life of Baka pygmies people, one of the indigenous groups of the East Cameroon. Base on thr analysis of anthropological data collected during the observations of Baka people, the paper discusses challenges and strategies brought by the globalization to this forest community. In order to understand the complexity of contemporary political system of the East Cameron, the paper overviews the changes occurred from the colonial period till nowadays. The paper emphases a role of the tribal wars at the region, a significance of first colonists arrivals and discusses how Baka pygmies along with their neighbours started to alter their in-group communication, their land access strategies and a natural economic doctrine in order to survive into this new world. The discussion is focused at how during the colonial period, under the influence of German and French development of building the roads, bringing the valuable ivory and harvesting cocoa, Baka people have changed their traditional political system. Based on primacy of age group, the *acephalous* society has been challenged. The relationships between ethnic group that traditionally was conducted via kinship/product exchange/partnership and was grouped around inter-ethnic values of a village have been changed. A headman, or a chief, was selected to carry out interactive tasks between a village and colonial administration. A new political system was incorporated into to a new economic mode, affecting not only the Bak's population, but also their individual and collective surviving strategies. The paper provides a contemporary analysis dealing with the government's repetitive attempts to conduct biodiversity conservation and sustainable management for the East Cameron's indigenous groups. The paper concludes that globalisation has a dual effect on Cameroonian society. As a positive result, the international NGOs provide a new opportunity for Baka people and their neighbours by embracing their possibilities of developing leadership strategies, by working on the issues of biodiversity conservation and establishing indigenous rights, by providing the civil society development and local administrations. NGOs will assist to creation of new leadership that will change an individual as well as collective mentality of Cameroonian society. As a negative impact, the paper argues, being often despised as salvages by the Cameroonian society, minorities like the hunter-gatherer's Baka, is facing the further marginalisation. Due to the international discourse of biodiversity forest conservation such group could developed themselves into incontrovertible forces damaging national politics and economic sustainability.

*Anil Kumar Paliwal
A.K. Chaturvedi*

(Government of M.P. State, India)

***Concerns of the Indigenous or the Adivasi Peoples of India
in Indian English Novel***

The rustic and rural life of Indian people has been a subject of many Indian English writers but very few of them have depicted a life of Indian indigenous groups. The reason for this is the level of a social interaction among different Indian castes. The majority of Indian English writers are belong to the upper and elite strata of the society; therefore, therefore, they have limited understandings of indigenous people. The stories and plots in these fictions are more 'urbane and cultured' rather than realistic. The main characters are mostly enlightened and educated ones and thus they represent the modern and advanced sections of Indian society. The outcast groups of the Indian society together with their problems and concerns were "forgotten" matters. A silence against a large chunk of picturing disadvantaged ethnic groups was broken by addressing issues of *Adivasi* people, the marginal indigenous group of Indian society. But even so, the *Adivasi* group received a limited attention and marginalized treatment among the prominent Indian novelists writing in English. The vast number of the Indian authors writing fictions, knowingly or unknowingly, is failed to address their concerns for outcastes groups for several reasons. Firstly, being an outsider, a position of writers does not fully accommodating to comprehend the life of outcastes and its realm, Secondly, in some cases, by observing only a peripheral level of poverty and misfortune, a writer is in a position of reflecting the artificial facts mostly. The main focus of this paper is concentrated on some issues related to a treatment of ethnic groups depicted in Indian English novels. The paper highlights the concerns of so-called 'unfortunate people' and testifies how far a writing in English Indian novelist could be an honest and realistic, an effective and artistic by picturing those who had a raw deal in their simple and humble life.

Uros Suvakovic

(University of Pristina, Serbia)

***Importance and Role of Political Parties
as Traditional Mechanisms of Political Representation
in a Contemporary Globalized Post-industrial Society***

The system of representative democracy is based on the role played by political parties acting as intermediaries between the will of citizens on the one hand and the establishment of politics and political institutions of a country

on the other. Political parties are a product of the bourgeois society, and the result of social circumstances created in the Western Europe after bourgeois revolutions. The necessary preconditions for their creation were guarantees for political and civil rights and freedoms (freedom of speech, thought, assembly, association, universal suffrage, freedom of press etc.), while the institutional framework for their activity was provided by parliamentary democracies within nation states created in Europe during 19th century. This is why political parties have today remained organizations oriented towards taking and exercising power within a national state. At the beginning of the 21st century, as part of the globalization process, certain powers, traditionally belong to a state, were delegated to supranational structures, such as the United Nations, the European Union, etc. However, the political parties are not playing the same intermediary role, as they did within a nation state framework. The voice of citizens as the states' members exercised by these supranational structures do not articulated in a traditional manner through the political parties. Nowadays, the technocracy and bureaucracy have influenced the decision-making processes, which cannot invoke any elective legitimacy. The diminishing intermediary role of political parties in the process of targeting certain global social goals with no other legitimate intermediaries to express the will of citizens, along with the strengthening of technocratic and bureaucratic influence, raises the discussions concerning democratic legitimacy of global endeavors.

Olga Bursian

(Monash University, Churchill, Australia)

***Australian State Uses and Misuses of Globalization Discourses
in Governing Inequality***

This paper discusses Australian government social policy making in two parts. Part one deals with the 1945 establishment of the welfare state, as a response to the devastations of the Great Depression and World War II. Part two begins with the election in 1983 of governments which pursued free-market economics and social policies. A brief outline of the cultural and social context is provided to assist in understanding the discussion of Australian government uses and misuses of globalisation discourses. During the first half of twentieth century, as a 'new world' and prosperous country, the national culture could have been described broadly as being based on an informal, interpersonal egalitarianism. Working class men and women rejected the oppressive status hierarchies of the traditional societies they had originated from, such as England. Post WWII, there was agreement that capitalist de-

mocratic governments were responsible for ensuring the well being of all citizens and welfare states were formed. The uniquely Australian model of the Wage Earners' Welfare State was based on protecting male working conditions and local industry from the non-British, global world constructed as fundamentally threatening in the Australian psyche. At the same time, Australia selectively embraced the international theories of Keynesian governance and the global benchmarks of civility encapsulated in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. Australia also participated materially in the global post war economic boom and from the labour of white immigrants. The second part of the paper begins with the end of the post war economic boom in the 1970s and the OECD's (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) strong advice to nation states about the efficacy of small government and privatisation. Australian governments have been unique in their uncritical adoption of these theories, with vigorous implementation beginning in 1983, by a Labor Government which used the fear-evoking rhetoric of 'globalisation', to implement unpopular policies. While promising to restore national prosperity, these policies markedly increased citizens' material and symbolic insecurities. Over the next two decades, such neo-liberal reasoning and its values dominated public debates. The social and cultural values of Australians were gradually reshaped through the mass media (owned by only two or three billionaires). Citizen expectations of the responsibilities of a democratic government reduced significantly, because of the vague and threatening 'reality of globalisation'. A great deal of social research is now available to indicate the impact of social and economic restructuring on the population and on the health of the economy and environment. The paper concludes with examples of policy paradigms to avoid and, concomitantly, those worth considering, for building a socially secure and cohesive multicultural 21st century society.

Aniky Eszter Bartha

(Eotvos Lorand University, Budapest, Hungary)

***"When I Buy Things for My Children, I Don't Pay Attention to Brands":
Globalization and Socio-cultural Perception of Systemic Changes
from the Perspective of Workers in East Germany and Hungary***

The paper presents the outcomes of a comparative study dealing with the blue-collar worker experiences of post-socialist changes that have occurred in East Germany and Hungary under the pressure of globalisation. During 2002-2003, two separate interviewing processes were conducted in The Rába MFG factory, located in the city of Győr (Hungary) and Carl Zeiss factory,

located in the city of Jena (Germany). These factories, in the previous era of socialism, were considered to be the large enterprises and regarded to be the “model” factories on a national scale. However, a new era of globalisation has imprinted profound changes that primarily affected the future of the personnel with work experience at these industrial plants. Based on the analysis of forty in-depth interviews, the paper compares the experiences of changes and a perception of men and women (selected in equal numbers, in the age of 40s) who had lost their jobs during the re-structuring. The survey has found that workers in both countries reported some common tendencies. The interviewees in both countries appear to share the negative experiences on how they had to learn to live with the constant fear of unemployment, and how to accept the loss of prestige of working in a “model” factory. The loss of former communities and networks in the workplace and in the neighbourhood was also a painful experience, which was mentioned in the interviews. However, the study reveals that while the interviewees in East German see these experiences as a normal functioning of the capitalist system, the interviewees in Hungary did not translate these “narratives of decline” into a critique of capitalism. The study also has found a contradiction between the experience and expectation that could be resolved with the argument that “something went wrong with the implementation of capitalism” in these countries. By providing an analysis of this comparative study, the paper illuminates differently some ideas on socio-cultural perception of systemic changes in different countries. This invites to take a further step towards a discussion on the role of globalization regarding not only the economic differentiation, but primarily the social and cultural differentiation of East German and Hungary on the world-scale system of capitalism.

S. Ali Tabatabaee

(Islamic Azad University, Tehran Central Branch, Iran)

Globalization or Glo-opportunisation?

Globalization denotes the expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up and deepening impact of transnational flows and patterns of interaction. It refers to a shift or transformation on the scale of human organization that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across the world's region and continents. Globalization as an ongoing process produces a greater interdependence among countries and their citizen, challenging social and cultural patterns of a nation. At the same time, the global processes bring more opportunities for interdependence and also provide for countries and people more independency. This dual character of globalization triggers

some important questions: How opportunities or challenges are shared? Who is benefiting and who is controlling these opportunities? And who is facing advanced challenges? By answering these questions, the paper affirms a fresh vision towards understanding globalization. The paper suggests that despite of the fact that globalization is an ongoing process, the countries of Great Powers are using their political tools and economic forces for controlling and shaping events within this process in their favor. As a result of this, they have been successful to turn the processes of globalization into the processes of global opportunities, or Glo-opportunisation. The paper offers the structural description of Glo-opportunisation and analyses the role of three very important elements of Glo-opportunisation: (1) Institutions, (2) Trends and (3) Policies. Analyzing Institutions, the paper discloses the role of non-governmental institutions, such as multi-national corporations (MNC'S), and international institutions such as World Trade organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank providing assistance to the state and government. Analyzing the significance of Trends, the paper focuses on two very important part of global economy namely trade and investment. The paper is also focuses on Loan and Economic Adjustment Policy as two important elements of Policies and demonstrates how these elements could create the tools of power. Finally, the paper concludes that tools applied by Institutions, Trends and Policies assist to gaining the power and providing the dominance of Great Powers. Hence, we could face a new reality: the global processes will change global opportunities by converting Globalization into Glo-opportunisation.

PANEL XX

The Emergence of the State in Europe

Convenor: *Alessandro Guidi* (Roma Tre University, Rome, Italy)

Normally we consider the ancient early states to be those of Near East, Egypt, Mesoamerica and Peru. However, archaeological research of the last 25 years has demonstrated that state systems are also present in many parts of Europe, often before contact with so called “advanced civilizations”. The aim of this panel is to analyze the emergence of these early European states in early first millennium protohistoric and archaic Italy, “Dark Age” Greece, late first millennium Central Europe, North Europe and Britain). Crucial themes will be: 1). Definition of different pathways toward the State; 2). Presence/absence of cities; 3). Endogenous vs. exogenous development; 4). centre/periphery relationships

Simon Stoddart
(Cambridge University, UK)

Tipping Points in Mediterranean State Formation

The Mediterranean was transformed in the last two millennia BC from a geography of largely village based communities into a landscape of state organised societies. However, the route towards this transformation varied in the rates of political change, cyclicity and intensity. For instance, in the central Mediterranean, some political transitions involved tipping points (e.g. the Etruscan), whereas some were much more graded in their development (e.g. the Latin). In the second millennium BC as a whole, many of the cycles of political development were unaligned (cf Mathers and Stoddart 1994), since a number of societies are known for their apparent decline or even collapse (“tipping down” (Crete and Spain), whereas others were intensifying (“tipping up”) towards the end of the second millennium (S. France and C. Italy). In the first millennium BC, before incorporation within the Roman empire, some of these tipping points became nodes of entanglement, developing into the early networks of urbanism in the Mediterranean, by contrast with other regions. The paper will review these developments, by assessing the concept of the “tipping point” and its utility for archaeological research. It is certainly clear that the pattern shown by the Mediterranean cannot simply be reduced to the standard all embracing centre and periphery models common at the end

of the last century, which implied dominant and subordinate partners in the political process.

Anna Lucia D'Agata
(CNR / Istituto di studi sulle civiltà dell'Egeo
e del Vicino Oriente, Rome, Italy)

Greek Dark Ages, 1200-700 BC: When Did the City Appear on Crete?

Following the collapse of the Bronze Age palace state system, Greece entered a period of deep change and political reorganization which culminated in the formation of city-states or *poleis*. During the long period known as Dark Ages (1200-700 BC) there are three elements central to any discussion of the origin of the Greek state: change from villages to towns; mechanisms of transformation of political institutions which are characteristic of the Greek *poleis*; and the formation of a new social and economic complexity. This paper will focus on the island of Crete which forms a special case in the Greek Dark Ages, because of the strong continuity in site occupation and the unique strength of the preceding Minoan tradition.

Alessandro Guidi
(Roma Tre University, Rome, Italy)

The Archaeology of Early State in Italy: New Data

My first paper on this argument was presented at the 2004 Moscow conference, later published in the journal *Social Evolution & History* 5 (2), 2006, pp. 55-90. In the last five years, many new data have contributed to a better definition of the problem, especially in the fields of settlement organization and ritual. In terms of settlement evidence, finds from southern Italy and Sicily are slowly modifying the idea that Greek and Phoenician colonization led to a total lack of city or state organization. In the middle Tyrrhenian area, we can now outline a more complex process of urban development in South Etruria and Rome. In the north-east of the Italian peninsula, research in Oppidano and Baldaria and recent excavations in Este and Padua are drastically changing our perception of the emergence of the state in these regions. In terms of ritual, data from Etruria, Latium and north-eastern Italy support the hypothesis that, amongst the elite, the role of priest/priestess was gradually differentiated from that of warrior/chief, and that this formed a major characteristic of the emergence of the "mature" state. The paper explores all these

new perspectives, in anticipation of dedicated research projects on the pristine early states in Italy.

Gabriele Cifani

(Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata, Rome, Italy)

***State Formation and Ethnicities from the 8th to 5th Century BC
in the Tiber Valley (Central Italy).***

Between the 8th and the 5th century BC, the Tiber Valley represents the area of contact between no less than five ethnic groups: the Etruscans the Faliscans, the Umbrians, the Sabinians and the Latins; it provides an opportunity to observe several regional pathways to complexity by comparing the rise and development of each ethnic groups. To achieve this aim, the paper will focus mainly on two types of archaeological evidence: settlement patterns and territorial organization as markers of State complexity and ethnic identities.

Ian Ralston

(The Old High School, Edinburgh, UK)

***Fragile States in Mid-first Millennium Temperate Western Europe?
The View from Bourges***

Western temperate Europe in the middle of the first millennium BC has long been recognised to have housed hierarchically-organised societies, manifested by a rich distribution of *Fürstengräber* and *Fürstensitze* primarily extending over SW Germany, Switzerland and eastern France. Until recently, models of these societies have tended to be framed around evidence from a suite of geographically quite restricted areas in which the richer burials have been identified, and from individual settlement sites that were believed to be relatively restricted in scale – for example at the Heuneburg in Baden-Württemberg. Models have equally been framed around ‘top-down’ inter-relationships between elites and their principal dependents, and between these same elites and the Mediterranean world, as witnessed by Mediterranean finds and the contexts from which they have been recovered in temperate Europe. New evidence from extensive excavations in the immediate periphery of Bourges, a late and westerly outlier of the ‘princely seat’ tradition, will serve as the point of departure for a re-assessment of the duration and socio-political significance of this phenomenon, which finally disintegrated early in the Second, La Tène, Iron Age.

Mike Parker Pearson
(University of Sheffield, UK)

***Why Did State Formation Occur So Late in Britain and Northern Europe?
The Legacy of Stonehenge***

Britain is known for one of the great engineering achievements of the ancient world – Stonehenge – yet its Late Neolithic builders failed to consolidate their power into an early state. While many parts of Europe were developing urban cultures and early states during the Bronze and Iron Ages, Britain and northern Europe embarked on different socio-economic trajectories which favoured dispersed societies with localised hierarchies. The case of Stonehenge is instructive because new research has shed light on the geographical and economic basis of power and authority for Stonehenge's elites and on the ways in which that power was eventually dissipated. We can point to certain material conditions in Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Britain and Europe which restricted (but did not necessarily prevent) opportunities for the growth of hierarchy. Many of these are common to societies across northern Europe in later prehistory and are evident in patterns of power and hierarchy which can be characterised as 'decentralized complexity'. In the long term, even the occupation of Britain and northern Europe by the Roman Empire failed to maintain urban states in this region. Instead, the Roman state's infrastructure was abandoned and life returned to Iron Age ways, followed by a gradual trajectory towards early state formation in the 7th – 11th centuries AD.

PANEL XXI

The End of Socialist States and the Rise of Ethnic Nationalism

Convenor: *Charles Rhéaume* (Department of National Defense of Canada, Ottawa)

Various kinds of ethnic nationalism have developed at the turn of the 21st century. This phenomenon, as manifested in international relations, is to be traced in good part to the disappearance of the Socialist Bloc and its internationalist discourse. Opening with an examination of the said phenomenon's generic features, this session then focuses on specific expressions of it in Belarus, Chechnya and Ingushetia, Germany, Canada via the former Yugoslavia, Israel, and Russia itself.

Yakov M. Rabkin

(University of Montreal, Canada)

The Breakdown of the USSR and the Spread of Exclusivist Rhetoric

While causal relations are not easy to establish among events in recent history, it can be argued that the disappearance of the Soviet Union has brought about important changes in the world scene. Besides the vanishing of the superpower confrontation that used to control foreign aggression, and of the "red menace" that used to ensure a degree of social justice in industrialized countries, the breakdown of the USSR led to the emergence and reinforcement of exclusivist rhetoric around the world. The decline of the internationalist spirit inherent in the socialist ideologies freed ethnic, religious and racial tensions. While Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia fractured into their respective constituent parts, discriminatory discourse became more legitimate in the rest of Europe. The enlargement of the European Union to include viscerally nationalist polities like those in Poland or Estonia awoke long inhibited nationalist passions elsewhere in Europe. Islamophobia, riding on the wave of the attacks of the Twin Towers, became legitimate, and arguments against Turkey joining the EU became overtly religious. Similarly, Israeli claims that the opposition it has faced since its inception is due to "the Arabs' inherent intransigence" have become more acceptable. This paper surveys and examines several instances of this phenomenon traceable to the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Galina Miazhevich
(University of Oxford, UK)

Religion, Nationalism and Identity Projects in Post-Soviet Belarus

Belarus, which lies at the periphery of the former Soviet empire, offers the possibility of exploring the applicability to the post-Soviet context of general theories of postcolonial consciousness. The recent growth of ties between the neo-totalitarian Belarusian State and the Orthodox Church, which goes hand in hand with the state's undermining of the status of other religious confessions, has generated tensions in the Belarusian postcolonial subject who must now negotiate a path between multiple national identity projects. The state's attempts to influence directly (by closing non-Orthodox places of worship) and indirectly (through mass media propaganda) the population's religious stance via the imposition of a pro-Russian model has exacerbated the differences between Orthodoxy and other religions. The official policy has not only fostered stronger ties between non-Orthodox believers, but has also facilitated the exploration by Belarusian subjects of correlations between their religious, ethnic affiliations and geopolitical components to their post-Soviet identities. In many cases this has led to the revitalisation of a hitherto dormant pro-Belarusian identity project. Drawing on both media text and ethnographic fieldwork, the paper considers how this policy impacts upon 'alternative' religious identities and the challenge they pose to official mythologies. Crucially, it is expected that the analysis will shed light on similar processes at work within a colonial centre (Russia) whose increasingly authoritarian path under Putin has recently been described ironically as one of 'Belarusization'. Finally, it will highlight contradictions within postcolonial Belarusian official culture, which must differentiate itself from Russia precisely by strengthening its lost, Orthodox-Slavic essence.

Galina Nelaeva
(Tyumen State University, Russia)

***Different Paths: The Breakup of the Chechen-Ingush Republic,
the Chechen Drift for Independence and the Ingush Peaceful Coexistence
with Russia (1991 – 1994)***

The end of the 20th century witnessed the collapse of the Soviet power in Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The "snowballing effect" reached not only the Soviet Union republics, but also Autonomous Units within the Soviet Union (Transdnistria, Tatarstan, Chuvashia, etc). The process of disintegration of the Soviet Union was relatively without violence,

and predominantly driven by nationalistic feelings (rather than anticommunist). The nationalistic feelings were especially predominant in the Caucasus. “The Chechens fought Russian domination, Armenia went to war against Azerbaijan, and Ossetians and Abkhazians revolted against Georgia...The much lauded “friendship of peoples” and “international workers solidarity” vanished without a trace together with the “elder brother” theme. After 70 years of Soviet rule, dormant religious, ethnic, and regional problems resurfaced in their previous form” (Rywkin, M. “Russia and the Former Soviet Union”, in *Encyclopaedia of Nationalism. Fundamental Themes. Volume 1*, Academic Press, 2001, p. 671). Much has been written on the causes of the Chechen conflict. Sadly, however, the issue of caution of other Caucasus peoples who possessed linguistic, religious and cultural similarity with the Chechens, is not very much discussed in literature. Particularly striking is the lack of movement on the part of the Ingush, the closest to Chechens group, the vainakhs (“our folk”), who shared much in terms of culture, language, religion, as well as in tragic past. I propose to look at how theories of nationalism are relevant to address the question: why did Chechnya engage in violent confrontation with Russia, pursuing the goal of absolute sovereignty, while Ingushetia, former constituent part of Chechno-Ingushetia seceded from the Republic in 1992 and remained within Russia, thus avoiding a full-scale war. It should be noted that the research is limited to the beginning of the first Chechen war and events leading to it and will not examine the reasons why the Ingush did not join the Chechens in 1999.

Boris V. Petelin

(Cherepovets State University, Russia)

Downfall of the GDR and New German Identity

Unification of Germany since autumn 1989 was held under the slogan “We are single people”. In these words complex and inconsistent feelings, emotions and hopes have intertwined. Forty years after the split, not having waited for the USSR and the Western powers to make it, Germans destroyed the Berlin wall. This action caused fear in neighboring countries. Germany itself interpreted it ambiguously. Historian Peter Schultz noted: should “only the first weak attributes of national self-identification manifest during unification of Germany, the political elites of the country there and then have outright got a fright”. The question “Why” is answered by the author as follows: “Because we ourselves deny existence of German identity”. During its existence, the Federal Republic of Germany actually refused the idea of a national state. The place of national identity turned out vacant in the system of

symbols and norms. West German citizens preferred freedom, material benefits and westernization. It did not mean that national consciousness had completely disappeared. Conservative parties CDU and CSU called to not forget about “the single German homeland”. Western politicians noted that GDR in the 1980s looked more “German” than the FRG. The German Democratic Republic kept to a greater degree German traditions, and more substantial was its attitude towards German history, language and culture. Despite communist ideology and propaganda, the population in GDR appeared susceptible to national rhetoric of Chancellor Kohl. With the downfall of GDR, internal unity has not come. In 1992 popular polls showed that more than half of Eastern lands’ population, most likely, felt themselves as “citizens of former GDR” rather than Germans. These results reflected not only the social situation in the new lands, but also the complexity of the formation of a new identity which could not appear simply by joining “ossi” or “wessi”. It is necessary to consider the integration process going on in Europe, especially the expansion of the EU to the east and the formation of a so-called “European identity”, for not all Germans as well as citizens of other states of the EU agree with the loss of national identity. Growing immigration in Germany is painfully perceived in the society. The right radicalism was present in Germany well before unification but now the demands are put forward against “Europeanization”, “Americanization”, and “Islamization”. Germans’ self-consciousness will be influenced not only by their historical past, but also changes connected with a new situation in Europe and the world.

Charles Rhéaume

(Department of National Defence of Canada, Ottawa)

Yugoslavia’s break-up and Canadian politics

Ethnic conflicts that have characterized Yugoslavia’s break-up from the early 1990s on have signaled the end of Canada’s role as a moderator in international conflicts. Starting with the Suez crisis in 1956, that role had been effective therefore for close to 40 years. With ex-Yugoslavia, major powers, the US, Russia, France and Great Britain in particular, were led into engaging in that type of regional conflicts more directly than in previous bi-polar times, pushing aside the “middle power” Canada liked to perceive itself as being. Following an overview of the power struggles at play in ex-Yugoslavia, our paper analyzes how this new context would contribute to redefine Canada’s role as an intervention force in international conflicts from championing peacekeeping to siding with allies in something that amounts more to peacemaking. But the ex-Yugoslav situation would end up striking

the nerve of Canadian internal politics as well. This may explain for Canada's cautious approach to the whole Balkan situation. Recognizing the independence of different constituents from the former Yugoslavia, the latest being that of Kosovo in early 2008, each time has prompted Canada to reflect on its own federal status and weigh therefore the risk of unwillingly fuelling Quebec's separatism, that opponents precisely are quick to denounce as ethnically-driven.

Maria N. Yelenevskaya

(Technion-Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa)

The Soviet Union is Dead but Its Sons are Conquering the Planet: Nationalist Aspects of Immigrants' Humor

Drawing on the material of discussion forums of Russian-language web sites, this paper will analyze nationalist aspects of immigrants' humor. In the Soviet period, jokelore was one of the most widespread means of criticizing and subverting the system. After the demise of the Soviet Union jokes retained their role as the most popular genre of folk culture, but the targets of derision have changed. As millions of ex-Soviets emigrated and settled in various countries of the world Russian-language humor has become transnational. Its most salient features are imperial attitudes to the other, including members of receiving societies, and nostalgia for the superpower status of the Fatherland. The myth of a "very special Soviet personality" conquering the world has re-emerged in the post-Soviet transnational humor.

Denis Yurievich Subbotnitskiy

(St. Petersburg State University, Russia)

***Nationalism and Battle for Power:
The Conflict of Regions and the Federal Center in the Early 1990s***

Political crisis in Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union led to the necessity of looking for new models of interaction between federal and regional powers because of the rise of regional nationalism. The federal center didn't have as much authority as the former Soviet government and couldn't affect the regions the traditional way. Firstly, the structure of the Russian Federation was similar to that of the former USSR and the ideas of the last phase of existence of the Union about increasing the status of autonomous republics stimulated their confrontation with the center. This problem was especially important for the republics of the Northern Caucasus and the Volga region.

Some regions (Tatarstan, Chechnya) refused to join to the Federative Treaty claiming they had the same right to form national states as former union republics of Transcaucasia and Central Asia. Secondly, the idea of “Soviet people” proved bankrupt – the problem of nationalism which seemed to have been solved many years ago became a pressing question again. A period of stable development came to an end and conflicts between nations, which started in previous epochs – often hundreds of years ago --, became aggravated again. Many regions thought that the Federation was living out its last days, and the obligation of local governments was to guarantee the relative stability in future conflicts with regions, populated by other peoples. Thirdly, the central government had its own interests in this situation. It used national separatism in its battle with conservatives in regions, who usually supported the unity of the state. A good example is that of Chechnya, but this politics was used earlier -- e.g. the support of the National Movement in Ukraine by Mr. Gorbachev. Finally, this situation led to the formation of a system of “weak center – powerful regions” and the relative stabilization of the Federation in the mid-1990s because regional powers obtained sizeable power within their territories.

Tatiana V. Zonova

(Moscow State Institute of International Relations
[MGIMO – University], Russia)

Russia: Facing Regional Challenges in External Relations

In recent times we observe Russian diplomatic service facing new challenges coming from Russian Federation subjects. On the one hand there is a common understanding of local institutions as a starting point for democratic transit, providing citizens with rights in state affairs. On the other hand lots of replies depend on ethnic, cultural, historical, geopolitical, legal, social and economic specifics. It is enough to have a glance at the local governments' behavior in the field of external activities to understand that there is a significant amount of unresolved legal problems. Sometimes it goes about regional claims for sovereignty. New geopolitical dimension with its sub-national and frontiers challenges heavily influences the same idea of state sovereignty. So regions are getting a much greater weight than ever before. Champions of local and regional teams are filling up ranks of new actors in diplomacy and trying to achieve subject position in the realm of international relations. So we have to do with a particular aspect of a very complex problem relating to the Russian federalism further development. Russian politicians and researchers have different views on this issue. Common work helping to study

both positive and negative experiences of federalism and regional politics is supposed to be able to give us quite fruitful results.

PANEL XXII

The Forms of Social Stratification and Power Institutions in Chiefdoms and State Societies of South America and Mesoamerica

Convenors: *Ernesto González-Licón* (National School of Anthropology and History, Mexico, Mexico); *Carlos Armando Rodríguez* (University del Valle, Cali, Colombia); *Anastasia V. Kalyuta* (Russian Museum of Ethnography, St. Petersburg)

The main objective of this panel is to discuss the civilizational and evolutionary models of socio-political development of two important regions in the pre-Hispanic Period: the northeastern part of South America and Mesoamerica. The panel is integrated by scholars from these regions and is open to other researchers interested in the comparison and analysis of the sociopolitical evolution of Chiefdoms and State societies in these regions as well. The panel will be dedicated to the examination of general tendencies and particularities of appearance, evolution and functioning of social stratification and power in the South American and Mesoamerican societies in course of more than 3000 years from Formative Period to the first quarter of XVI century, the time of Spanish Conquest. The Andean region and Mesoamerica are two of the few regions in the world, where complex societies and states emerged independently of contacts with other parts of the earth that gives to researchers the unique "opportunity" for checking the existing theories of complex societies and state formation. This moment is combined with exceptional richness of archaeological materials and written sources, what makes possible to reconstruct at least in general forms the main vector of South American and Mesoamerican civilizations' development as well as concrete variants of their evolution in various parts of the regions. Departing from these general objectives, the panel will deal with the following main blocks of questions to be discussed during its sessions: Discussion and evaluation of theoretical models, methodological approaches and/or archaeological indicators related directly to the societies in the regions and period mentioned above; Discussion of several aspects based on the archaeological record and/or ethnohistoric sources, related to the formation of hierarchical and net structures, social inequality, gender roles, funerary practices, long distance trade, diffusion of knowledge, and the possible relationship between these two regions and/or some of their forms of socio-political organization; Main economic and environmental factors of appearance and evolution of states and complex societies in South American and Mesoamerica; Economic, ideological and social bases of power in Formative, Classic and Postclassic societies

Ernesto González-Licón
(National School of Anthropology and History, Mexico, Mexico)
***Ethnicity and Social Composition in Monte Albán, Oaxaca
during the Classic Period (A.D. 200-750).***

The analysis of the social structure and inequality among the inhabitants of Monte Albán during the Classic period has been based in indicators of social prestige, political power, and wealth. Lately the gender factors have been introduced with good results, but we know little related to the ethnic composition of this great city, the ancient Zapotec capital. Ethnicity is an important factor to consider into any analysis of social stratification but also a very difficult one to identify. From a traditional perspective, the social and economical analysis of the mayor Mesoamerican urban centers of the Classic period has been considering their populations as divided in two social classes. However, besides the difficulty of divide the social complexity of these ancient societies in only two social classes, very little discussion has been presented related to the ethnic composition of these populations. With the exception of Teotihuacan, where at least two ethnic groups has been identified as non teotihuacans (one with ties to the Valley of Oaxaca and the other to the Gulf Coast), the ethnic composition in other Classic urban centers remains to be studied. In this paper, I compare the available information from ethnohistoric and ethnographic sources, related to the development of large urban centers with people from different ethnic origins. Later, I analyze the archaeological data from Monte Albán, and the possibility of identify groups of non Zapotec people.

Anastasia V. Kalyuta
(Russian Museum of Ethnography, St. Petersburg)
***The Household and Estate of Two Aztec Lords
in Central Mexican Early Colonial Sources***

This paper focuses on formation, accumulation, structure and administration of households and supposedly “private” estates of two Aztec kings Axayacatl and his son Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin (Montezuma II) as it’s reflected in Early Colonial pictorial and written records from the Basin of Mexico. The distinction and relationship between “private” and “state” sectors, existence of private land tenure, and main types of productive units in the pre-Hispanic Aztec society are four fundamental problems which have been subjects of

acute and lengthy polemics from the second half of XIX up to this date. In this respect careful examination of productive units and facilities assigned to the kings who were both the administrative leaders of the Aztec “empire” and the main distributors of all goods and products produced on its territory can be especially helpful and relevant not only for understanding economical framework of the Aztec civilization but also for reinterpreting our concepts of emergence and functioning of ancient state societies in general and economical bases of power in them. This paper aims to trace the concrete ways of acquiring, transferring and accumulation of land holdings described as the royal private properties, and to reconstruct the daily functioning of the royal households as both productive and administrative units in the time when the Aztec “empire” reached its apogee as the most powerful state in Mesoamerica. These reconstructions and hypothesis are based on comparative analysis of written and pictorial evidence including unpublished archival documents studied by the paper presented in 2006 – 2008.

Lourdes Márquez-Morfín

(National School of Anthropology and History, Mexico, Mexico)

Family Inequality in Monte Albán, Oaxaca

Family organization inside the domestic unit maintains and reproduces structural social patterns. The study of the household, their organization, function, and their cultural practices such as the funerary, allows identifying, inequality among members of a community and how the social structure could have an impact in life and health conditions, through different access to natural resources. In this paper I examine and summarizes the evidence related to practices associated with death at the ancient city of Monte Albán, during the Classic (A.D. 200- 800). I gathered information on more than 100 excavated burials and the results of the osteological analysis. The objective will be to identify individual social position of several residents of three houses, analyzing funerary patterns from a gender perspective, and broaden current understanding of social relationships, especially of status differences among members of that complex society. The analysis of variation in burial treatment afforded particular individuals and the relationship of those variations to factors such as age, sex and residence of the deceased.

Irina Jurevna Demicheva

(Institute of Archeology, Moscow, Russia)

Terracota Figurines as a Source of Studying Stratification

in Maya Society of the Classic Period

The complex approach to the studying questions of the social system full enough opens structure and characteristics of public organization. Attraction to the written, epigraphic, ethnographic and archeological sources allows to allocate features of vertical and horizontal communications between public groups within the limits of a separate civilization. Specificity of a social system concerns to number of factors playing defining role in development of a society. Therefore use of the information received at the analysis of Maya terracotta figurines of the Classical period, allows to expand and add essentially representations, as about social Maya system, and its development as a whole. Representatives of different social groups were represented in characteristic clothes for this group, a set of ornaments and status attributes. It allows to identify a sort of activity and the status of the represented subject. In this connection, it is possible to choose some categories of the population. The public top was occupied with rules, the secular nobility, a priestly top, a part of warriors. In most cases, rulers were represented sitting on a throne, in a rich costume with numerous ornaments. Distinctions in the image of the secular nobility and priests are conditional enough. As a rule, elements of their costume, as ornaments had more similar features, rather than distinctive features. Objects with which people are represented, allow to identify in Maya society, musicians, weavers, players in a ball, ordinary representatives of a community. The significant group is made by women behind a weaving loom. Distinctive feature of the player in a ball was the protective belt-yoke. The analysis of terracotta figurines allows to analyze full enough some features of Maya society. Enables to reveal a variety of public groups, to define external attributes of representatives of this or that category of the population.

Alexandr Pakin

(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)

16th Century Maya Cuchkabal: The Problems of Definition, Structure and Complexity of Late Postclassic Maya Polities

The Yucatec Maya polities of the contact period did not often become a subject of special investigation, despite the fact, that data on Yucatec Maya society were applied as a pattern for describing any lowland Maya society of earlier periods. The fundamental works of R. Roys, based mainly on his investigation of colonial documents of Ebtun in the late of 1920s were critically revised only in the beginning of 1990-s, while the archaeological data of Postclassic period were scarce, or absent until recent research projects (such as

Chikinchel project). The paper concern the number of questions, raised by this discussion, such as complexity of late Postclassic polities, their structure, the level of integration.

Alexander V. Safronov

(Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia)

“Diminutive Polities” in the System of Classic Maya Political Relations

Early state Classic Maya political system assumed the existence of different level states, occupied the territory of Maya Lowland. Base on epigraphic and archaeological materials we can register during III–IX century: a) “*super-powers*” – large political structures, which strived to domination in the Maya World. We know about two of them – Kaanu’l and Mutu’l kingdoms; b) “*regional states*” – powerful polities, controlled a certain separate geographical regions of the Maya area; c) “*mini-powers*” – spacious *city-states*, which had they own vassals and controlled local areas; d) “*city-state*” (*segmentary state / primary state* etc.) – basic unit of Maya political system, which could be independent or dependent objects of political relations. But we know by Classic historical sources about numerous smallest states, which did not play any key roles in the political relations. At the same time they were very important for functioning of Maya political system. We can title these smallest *city-states* as “*diminutive polities*”. Usually the matter is about very compact territory (few hundred sq. km.) around small political center, unstable royal dynasty and unclear or poor internal administrative structure. Most of these polities appeared in the Late Classic period as a result of intensive military invasions the powerful Maya states, and found from conquered local areas of the enemies. So, “*diminutive polities*” mostly had a dependent position and they creation was a method for expanding of the sphere of influence the mightiest Maya states.

Andrei V. Tabarev

(Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Novosibirsk, Russia)

Towards the Theoretical and Practical Application of Chiefdoms’ Definition in South America and Mesoamerica on the Archaeological Cultures of Siberia, Russia: Problems and Perspectives

Since the second part of the 20th century the theory of chiefdoms was successfully used for many prehistoric societies in the New World, particular in Mesoamerica and South America. A number of local models were evaluated

in detailed by specialists for Formative, Classic, and Postclassic periods in Mexico, Guatemala, Costa-Rica, Columbia, Ecuador, and Peru. Unfortunately till today this rich experience and theoretical toolkit was not explored by Russian archaeologists in whole volume. Most of classic works and recent publications on complex societies and early states are not know to Russian scholars and never been translated. From another side bright archaeological heritage from Siberian region (Bronze Age and Early Iron Age) may be a very perspective “laboratory” for application of theory of chiefdoms on the ancient cultures of Northeast Asia. It would be extremely intriguing if models of early agricultural societies in tropical latitudes may be compared with nomads of mountain territories in Southern Siberia. First of all, we’ll be dealing with the materials of so called “Scythians” – set of aggressive tribes widespread from Black Sea to the Chinese Great Wall in first millennium BC. In Southern Siberia they left multiple large-scale mounds with rich burials, armor, golden items, mummies, sacrificed men and animals. All these finds may be strict evidences of the intensive formation of hierarchical social structure and sophisticated ritual complex which corresponds with some parameters of chiefdoms in the New World.

Benjamin A. Steere

Stephen A. Kowalewski

(University of Georgia, Athens, USA)

Ancient Mesoamerica Was a Middle Class Society

Most scholars have seen preindustrial societies as composed of a small, distinct, dominating nobility, a large and poor commoner class, with a special group of long-distance merchants and luxury artisans. In Mesoamerica this perception comes from native and Spanish writings and it has been reinforced by excavations of rich tombs and palaces. Mesoamerican archaeological studies more representative of whole communities and societies (systematic collecting sometimes with follow-up excavations) confirm the existence of civic-ceremonial hierarchy but they differ from the apical model by showing that wealth had a continuous--not discrete--distribution and that society's great masses were not poor but relatively well off. Domestic architecture and portable artifacts are especially revealing. To illustrate in more detail we present findings from our 2008 survey in Coixtlahuaca, Oaxaca, Mexico. Coixtlahuaca was a large kingdom, an important place in the Aztec empire, a tribute and exchange center, and a regional agrarian center. Our project defined the spatial limits and studied the internal variability of Inguiteria, Coixtlahuaca's Aztec-period capital. Inguiteria had over 30 km² of continu-

ous occupation. The density of houses suggests Inguiteria had 50,000-100,000 inhabitants; but its civic-ceremonial architecture was modest in scale. Our systematic collecting and mapping show that costly ceramics, costly stone artifacts, and potential high-status residences were not concentrated in a central precinct but were widely available and rather evenly distributed across the city. Inguiteria reflects not a cosmological, pivotal urbanism designed and controlled by an exclusive nobility but an open city with a broad and fairly even distribution of wealth, and no large class of the poor. It is time to confront directly the apical model of ancient society with the facts of material life. There was much more going on than "The Rulers and the Ruled."

Patricia Olga Hernández-Espinoza

(National School of Anthropology and History, Mexico, Mexico)

Children from an Ancient Village at Xochimilco, México:

A Gender Approach

Gender studies include the analysis of role of children in ancient societies. This topic hasn't been developed enough to know about the social position of these individuals at the society that they used to belong. Technical problems about sexing did not allow analyzing separately males and females infant skeletons. However, we have developed a morphological and statistical methodology to sex young skeletons (birth to 14 years old) and the results allow us to talk about children in an ancient Mesoamerican village, at Xochimilco, Mexico, and to try to answer questions like Who were they? What happened to them? Previous bioarchaeological studies about the site of San Gregorio Atlapulco, Xochimilco, showed that these people lived at late Postclassic period (B.C. 1500-1519) at the Shore of Xochimilco Lake; they worked at the chinampas and produced many of the food that Tenochtitlan consumed. They were their *tributaries*. More than 400 burials were excavated from this site; about 50% of them were subadults (younger than 15 years old at death). Severe pathological lesions were observed in the skeletons of younger children, associated with nutritional stress and bad living conditions. The general poor health status (adults and children) take us to think about difficult times, social and economics breakdown that affected living conditions of the village inhabitants, in the case of the children famine and poor sanitary conditions affected their immunological systems and died at early ages. This paper is focused in finding a burial pattern and answer some questions about differential health status between male and female children. Do

children buried with adults have any health difference to those that were buried alone? Pathologies associated with nutritional stress are common in girls?

Leticia Reina-Aoyama

(National School of Anthropology and History, Mexico, Mexico)

***Formation of Distinct Identities in the Mexican Isthmus.
Fifteenth – Twentieth Centuries***

The paper proposes an analysis of long-term commitment on elements that have historically determined the differences between ethnic groups (Zapotec, Mixes, Huaves, and Zoques) in the Isthmus of Mexico region. We will try to explain how and why the first one had an economic and cultural power over other ethnic groups. From a regional approach, we turn to the local level and expose the components that inside the Zapotec group generated a high stratification and a strong presence of women in their gender relations.

Estela Martínez-Mora

(National School of Anthropology and History, Mexico, Mexico)

***The Regional Sociopolitical Organization
during the Pre-Hispanic Period in the Northwest of Mexico***

In this paper I will present an interpretation of the regional socioeconomic development of the groups that integrated the Chalchihuites Culture in Mexico. These social groups inhabited the Northwest of the present states of Zacatecas and South of Durango, Mexico, from 200 to 1000 B.C. From the Johnson and Earle's heterarchy model perspective, I will discuss the historical process corresponding at their moment of apogee, and identifying as a system of heterarchies of regional type favored by the operation of mining resources of the region. My interest here is the analysis of the first sedentary societies of village type (A.D. 200) and its transition to societies with a system of organization of regional type. I will discuss the process from the sprouting of a relatively egalitarian society institutions some groups were able to developed and dominate the regional area until they reach a level of heterarchies dominating the local panorama. These institutions took advantage of the local resources, by the use of local resources and its transformation in necessary goods of prestige for the ideological dominion that it contributed to the development of the complexity and social inequality. The mining was one of the excellent activities that allowed to the consolidation of the institutions and the increase of the inequalities and development of the local

elites obtaining the conformation of the system of regional political integration characteristic of these societies that, at the same time, integrated themselves to a greater panregional system or Mesoamerican.

Guillermo Córdova-Tello

(National School of Anthropology and History, Mexico, Mexico)

***The Political Power and the Development
of the Pre-Columbian Urban Landscape of Tantoc, Mexico***

Archeological evidence indicates that the old city of Tantoc was the capital of the Huasteca region during the pre-Hispanic time. During the development of this region, at least three periods of apogee were identified: the first period (between b.C. 400-600) corresponds to urban genesis. The second is the Classic period when reframing and configuration of the architectonic space occurred, which includes new architectural design in building construction. The third and final period, the Postclassic, corresponds to the last stage of occupation and there was a regional decline in the influence of Tantoc. In this analysis, I adopted the premise that the city required the capacity of becoming well developed. The formation and permanence of the city depended on the consolidation of institutionalized, political power in order to extract food and other products from the physical landscape that are required for the maintenance of the urban population. We considered that the activities of both cult and ceremony made in specific regions of the city were vital to reaffirm and to maintain political prestige and power within the entire Huasteca region. I will present advances of the archaeological project *Origin and development of the urban landscape of Tantoc S.L.P.* A point of our investigation was to determine if the origin of the urban nucleus in the Huasteca region occurred as a result of purely local conditions being the cause of urban genesis implying internal development of regional, political, and social complexity. Or, did this complexity of development occur due to the influences from the outside as a result of the diffusion of cultural characteristics and ideas resulting from colonial influences leading to reinvention of regional, political, and social complexity. We will reveal the characteristics of institutions of political power that allowed for the origin and transformation of the pre-Hispanic city of Tantoc.

Nikolai Viktorovich Rakutz

(Institute for Latin American Studies, Moscow, Russia)

Ethno-political Situation in the Cuzco Region

on the Eve of Inca Empire Formation

Archaeological investigations realized during last two decades in the core of the Inca Empire (B. Bauer, R. A. Covey, and others) showed that the hypothesis based on the J.H. Row's chronology about rapid territorial expansion of the Incas led by Pachacútec does not correlate well with archaeological and historical (represented in some Spanish chronicles) data. Now it is evident that Cuzco was not only one of small-scale societies of the region, but the most powerful state of the area at the beginning of AD1400s. Before the beginning of expansion Inca state was really one of some small states (there were some non-Inca rulers named "capac" according to the chronicles, and each one of them in reality could become the creator of a new complex state, even something like the Wari Empire, for example). It should be noted also that the region was populated by many ethnic groups of different origin; some of them evidently migrated from the lake Titicaca area. In this situation Incas made a successful politic efforts to consolidate their power in the region (alliances, subjugation of small groups, reorganization of agricultural systems, consolidation of neighboring groups under their control, proclaimed Quechua the official language, etc.). The most interesting fact is that according to some chronicles, (whose authors were designated as "liars" by some scholars) and also new archaeological data the Incas began their rapid territorial expansion not in AD1438 (according to J.H. Row chronology) but at the end of the 14th century or even earlier, when various conquests were realized, and so the process of empire formation was not linked with only one ruler (Pachacútec) but with efforts of some other Inca rulers of the 14th century.

Elena Sergeevna Ostrirova

(Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow)

The Socio-political Evolution of North and Central Columbian Chiefdoms

The socio-political evolution of North and Central Columbian chiefdoms is used here in the context of Chibchan world. The pre-Spanish communities of North and central Columbia such as Muisca and Tairona who recovered the level of complex political pre-state organization have a certain attitude to the chibchan world, the area of chibchan language. They used to be defined as complex chiefdoms. The target of the investigation is to trace all the stages of that complicated socio-political organization and to define the scale of integration in the terms of evolution of the whole chibchan world. The key issue of investigation are: why in particular Muisca and Tairona managed to

get the intelligence level which is defined as the top of the Chibchan world; which are the determinantal factors among such as the environmental effect, migratory behavior, central American or Andean influence. The main sources are: Iconography (gold and jade prestige goods) and funeral materials. Other archaeological and ethno-historical sources.

Carlos Armando Rodríguez
(Universidad del Valle, Cali, Colombia)

***The Symbolism of Death as Element of the Religious Power
in the San Agustín Prehispanic Society, Southwestern Colombia***

The analysis of the archeological materials, considered as signs of social differentiation, allows to raise the hypothesis that the chiefs- shamans of San Agustín society used a sumptuous paraphernalia of death to support their political and religious power during the Regional Classical Period (300 / 200 BC - 600 AD). It also argues that the symbolism of death as the foundation of power could have been expressed in the use of a topography of the sacred that could have included different scales, from a macro-region as Upper Magdalena until relatives micro spaces such as the Mesitas Complex in the current Archaeological Park of San Agustín.

Cristóbal Gnecco
(Universidad del Cauca, Popayán, Colombia)

Social Complexity and Archaeologists in Northern South America

Behind archaeological categories lie the agendas, political and otherwise (no matter how unconscious they are), of archaeologists. Social complexity is a good example. Its inception and unfolding in northern South America before the European conquest cannot be separated from paradigmatic choices on the part of researchers. For the most part, pre-Hispanic social complexity, as postulated by archaeologist, is not more pre-Hispanic than it is modern (i.e., the imagination of well defined, complex, homogeneous, and continuous cultures is a trademark of Western thought and its characterization of national societies). This paper argues that the archaeological conception of social complexity can be profitably analyzed if we go beyond disciplinary, positivist borders to encompass the wider contexts in which archaeologists operate.

Rafael Gassón

(Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Científicas, Caracas Venezuela)
**“Galactic Polities” and the Study of Complex Regional Systems
of the Llanos de Venezuela**

Recent research on the Upper Xingú region in Brazil propose the development of urban centers on the South American lowlands during the pre-Columbian period, and a reconsideration of early urbanism and long term change in tropical forest landscapes. In this work I will apply Stanley J. Tambiah's Galactic polity model to the comparative study of the regional settlement patterns of El Cedral and El Gaván regions, two preHispanic polities located at the Municipio Pedraza, Barinas, Venezuela. This comparative study may have implications for the understanding of the relationship between the development of complex societies and regional settlement patterns on forest-savanna environments of the Llanos of Colombia and Venezuela, and hence, of lowland South America.

PANEL XXIII

The Images of Power, State and Leaders

Convenor: *Tatiana V. Evgenyeva* (Institute for African Studies,
Moscow, Russia)

While observing the facts and reasons, because of which the relations between the population and the power is undergoing changes, we'll pay attention to the context of power perception. These relations is not be limited to the ratings, proposed by different sociologic agencies. it is necessary to analyse the structure of political perception in general, taking into account more complicated and fine mechanisms, than those fixed by sociological questionnaires. Images of power have complex structure, in which one should distinguish alongside the rational level, which is being fixed in sociological surveys, also the level of unconsciousness, to find out which we need different, mainly psychological instruments. This level is composed not only under the influence of the current political events, but also under the impact of the traditions of national political culture, those archetypes, which have been rooted in mass consciousness for a long time. Images of power are also based on the images of specific power holders in mass consciousness. Within the research of the images of power it is necessary to compare images of power and images of the person of leader in public mentality, to find the basis of these images in national culture, including the image of the state, to explore dynamics of the attitudes of rank-and-file citizens towards real and ideal power. We invite the participants to discuss the problems of real and ideal power and state, images of "our" and "alien" political leader, "our" and "alien" state, mass ideas of actual and "shade" political power and political system.

SUBPANEL 1

The Images of Power, State and Leaders in the History of Civilizations

Vladimir A. Popov

(Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology
and Ethnography St. Petersburg, Russia)

On Parametric Description of Akan Traditional Potestarian-political Culture: Images and Symbols of Power of Chiefs and Elders

The parametric description of potestarian-political culture (PPC) is presupposed the revelation and the definition of the system parameters which are necessary and sufficient for ensuring the stability of the concrete PPC. Any one of PPC is included an organization forms (institutions, rituals) and a factors motivating the potestarian-political activities (values, moods, orientations, taboos, stereotypes, symbols, etc.). The base system parameters of Akan (Ashanti, Fanti, Akyem, Akwapim, Akwamu, Kwawu, Abbron, etc.) traditional PPC are: matrilineal inheritance and succession; particular role of relations between mother's brother and sister's son (avunculate); institute of co-ruling of a chief (ohene) and his female sibling (ohema); institute of elders, who are influence on potestarian relations through the instrumentality of the judgments of the councils of elders of community (or chiefdom, or union of chiefdom); institute of okyeame («linguist») – a mediator between chiefs and their subjects; administrative-territorial division of an ethnopolitical organisms on the base of traditional battle formations, and the military character of potestarian board and political structure; specific features of material symbols and attributes of traditional power (stools-thrones, umbrellas, swords, staffs, etc.), potestarian rituals of Odwira (Apafram), and Great and Small Aadae festivals, connected with consecrate of new yams crop and worship of ancestors; mythologized images of the rulers reflected in honourable nicknames converted into official titles or in negative nicknames as well converted in heroic epos or didactic tales contained the moral blame for infringements of the customary law.

Viktor Bocharov
(St. Petersburg State University, Russia)
“Riches” and “Poverty” as Images of Power

In human culture two main strategies of power behavior are presented: one is connected with image of "riches", another with "poverty". Both models have been presented already at early stages of socio-genesis. The most successful "primitive" hunter at a sharing of killed animals among members of group had an additional part identified with his talents, regarded as the possession of a magic power. The most successful sorcerer-healer also was marked with "riches" among his colleagues. "The riches" was developed from gifts of tribesmen gave him for his help. The good dwelling, clothes and plentiful food made him the most claimed at people and proved his effective work. Differently, thanks to "riches" as a marker of magic Force the individual is capable to supernatural influence the Nature and a Society. So, such image of

Power having arisen at early stages of social development is kept in human culture up to present time. To-day it reflected in widespread expression “If you are so clever, why you are so poor?” Other behavioral strategy also widely presented in human culture is connected with negation of the importance of material values. It has the roots in the communal organization which sharply negatively concerned any allocation of the individual from collective, including the material. A member of community even could undergo to repressive sanctions from associates, having reaped an outstanding crop. Therefore it was necessary for him to spend its part for “the general need”, as a rule in the form of an entertainment. Otherwise he could be accused of sorcery. The leader-ascetic leaning on “spiritual” and denying “material” is widely presented in the majority of religions and in human culture as a whole. It is obvious that the second strategy of power behavior has extensively been presented to Russia till 1917. Then it has been confirmed at the state level. Therefore “perestroika” began as struggle against “riches of the power” (“struggle against privileges”). The first model which defines the Russian corruption practices today has prevailed. On the one hand the officials and politicians accept laws against corruption, on the other hand they openly demonstrate “riches” (expensive cars, country houses, clothes, etc.) having their rather modest official incomes.

Sergey V. Sannikov

(Novosibirsk region administration, Russia)

Reconstruction of the Image of King and King's Power of the Period of the Great Migration upon Early Medieval Latin and Germanic Sources

One of the most distinctive images, produced by the barbarian culture of the Migration period, which has not been deeply analyzed by researchers yet, is the image of king and king's power. As a promising method of reconstruction of this image we suggest comparative analysis of genetically related Early Medieval Latin and Germanic sources, in particular, «Getica» of Jordanes, and Anglo-Saxon epic poem «Beowulf». Different components of the image of king and king's power may be divided into three parts: 1) organizational model of power and methods of its maintenance / consolidation; 2) components of king's personal charisma; 3) external attributes (potestarian symbols) of king's power. The model of king's power, presented in «Getica», corresponds to the image of sovereign monarchy with directive methods of government and violent subdual of bordering nations. Similar image of «*þéodcýning*», ruling his nation and subduing other nations to submission and payment of tribute, is presented in «Beowulf». Among the components of

king's charisma Jordanes mentions bellicosity, valour, intellect, outstanding appearance and figure. In «Beowulf» among such components of king's charisma as valour, strength, wisdom are also mentioned fidelity to the given promises and generosity, which Jordanes does not pay much attention. Comparative analysis of the material allows us to suppose that during the formation of «barbarian kingdoms» charismatic authority retained its relevance among Germanic peoples, though the traditions of ceremonial exchanges and *Gefolgschaft* were losing its importance. Further analysis of the image of king and king's authority upon Early Medieval Latin and Germanic sources is a promising direction of research, which would allow specify our conclusions.

Julia Kulikova

(Moscow State Pedagogical University, Russia)

The Gallic Empire: status in statu

Political instability in the Roman empire in the middle III A.D. and the policy of Roman emperors, who were not considering the interests of provinces, they became the reasons for the manifestation of separatism during this period. Therefore the formation the Gallic Empire – the completely characteristic sign of that time. Unique is precisely the fact of the creation of the Gallic Empire and conducted by its emperor's policy. In contrast to other separatists states the Gallic Empire from the very beginning of its existence selected neutrality with respect to the central authority. The basic purpose of Gallic emperors was not assumption of power in the Roman empire, but stabilization of position inside the region. Postumus was proclaimed the emperor in winter of 258-259 yr. Among the basic tasks of the first Gallic emperor there were the substantiation of its own authority and the stabilization of position on the boundaries. Because of the well fixed system of the defensive strengthening, closely interconnected, toward the end the administrations of Postumus the devastating raids of Germans ceased. This made it possible to fix in the regions, which entered the composition of the Gallic Empire, calm economic life. Postumus knew how to combine under its authority almost all western provinces: Gallia, Spain, Germania Inferior and Germania Superior, Britannia and Raetia. From a juridical point of view of Postumus it could consider by independent ruler, since at that time the public right acted post factum. Gallic state, which existed 15 years, was *de facto* independent state, and *de iure* its creator emphasized connection with Rome. As the independent ruler in Postumus were all substantiations of the authority: they officially proclaimed it emperor and it officially accepted title. Postumus stamped its

own coin and had at its disposal significant Armed Forces and fleet. The political system of the Gallic Empire almost accurately reproduced Roman political device. All subsequent emperors of the Gallic Empire were considered as its heirs, but only Postumus had a support in the person of entire people – the Celts.

Ekaterina L. Smirnova

(Petrozavodsk State University, Russia)

***The Roman Senate during the Civil Wars of 68 – 69 A.D.:
Its Image in Public Opinion and the Role in Political Events***

In the studies of the civil wars of 68 – 69 A.D. in the Roman Empire the Senate's role in political events is usually described by phrase "the word 'Senate' became a mere name". This phrase was put into the mouth of one of the prominent political figures of the period by Cornelius Tacitus, the most famous historian of the Roman Empire. However, the available evidence (both narrative – with Tacitus' *Histories* among them – and numismatic materials) enables us to arrive at a totally different conclusion concerning the Senate's political activities, its image in public opinion and its role in the political events of 68 – 69 A.D. This evidence *enables us to argue* that the Senate as a whole and individual senators took an active part in the political events of 68 – 69 A.D., showing not only obedient servitude, but also concerns about the state and striving for political and individual profit. The official grant of power by the senate was a prerequisite for a candidate to become *princeps*. All emperors of 68 – 69 A.D. did not ignore the Senate, moreover, they often used its authority in critical situations. The troops also considered the Senate an influential power, which was able to take an active stand and give orders subject to obligatory implementation. The provinces, too, had great respect for the authority and dignity of the Senate. The slogans of the civil wars, which were used by different factions to justify their struggle, mentioned the Senate more often than the Emperor, or the army, or even the state. Those slogans pictured it as the symbol of glory of Rome and the only authority to justify the aspirations and political actions of all other groups and individuals. The contemporaries of the civil wars of 68 – 69 A.D. saw the Senate as the factor providing connection with peaceful times, stability, and the best traditions of the Roman society.

Kirill A. Demichev

(Russian Academy of Education University, Moscow)

***From Sacralization to Legitimization. Figure Maharaja Ranjeet Singh as
Servant of Sikhs Community – Khalsa***

Formation of the united centralized Sikh power in Punjab in the beginning of 19th century has been connected with a unifying policy of sardar misal Sukkarchakia Ranjeet Singh who has managed in short enough term to unite separated Sikh princedoms. Traditions of political culture of Northern India, decline of democratic institutes of Khalsa, and also Ranjeet Singh's direct role during association of the country have caused that fact, that the form of Sikh powers became absolute monarchy. Ranjeet Singh possessed all set of imperious powers, having closed on himself the decision of all questions of internal and foreign policy. At absolute character of the authority the maharaja never aspired to emphasize it and the more so to oppose with itself to all Sikhs a community – Khalsa. Association of the country and the subsequent aggressive policy were considered by Ranjeet Singh, as business, which was bequeathed to Sikh's guru for good Khalsa. Thus itself Ranjeet Singh represented only as the true pupil of the guru and the servant of all Sikhs community, whose prosperity was defined as its unique care that, in turn, promoted sacralization to the supreme power. The sacralization of a figure of the governor, as servant of Khalsa was simple and clear for all members of Sikh community, therefore institutional changes in system of authority and management of the country have been assimilated rather without serious consequences. The sacralization character of authority of Ranjeet Singh has been confirmed on general Sikh's meeting in the sacred city of Amritsar. Here has occurred its legitimization from a community and institutionalization registration, as power of maharaja. Sacralization and legitimization of a figure of the governor became a basis of absolute power of maharaja. Any attempt on this power became not only an action of antistate character, but also a crime against all Sikh's community. Authority of Sikh's guru and voluntary choice of Khalsa legitimization of Ranjeet Singh's power in its all displays, therefore any attempt at this power turned to a crime against the state, society and religion, and, hence, entailed not only sanctions from the state, but also wide public condemnation.

Natalia A. Zherlitsyna

(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)

Tunisian Religious Authorities and Policy of Reform in 1873-1881

Reformatory movement under the leadership of the prime minister Kheredine was a significant phenomena in the social life of Tunisian Regency in 1873-

1881. These reforms concerned the most important spheres of the social life in Tunisia: the Land Code (1874) provided for regulating in the direction of land estates. Kheredine achieved restoration of the system of mixed courts (between Europeans and Moslems). The educational reform included reorganization of the elementary Koranic schools and studies in the Mosque and university of the Zituna. In 1875 the College Sadiki was founded, it became a place where the new national Tunisian elite made appearance. The reforms of Kheredine touched as well the sphere of press and book printing. As the religious authorities in any Moslem country, Tunisian *ulama* had a considerable political and intellectual influence over the society. Tunisian *ulama*'s reaction on the reformatory movement was not uniform. The greater part of the *ulama* was incited to counteraction to the innovation. The paper is devoted to the analysis of the reasons of the difference in the position of religious leaders.

Tatiana L. Labutina

(Institute of General History, Moscow, Russia)

***The Images of Ideal Ruler, Ministers and Parliamentarians
in the Works of Early British Enlighteners***

The first Enlightenment of England (D. Defoe, J. Swift, Bolingbroke, Halifax, R. Steele, J. Addison, W. Temple) often played negative phenomena of modern society. While understanding the imperfection of state institutions in England and sometimes rebuking high-ranking officials Enlightenmenters at the same time described the ideal images of ruler, ministers and parliamentarians, who could serve as a pattern to be imitated by functionary. First of all an ideal society for Enlightenmenters was "a well-managed association", where a supreme ruler and his officials had the leading role. All the Enlightenmenters were convinced that an intelligent ruler should be at the head of an ideal society. Addison and Temple thought that "wisdom and integrity" inhered in a ruler. Swift believed that a ruler must be at the head of parliament, as well as one of the political parties. In addition, the ruler was responsible for observance of civil and religious liberties. Lord Bolingbroke depicted in his "The idea of King-Patriot" the most detailed portrait of an ideal ruler. He was of opinion that first of all the ruler must be the patriot of his country and his patriotism should be based "on high principles and confirmed by high virtues". Lots of Enlightenmenters expressed proposals aimed at improving machinery of State. Marquess of Halifax noted in his pamphlet "Public principles" that the ruler in appointing government ministers should take into account the merits of the candidate more than his loyalty to himself. He was convinced that it was necessary to avoid ignorant, non-professional in public affairs people. Defoe

assured if ministers aligned their activities with the constitution of the country, whereas there would be peace and harmony in the community. Bolingbroke noticed in the pamphlet "On good and poor ministers", that ideal ministers were great, wise, noble, courteous, highly educated, cognizant laws of the State and its political structure. Enlighteners paid much attention to the "servants of people" (the members of the House of Commons). Defoe accentuated in his pamphlet "Six characteristic qualities of parliamentarian" that it was better to elect wealthy, religious, educated, smart, stick to orthodox principles and morality commoners. Enlighteners didn't forget the moral qualities of parliamentarians. Bolingbroke considered that a good deputy was honest, incorruptible man "who wasn't afraid of being responsible to electorate". The main principle of parliamentarians was ability to protect people's freedom. The images of ideal ruler, ministers and parliamentarians formed by Enlighteners were different from reality. Not by chance, Bolingbroke was forced to admit (thought he was a high-ranking official himself), that "there were very few people of such kind, as shining stars in the sky". So, we can conclude that the images of ideal rulers, ministers and parliamentarians presented by early Enlighteners of England contained elements of utopia, which was typical for the Enlightenment ideas as a whole.

Natalia Vorobiova

(Omsk Economic Institute, Russia)

The Image of Patriarch Nikon in the Transactions of Historians

The Image of Patriarch Nikon in the Transactions of historians and literary men determined by the negative stereotype of an emotionally-painted by the Old tradition blasphemies second half of 60's - 70's. XVII century («Heretic», «Antichrist», «alchemist», «adulterer», « torturer and murderer », «reformer» who fled to Lutheran faith). In a period between patriarchs (1658-1666 years) Government power in the person of the tsar retained the services of Alexei Mikhailovich Paisius Ligarid to create an image of Patriarch Nikon as «papist», «overstepped power-seeker». Personality of the Patriarch Nikon becoming a socio-cultural archetype assumed a priori ignoring the individual author's vision of the world. In the space of conflict familiar structure filled alien cultural tradition. For historians, the first half of XVIII-XIX centuries. Patriarch Nikon - hierarchy of power, encroached on royal power. Censorship Complications, undividable and unapproachable Archives, narrow Limits of Consideration of Problem of Patriarchate in Russia caused phantom Modeling the Image of Patriarch Nikon like a dethroned Antihero. However, the popular reverence Patriarch Nikon as a saint born tradition of apologetics

patriarch, based on philosophical plants patristic authors (who are overwhelmingly monastic). In the Frames of apologetic Tendency was created methodological System that furthered Interpretation of historical Sources: Nikon's Views on the Relationship between the State and the Church were set forth in a lengthy Statement he wrote sometime after August 15, 1662, entitled «A Refutation or Demolishment by the Most Humble Nikon, Patriarch by the Grace of God, of the Questions Which the Boyar Simeon Streshnev Addressed to Paisius Ligarid, Metropolitan of Gaza, and Paisius's Answers». Under it occurred study and publication of the main sources and early texts «cause» Patriarch Nikon, and on his epistolary heritage and economic activity, which allowed the authors reconstruct the real historically-informed attitudes and actions of Patriarch, no consideration of it as a «cultural antihero» (not ideologue but the organizer of liturgical reform, not only caused a split in the church, but also in society). Only in the last quarter of XX - beginning of the XXI century there were opportunities for study and understanding of the historical past and its heritage, using the appropriate object and purpose of the study methodological apparatus. Gradually overcome ideological engagement, growing source base, increasing publications sources, and that makes it possible to study the theological legacy of His Holiness Patriarch.

Viktor Ya. Maul

(Tymen State Oil and Gas University
Nizhnevartovsk Branch, Russia)

***"True" Tsar Emelyan Pugachev
in National Monarchic Mythology of the 18th Century***

History knows a chain of pretenders to the name of Peter III. Impostors were obliged to subordinate their thoughts and behaviour according to folklore monarchic model. "Parade" of impostors is a way of national utopia in finding "true" tsar. The most "successful" among them was Emelyan Pugachev whose life was developed on a background of traditional identity crisis which became a symptom of Russian culture transitional conditions and projected on different levels. Having selected revolt as a form of protection, traditional culture also tried to find individual forms of rescue. There was a necessity for a person who could be the head of folk masses and express their interests. Pugachev appeared to be such a person and this choice of history hardly can be named casual. Transitive in its cultural essence epoch should generate transitive person corresponding the time who could express historical necessity in his own way and impose his essential personal print on it. It is necessary to understand why the simple cossack dared to accept the name of the

late tsar Peter III why it was he who "most authentically played" a role of "tsar-father". There were powerful preconditions for this, presence of charismatic inclinations. Where usual commoner should stop in reverential trembling, Pugachev went further breaking cultural taboo. As if deliberate neglect of mental "conventionalities" of traditions reflected his diffusive mental aims. What seemed blasphemy for olden time became possible when under the impact of rationalized innovations the mystical veto of traditional culture was felt not so strictly. Having declared himself as an emperor, Pugachev should observe the impostor genre development canons dictated by folklore monarchic utopia. As if his presented "proofs" turned treasured key in the monarchic model of traditional culture so that all mechanism of national monarchism came to movement. Therefore Pugachev's revolt interpreted by emotional sensations of commoners got the properties of social Truth struggle with Evil forces.

Tatiana A. Saburova
(Omsk State Pedagogical University, Russia)

***Russian Intellectuals' Representations of Power and State
in the "Long" 18th Century***

Our paper is dedicated to the problem of the formation and specific of Russian intellectual's representations about power and state in the "long" 18th century. Firstly, representations about power were very important and key in Russian intellectuals' social-cultural representations, in particularly, recognizing the formation of identity and behavior's strategy of this community in Russia. Secondly, the method of research of these representations is correlation with oppositions "real-ideal", "our-alien" and so on. Perception of power as ideal and sacral caused the absence of critique of power as political institute and influenced on the representations about power's invariance. This situation induced to find the mechanism of critique of power which, on the one hand, wouldn't change the main valuable orientations, on the other hand, could operate into political system. Thirdly, one of possible ways of critique of power was bifurcation of image of power, separation of monarch from bureaucracy. Power of monarch was perceived as "our" but at the same time power of bureaucracy was perceived as "alien". Hence, the critique of bureaucracy seems absolutely natural event. Fourthly, representations about imperator were the component of traditional representations despite of influence of European political theories. Monarch must correspond to ideal image and so it creates a possibility for critique of concrete person but not monarch (tsar) as a symbol of power at all. Note, Peter I was the pattern of monarch

for Russian intellectuals because he was perceived as sacral person and creator of Russian empire and Russian Enlightenment. Finally, pay attention to absence of concrete and clear idea about state in the Russian intellectuals' representations. Concepts of power, state and tsar were and interacted in one semantic field. Image of strong power included the representation about responsibility and necessity of this power for any changes in Russia. Therefore only state power can reform and improve life of Russian society.

Tatiana A. Frolova

(Omsk State Pedagogical University, Russia)

***Bureaucracy and Formation of Image of Power by Siberian Newspapers
in the End of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th Century***

The image of power in the Siberian population's perception was formed on the basis of the official characteristics which were fixed in laws. At the same time the image of power is mental construction, it doesn't limit official acts which designated hierarchy in system of imperious institutes, functional tasks and professional competence. Practices of interaction were very important as well and could be reflected in pages of newspapers. The Siberian newspapers broadcast some system of valuable orientations, mental stereotypes, samples social behavior of local community and the representatives of power. Thus, they modeled the image of power and built this image in system of existing images - characteristics, summarizing representations of different social groups. Let us allocate the general components of the image of power which we can be note in the Siberian newspapers in Late Imperial Russia: 1. Bureaucracy as a symbol of power; 2. Allocation of bureaucracies from the population by language and a manner of dialogue; 3. Bureaucracies were "alien component" in the traditional society, breaking patriarchal connection of people with tsar; 4. Recognition of necessity of bureaucracies as representatives of power and intermediaries in the social interaction; 5. Hierarchy in perception of bureaucracies, division them on capital and provincial bureaucracies with various qualitative attributes; 6. Creation of myths about activity of representatives of power. These myths reflected real defects in work of local bureaucracies and the social defects of the Siberian provincial society.

SUBPANEL 2

The Images of Power, State and Leaders in Contemporary Society

P. Eric Louw
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***Political Struggle, Media Images and Myth-making –
Constructing Mandela as Political Celebrity***

Contemporary political leaders use the mass media to construct images and myths which are used to attract followers. The functioning of today's mass media has changed the nature of image-making and therefore also changed the nature of political leadership and power. Skilled political leaders are in the business of "impression management" and constructing "masks" which serve to create a positive perception of themselves in the media. Those who are really successful at playing this "image" game become political celebrities. The proposed paper will examine the processes of political image-making and leadership-creation through impression management. Amongst political celebrities, Nelson Mandela has been a giant. The paper will examine the construction of Mandela's image in which global television played a major part. The paper will also examine why Mandela was such a successful "media construction" within the context of the 1980s anti-apartheid struggle. Amongst the issues to be examined will be the fact that Mandela initially achieved celebrity status without performing the role himself (because he was in jail). The 1988 Free Mandela concert demonstrated the power of global television to popularize a celebrity who was not even present. But being in jail turned Mandela into an extraordinarily powerful 'celebrity' because his own character and performance abilities did not get in the way of the images being presented. For this reason Mandela could be portrayed in ways that appealed to multiple different constituencies making up the global anti-apartheid movement. So successful were Mandela's images constructed that both his 1990 release from prison and 1994 Presidential-inauguration became spectacular globalized television events. Analysing the construction of Mandela through media images can tell us much about how leaders acquire their power, and about the relationship between reality, myth and perception. My paper will build on work I have done on (1) South Africa's political context – Louw, P.E. *The Rise, Fall & Legacy of Apartheid* (Praeger, 2004); and (2) political communication & image-making – *The Media & Political Process* (Sage, 2005).

Galina M. Sidorova
(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)

*Crisis Development of the African State
and Problems of Stable Peace on the Continent*

Г.М. Сидорова

(Институт Африки, Москва, Россия)

*Кризисное развитие африканского государства
и проблемы устойчивого мира на континенте*

Кризисное развитие африканских государств остается на сегодняшний день одной из важных проблем политической стабильности на Африканском континенте. Демократические преобразования, произошедшие в ряде стран, к сожалению, не принесли долгожданных результатов. Легитимные институты власти, сформированные в ходе общенациональных выборов, например, в Демократической Республике Конго в 2006 г., пока не в состоянии самостоятельно решать многие вопросы внутреннего и внешнего порядка. К тому же основная масса населения выключена из собственно политической жизни в силу незрелой политической культуры. Практика недавних событий в ДРК подтверждает выдвинутый профессором А.М.Хазановым (ИВАН) тезис о том, что «нельзя ожидать эффективной работы законов, даже тщательно скопированных с законодательства развитых стран, если они не опираются на неформальные «правила игры» данного общества». Заложенные в глубинных пластах культуры, традиции и обычаи еще долго будут сказываться на поведенческих стереотипах. Как и в период после независимости еще остаются такие явления как клиентелизм и патронаж, фракционность, перевороты, заговоры, кризисы преемственности. Отсюда пока не развязанный узел противоречий этнического, культурного и экономического характера африканских обществ как синдром унаследованного прошлого. Возникающие конфликтные ситуации часто имеют военно-политическую окраску, приводят к гуманитарным катастрофам и нарушениям прав человека. В этой связи важную роль в стабилизации процессов играют международные организации, в первую очередь ООН и Евросоюз, а в плане финансовой поддержки – Мировой банк и Всемирный валютный фонд. Реанимирование региональных организаций, включая экономические союзы, и участие в них проблемных стран также имеет большое значение и является одним из путей преодоления кризисных ситуаций. Особенно это актуально для тех стран, которые обладают значительными запасами полезных ископаемых. Эксплуатация их транснациональными компаниями будет продолжаться до тех пор, пока не будут достигнуты контроль и прозрачность их вывоза за границу. И как следствие этой проблемы будут возникать «старые-

новые» очаги напряженности, подрывающие политическую стабильность в целом на континенте.

Olga V. Veselovskaya

(St. Petersburg State University, Russia)

Marabouts as the State Leaders in Senegal

Muslim religious brotherhoods are one of the main organizing forms of West African Islam, as religious practice takes the form of membership of Sufi fraternities that are dedicated to their *marabouts* (the founders or current spiritual leaders). One can become a member of a group either through his parentage or by adherence to his preferred marabout. The members of these Muslim brotherhoods vow obedience to their personal spiritual leader who is thought to inherit the *barakah* (divine grace) of the brotherhood's founder. The founder of each of the fraternity himself is considered to be a renewer of Islam, according to a hadith that implies God will send renewers of the faith every hundred years. In addition, the marabouts in Senegal for example, are organized in elaborate hierarchies, with the highest ones elevated to the rank of actual rulers. Thus, the highest marabout of the *Muridiyyah* tarikat has been gained the status of a *Caliph* or ruler of the faithful. As for Senegal, it is the Muridiyyah brotherhood that has been courted by the politicians over the years. For instance, recent prominent followers include Abdoulaye Wade, who is the current president of the state. As well as politicians, outstanding businessmen also tend to be marabouts' followers. Because of the *barakah* inherited from their fathers, marabouts are believed not only to have the power to heal illness and grant spiritual salvation to their progeny. Due to this divine grace, they are also expected to teach and counsel their followers, as well as organize their work. All mentioned above enables the leaders of the Sufi brotherhoods to maintain the status of de facto rulers and dominate not only in spiritual life, but also in politics and economics in Senegal.

Zoya Mokrushina

(Yaroslavl State University, Russia)

Image of the Civil War in Nigeria (1967–1970) in Nigerian Literature

When Nigeria received independence (1960), the situation in the country was so that there was no interaction between ethnic groups and regions. Inter-community rivalry, conservation of colonial administrative-territorial system, prevented society from realizing their national identity. Increasing social-

economic and political crisis provoked military cataclysm in January, 1966 and then civil war (1967–1970) between federalists and supporters of Biafra – a part of Nigeria, which proclaimed leaving the federation. Nigerian writers, who took an active part in the situation, reacted to the events in Biafra immediately. Numerous writings were devoted to this subject – from short stories to complicated serious novels. General tendency of Nigerian literature of 1967–1970th and partly 1980th to fix and interpret the conflict, its causes and results gives us possibility to make the collective image of the Nigerian civil war. Works of Nigerian writers allow us to see the civil war in Biafra in the other way then it is shown in scientific researches and journalistic reports. The most significant for the Nigerian literature writers represented the whole nation involved into the civil war, suffering from their ignorance and dedication to the idea of ethnical solidarity. Image of the civil war was created by those who couldn't be just impartial observers. By means of symbols, different artistic devices the vision of the situation was given by the immediate participants of the war (K. Okighbo), representatives of the igbo nation (Ch. Achebe, O. Udechukwu, O. Oguibe), those who suffered the devastation caused by the war, and who embodied its realism, personal tragedy and hopelessness in their writings (V. Shoinka, I. Okpewo, J.P. Clark, A.Aletta, V.Nwankwo, F. Nwapa).

Liza Rivera

(Niagara University, USA)

Image of Power and Leader in Colombia

During the Colonial era and throughout the Republican period, Colombia, formerly New Granada, has been a very hierarchical and oligarchical society and the exclusion of the majorities has created a series of values, attitudes and behaviors that have conditioned the Colombian mentality. The search for the perfect model, for the genuine representative of the Colombian State started with a long list of heroes and notorieties none of which obtained general consensus. It was only when the name of Antonio Nariño (1765-1823), a member of the aristocracy known by the people as the Precursor of the Independence for his translation and publication of the Declaration of the Human Rights from French into Spanish in 1794 and for his humanism, was proposed, that an image of a leader acquired a relevant and positive signification among the people. The image of power was therefore linked to the image of a particular person. The elite presented Nariño as the prototype of the exemplar Colombian. He appeared as the model of virtuosity, courage and generosity that typified the strength of Colombia and dignified the condition of being a

Colombian. The people recognized and accepted this charismatic leader, who was previously and voluntarily forgotten by the socio-political Colombian elite for almost a century because he stood against their prerogatives –During his presidency, Nariño defended the centralism and tried to include all strata of society in order to build a sustainable State– Thus, the image of Antonio Nariño came out to light to legitimize the position of those he always opposed to. Nariño’s image of leader and reputation were used by the socio-political elite throughout the twentieth Century to bleach their own image and to consolidate their power. At the end of the century, the antagonism between the real and the ideal image of power, the social disparities originated by the exclusion phenomena and the continuity of the oligarchical system wreaked debilitating developments such as: the augmentation of every type of violence, the continued weakness of the State, the growing ranks of paramilitary and guerillas and the continued entrenchment of the production and trafficking of narcotics. To face the crisis and to find solutions Liberals and Conservatives, members of new political parties, intellectuals, students, members of the industrial sector, workers, civilians and journalists called on Colombians to gather together again around Nariño’s heritage, example and image to rebuild the country. Since 2003, Nariño has been designated as the Colombian of all time.

Georgeta Nazarska

(State University of Library Studies and IT, Sofia, Bulgaria)

Religion and the Image of Political Leaders in Bulgaria (1990s-2008)

The paper deals with the involvement of religious arguments in the process of formation, presentation and perception of image of the political leaders in the public space of contemporary Bulgaria. The use of religious messages, symbols, phrases, gestures etc. from the political figures (their image makers and staff) and from the media (traditional and electronic) is an object of analysis. The research is mainly based on textual and visual sources (political programs, platforms, statements, slogans, articles, correspondences, photos, cartoons, posters etc.) and uses methods of historiography, sociology and anthropology. The paper is focused on the period of political and social transformation in Bulgaria during the last 20 years – period of establishment of the democratic political system and of election of political leaders (statesmen and party leaders); period of identity crisis which was compensated by the means of religious activity (like in all the countries from the ex-Soviet block in Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe) and of radical nationalism. In the Bulgarian case the symbiosis between politics, religion and nationalism

was useful both to the narrow party interests, and to the ethnic and religious peace in the region.

Richard T. Griffiths
(Leiden University, Netherlands)

European Identities

This paper examines the question of the development of a European identity against the backdrop of the rejection, three years ago, of the draft treaty for a European Constitution. It suggests that the EU is failing to create a civic identity and that it may also be misplaced in its focus on 'high culture' in its efforts to engender a cultural identity. The paper does identify two other routes towards creating a greater European identity. One, less desirable, is a xenophobic form of European identity that is juxtaposed against a that of a Muslim identity. The other is an unnoticed but powerful 'low cultural' route through travel, sport and popular music. Whilst this latter form of identity might have little time for the institutional representation of the European Union, it is none the less rewriting the cultural map of Europe.

Olga Velikanova
(University of North Texas, Denton, USA)

Cult of Lenin: Spontaneous Popular Mythology vs. Official Myth

The leaders' cult was a part of integral state myth reinforcing Soviet civilization. Soviet myth was personified in a figure of Lenin. His image existed in the collective mind of the people in several forms, which responded to a variety of human needs, including the need for identity, the need for protector, and the longing for integration. The image of the leader served as a kinship symbol of "Father", as well as religious, class, political, and national symbol, with a variety of meanings. It even provided a model of behavior, which is so necessary to a society as a means of socialization. The features of the leaders' image offered by the authorities, however, often differed from the features generated in the imagination of the masses. For example, contrary to the official international rhetoric, the public interpretation of Lenin was as a national symbol – a genuine Russian in opposition to the Jewish majority in the Communist party leadership. Spontaneous mythology in its relationships to the official myth is the topic of the paper. I approach the Cult of Lenin from socio-anthropological rather than from a political basis. Access to the Com-

munist Party and Political Police archives made possible the study of the collective representations of Soviet people resulted in this paper.

Julie A. Cassidy
(Williams College, Williamstown, USA)

Emily D. Johnson
(University of Oklahoma, Norman, USA)

Vladimir Putin and Russia's New Cult of Personality

Since becoming president of the Russian Federation in 1999, Vladimir Putin has enjoyed consistently high approval ratings and inspired expressions of adulation whose likes Russia has not seen since the days of Stalin. Putin's name and hypermasculine physical form have appeared on a wide variety of media and products, including portraits, books, t-shirts, films, jokes, rap songs, websites, balloons, and even toothpicks. As early as 2000, journalists began describing the Putin phenomenon using the phrase "cult of personality" (kul't lichnosti), suggesting that the current leader cult serves ends similar to those of its Soviet precursors. However, careful examination of the full range of Putiniana available in the Russian marketplace and on the internet demonstrates the limited utility of such comparisons. The ways in which Putin texts and products have been generated, circulated, and consumed suggest that the Putin cult represents a fundamentally postmodern phenomenon. Unlike earlier leader cults, it is not monolithic and does not typically coerce participation. Instead, the Putin cult fuses authoritative discourse with it satiric send-up, creating inherently ambiguous texts. Relying on creative sampling, re-use, and citation, it empowers a diffuse army of creators and consumers, most of whom work outside any obvious system of state control.

Ulrich Frisse
(The University of Western Ontario, London, Canada)

***Images of Power, State and Leaders –
The Case of Europe's 20th Century Totalitarian Regimes***

This comparative case study of Totalitarian dictatorships (including, but not limited to Nazi Germany under Hitler, Fascist Italy under Mussolini, the Soviet Union under Stalin) focuses on the following three themes considered crucial for a full understanding of the creation and perception of images of power, the state and the leader: 1. the way that power and the leader present themselves through decisions, policies, political and military action etc. as

well as the way that power, the state and the leader are presented to the public by means of propaganda and official state ideology; 2. the way that power is perceived by the people who live under totalitarian regimes (role of national traditions, expectations, hopes and frustrations and other emotional and subconscious elements in determining the perception of the masses); 3. the way that power, the state and the leader are perceived by external observers and the international community (this third level of observation often points to the existing discrepancies between the real power of the state/leader and its "ideal" counterpart, as created by propaganda and ideology and the corresponding subconscious state of the masses. These themes will be explored in the specific context of Fascist Italy, National Socialist Germany and Stalinist Russia, using a variety of sources including, but not limited to speeches by the leaders, propaganda movies (e.g. Leni Riefenstahl's "Triumph of the Will" in comparison to the works of Sergei Eisenstein), as well as diaries and other autobiographical accounts by ordinary people living in totalitarian dictatorships. The totalitarian paradigm is particularly well suited for a comparative analysis of the relationship between power structure and images of power and the leader, as images of a powerful state and leader are crucial elements of totalitarian systems in their attempt to establish control over society. By using examples from a variety of totalitarian regimes, the essay will show that the image of total power in totalitarian regimes is as much a reflection of subconscious processes in the respective societies as it is a deliberate creation achieved by the means of propaganda.

Helen Shestopal

Ilya Strelets

(Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia)

Russian Presidents: Yeltsin, Putin, Medvedev. Does Personality Matter?

This paper is focused on personality factor in comparison with a role in performances of three Presidents in Post-Soviet Russia. All scholars studying presidential personality (J.M. Burns, J. Barber, F. Greenstein, D. Winter, B. Glad) assumed that personality plays substantial role in performance of this highest role in any political system. F. Greenstein stressed some particular circumstances in which personality becomes the dominant factor. Political development of Russia in post-Soviet period fits to Greenstein's description and permits to suppose that in our case personality will play the main role in performance of the Presidential role. Psychological reconstruction of personalities of Boris Yeltsin, Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev together with analysis of the circumstances of their governance gives evidence that this

hypothesis is only partly approved. The main result of the study is the conclusion that political environment and challenges faced by the Presidents restrict their personal motivations and views and shape their behaviour and freedom of decision-making.

Olga Deulina

(Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia)

Image of Power in Political Advertizing (Analysis of Agitation Materials)

Political advertising for today is one of the most effective methods of influence on mass consciousness. Effectively created image helps to support system and is one the important instrument for management. Therefore process of creation of the most effective image of authority is one of the basic for leaders of parties. Basis of my research the concept of image of the world (K.V. Leontiev). According to this with this theory, the image of the world is subdivided into the following elements: image of space, image of the enemy, image of the hero. The central place in an image of the world occupies the image of enemy. In the report I analyze an image of the enemy at the basic political parties of the Russian Federation. My hypothesis consists that a degree of development of an image at political parties is various. The empirical basis of research is agitation materials of political parties. At communist party of Russia the image of the enemy does not differ dynamic -during several time the central enemy for this party is ruling regime. For liberal - democratic Party of Russia the image of enemy focused on migrants. However there are political parties at which the image of the enemy is absent. The political party Uniform Russia lays the basic emphasis not on an image of the enemy and on an image of the hero on behalf of Putin. One of the ways of designing image of the enemy is the political myth. For creation of an image of the enemy political parties use such phenomena, as a stereotype. Communist party of Russia uses most widespread stereotypes in mass consciousness of its electorate: negative image of oligarch, points out social inequity in society. Mechanism of identity is one the most important for construction the image of the enemy in political psychology.

Elena S. Semenova

(Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Jena, Germany)

***Russian and German Parliament Members' Self-perception
in Comparative Perspective***

Е.С. Семенова
(Университет им. Ф. Шиллера, Йена, Германия)

***Самовосприятие парламентариев России и Германии:
сравнительная перспектива***

Крушение социалистической системы послужило не только основой трансформационных процессов в странах Варшавского договора в области политики и социального устройства, охарактеризованных как глобальный „социальный эксперимент“, но и массивной смены политических элит в указанных странах. В связи с изменением политической и экономической системы устоявшиеся принципы циркуляции и репродукции политического класса были разрушены. Кроме того, множество элитных позиций в различных секторах общества „в одночасье“ стали вакантными, в том числе по возрастным, экономическим и идеологическим причинам. В указанной ситуации смены политического режима парламентская элита приобрела особое значение по двум причинам. Во-первых, как элита, активно участвующая в процессе модернизации в конкретной стране, во-вторых, в качестве носителя принципа представительной демократии – именно данный сектор элиты является зависимым от результатов регулярных выборов. Выборы как инструмент циркуляции элиты требуют соблюдения определенных правил и исполнения определенных обязательств со стороны данного сектора элиты. Интернализация данных правил и обязательств является проявлением роли депутата. Исходя из данного контекста интересным представляется рассмотреть отдельные аспекты парламентской роли, а именно самовосприятие депутата, восприятие им политического класса с одной стороны и политической элиты с другой. Рассмотрение самовосприятия депутатов будет произведено с помощью сравнительно-политологического дизайна “the most different cases“. С одной стороны, Россия как страна, находящаяся в процессе национальной модернизации, с другой стороны, Германии как пример интеграции двух систем – представительной демократии (ФРГ) и социалистической системы (ГДР). Т.к. Россия и бывшая ГДР имеют практически схожий опыт функционирования в социалистической системе, интересно рассмотреть процессы конвергенции со стороны бывшей ГДР и современной ФРГ, а также процессы дивергенции между странами (Россия и Германия). Исследовательской базой для нашего доклада являются результаты глубинных интервью с представителями Парламента двух стран.

Tatiana Evgenyeva
(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)

Problem of National Identity in Contemporary Russia
(Symbols and Images)

This paper is based on the research conducted in 2008 in different regions of Russia. The crisis of the 90-s in Russia destroyed not only the structure of rational (or regarded as such) values and standards dominating the society, but also the system of symbols and stereotypes laid down in it, and provoked the crisis of identity. The older generations of Russians compensated their need for national identity by transferring soviet identity to the Russian state. The young people have much more difficulties in their identification with the state where they live. The results of the investigation showed that the system of symbols on which national identity could be based is very poor. For the majority of the respondents there exist only two significant images: first, large territory of Russia with enormous natural resources (oil and gas first of all) which make other states dependent of us. And second, the figure of Putin who is accepted more as a symbolic, sometimes supernatural figure than a person or even a president or a prime minister of the state. If the system of positive symbols does not satisfy the need for identification the person one begins to look for negative symbols. In searching for an enemy the young man looks abroad and finds the negative image of the West which stayed in the latent form in the mass consciousness and can be easily revived in favorable conditions. He looks at his neighbors and finds the negative image of an alien who lives in our territory but belongs to some other ethnic and cultural group. Thus nationalist and xenophobe attitudes are the other side of the need for national identification. The investigation shows that the process of national identification should not be accepted as spontaneous. If the society does not propose the young generation positive symbols which could help them to identify themselves as citizens of the state, they will spontaneously find the negative ones. These symbols born in mass consciousness are taken by some political forces, publicized by mass media and thus become means for the manipulation of political orientations and mass political behavior.

Alexei I. Shcherbinin
(Tomsk State Univeristy, Russia)

“Motherland” as Image of Country (The Formation of Matrix Thinking by
Literary Almanac “All Year Round”)

The paper is dedicated to Motherland - one of the most important construct which guides a person in the world. The author considers the etymology and meaning of basic concepts – Motherland, fatherland, and country. By example of almanac (children calendar) “All Year Round” for preschoolers and primary schoolers (1946-1985) the author regards a construction of space-time image of Motherland as country thinking matrix. Climate and plains, history and culture, past and future, soviet leaders and soviet nation are sacralized as a result of using sensory perception (lyrics, fairy-tales, pictures) and they became settled interpretative perception scheme of world though main conception – Motherland. In turn a calendar-cyclic matrix of giving information forms mechanisms of stability and eternity of this construct. The research shows the intensity dynamic of Motherland image implementation. The report demonstrates how in senior school the basic constructs “Motherland - country” became concrete (books “Our Great Motherland”, “Above the Map of Motherland”), how patriotic education uses this basis. In conclusion there is a comparison with contemporary patriotic education in Russia.

Nina G. Shcherbinina

(Tomsk State University, Russia)

The Heroic Image of Leader
in Symbolic Space of Postcontemporary Russian Politics

In report the author analyzes the heroic image of postcontemporary leader in author conception of myth-symbolic construction of Russian political reality. In turn the political construction of this image comes to its heroic branding as an efficient system of content phenomena management in crucial points for Russian power (on the base of archetypical brands positioning by M. Mark and K. Pirson). The political construction of heroic leader label manifests in management of one-directional communication when the concrete message are perceived as advertisement myth-stories told by Hero about “real” power. Thus the artificial political power, the space of simulators is created and the constructive leader label becomes virtual reality. The heroic brand individuality stands as image for content communication. The report has a concrete conclusion about the efficiency of Russian leader positioning in symbolic hypostasis of Hero (Dragon Fighter – enemy conqueror) and Ruler (creator and establisher of political order). Thus heroic image makes summary of a sacral political reality which is modeled because of power relegitimation problem with help of interpretative scheme of Russian political monomyth. In our opinion exactly mediation of heroic

***brand in public is efficient of reality to political world of postcontemporary
Russia.***

Andrey Zverev

(Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia)

The Evolution of the Russian Federation State Symbols

The evolution of state symbols for the Russian Federation is assessed from the point of view of inclusion: 1) The question of how to deal with religion in state symbolism was treated ambiguously, and therefore did not receive a completely satisfying solution. Certainly, in the visual sphere, Christian connotations were avoided, but they remained present in the verbal realm. This made it difficult for atheists and members of non-Christian religious communities to identify with the state symbols. 2) Opinion about which segments of national history should be incorporated into state symbolism has changed substantially over the years. This has led to a remarkable broadening of the initially narrow range of sources of identification on offer. At first, only the pre-Soviet past was integrated into symbolic representation, a solution which proved to be unacceptable. Then, a set of symbols was chosen that paid tribute to all periods of national history: pre-revolutionary Russia (referred to by the coat of arms and the tricolour), the February republic (likewise associated with the tricolour) and the Soviet era (represented by the melody of the anthem and the army flag). Besides, the text of the anthem was kept in such general terms that did not highlight any specific historical period. This approach fostered a wide-ranging integration of the demos. 3) Inclusion was not impeded by the imperial, expansive and centralism tradition, as it was partly omitted (by renouncing the territorial coats of arms), and partly neutralized by reinterpretation (especially concerning the regalia and Moscow's coat of arms). 4) In contrast, the role attributed to Europe in the development of Russian national symbols has been played down. Whereas during Yeltsin's presidency the Western influence on the Russian state symbols was emphasized (e.g. the Dutch origins of the tricolour and the Habsburg influence on the two-headed eagle), recently the Byzantine heritage (with regard to the coat of arms) has been increasingly stressed, while the current text of the anthem refers to the uniqueness of Russia.

Alexandr Zinoviev

(Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia)

Image of the State in Contemporary Russia

The problems of the state image-building and a self-identification of its citizens are utterly important in modern Russia. At the present time the image of Russian state is found in the process of formation, political institutes are actively engaged in this problem now. Political and economic circumstances in the world arena are such that the conceptions of Russia undergo serious changes. The activities of non-governmental organizations and of certain citizens also affect on image of Russia as in the world as inside the country. The processes of state-identity, as some scientists mention, also are an issue at present. Russian Federation is essentially a new country, and successfulness of its development depends to a considerable degree on acceptance of it by its citizens and their consent to be the nationals of this state, to feel their own connectedness with it, to sense a responsibility for what is going on and to be proud of its successes. There are different interpretations of the concept "image of a state". Some scholars suppose that it's a totality of clear, typical signs, symbols, ideas, that describe some real spaces (I. Bochkareva). Other scientists give more complex definitions. For example, image of a state is a dynamical system of objectively existing, purposefully formed and subjectively interpreted essential features of politically organized, geographically perfected and subordinated to the supreme authority society (A. Fedyakin) Some scientists subdivide the image of a state into internal and external. The internal image emerges into a citizens' consciousness. The external image of a state relate to its activity on a world arena and its perception by other members of international relations. Other scientists suppose that external and internal image of a state cannot be separated, because the formation of state-identity takes place in the course of interaction between the members of international relations. In any case, regardless of the approach to the matter, the problem of national or state identity of citizens inseparably linked with the problem of the image of a state.

Victor V. Titov

(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)

***Socio-cultural Identity of Russian Political Elites in the Post-Soviet Period:
From Global Paradigm to the "Future's Nationalization"***

The beginning of the 21st century is characterized as a period of radical political and cultural transformation which inevitably touches different components of Russian political system. The complex crisis of the 1990th actualized not only institutional reforms in public administration sphere but a problem of innovative national – oriented Russian philosophical doctrine. Politi-

cal elites of modern Russia actually needed a re-estimation of historical experience and post-soviet development's result. And of course it was necessary to outline a basic content of new Russian identity and to work out frames and markers of elite's ideology which could answer such fundamental question as a Russian place in nowadays world-system and socio-cultural construction. This situation was determined two factors: 1). the first (external) factor was based on structural analysis of global processes. In the end of 1990th there was obviously that the global orientation of Russian elites in fact meant not only a super-power status' loss but also refusal from national socio-cultural identity's protection. The next possible reason to find a «new Russian» identity was included in factual absence of an effective mechanisms and alternative global (transnational) identity's real prospects which could be responsible to minimize negative effects of westernization; 2). the second (internal) factor was based on national socio-cultural dynamic symptoms. In the conditions of a politic destabilization, value's crisis, non-stable situation in regions and intensive reanimation of archaic practices, myths and local identities new state identity (Russian civil nation and «future's nationalization») took a shape of a doctrinal link for integration some politic, ethnic and cultural fragments. Today there's logically to state the fact that a new ideological view on the problem of national identity (offering by some power groups) hasn't got a consolidated conception's status. It's only a field for serious theoretical discussions in politologist's community and opportunity for constructive political dialog. Now it's possible to aggregate expert's opinions in two-side «soft» (it haven't got absolutely distinct operational frames) structure: the first point is based on the position that the «Russian civil identity» presents not more than (created especially for electoral mobilization) PR – technology. The second view distinguishes offered idea in the contest of post-soviet reality's formalization, concentrating on socio - psychological aspects. Two the most important among them are: lack of integrative links (symbols, shared values and national interests) connecting elites and social segments; and refusal from state (ethnic, mono-cultural, empirical) identity's domination in societal practices. But there's important to add that only national elites have got exclusive recourses (first of all we've to mention mass media and national symbol-making) which provide effective forming of state-national identity. In the author's opinion the fundamental problem of elite's identity in Russia is strongly connected with that modern Russian elites are located in the situation of permanent cleavage and socio-cultural fragmentation under hard politic pressure of effectively organized GR-structures which permanently actualize different forms of non-national (global or corporative) belonging. According to corporative aims Russian elites permanently develop primitive identity's patterns and restructurize national symbolic field. We

have to face a fact that Russian elite's identity is characterized as mosaic which consists of local non – integrated fragments (elements of global orientation, ethnic conciseness, and corporative values). It's possible to declare that different authority's groups don't demonstrate distinct understanding of national identity's question.

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***Dynamics of Images of Political Parties
in the Consciousness of Russian Citizens***

Reforms of electoral system passed in the last decade have made political parties one of the basic actors on a political arena. Political processes straightly depend on how citizens regard this or that political party, whether they are ready to vote for it and actually what forces make voters give their preferences to one political party and to refuse the others. It is not a secret that many political parties which had stable electorate throughout many years, quiet suddenly became the outsiders in politics, they have lost their followers and supporters and could not acquire the new. Other political parties having lost a part of their items nevertheless have saved certain influence on public. "The [ruling party](#) " label recently was the big defect for the party organization in the opinion of electorate. However, at the last elections the affinity to a power locus became the basic criterion for voting. The image of a party as a political institute has a difficult structure, it is influenced by a large quantity of factors beginning with traditions and features of modern political and economic processes up to deep tendencies of mass consciousness in perception of the separate political persons either included in political party or associated with it. Leaning against the methodology developed on chair of political psychology of the Moscow State University, we have conducted empirical research where 20 deep interviews have been collected. The results of these interviews have been compared with ones collected in 2003 on chair of political psychology by the same technique. The results or findings of the carried out research have led us to interesting conclusions. As object of research images of political parties the United Russia, LDPR and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation in consciousness of citizens have been chosen.

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Image of Russia in Foreign Mass Media

At reduction internal and foreign policy the state now it is necessary to consider not only traditional factors of the international relations, such as: political interests, economic, territorial, but psychological aspect. In particular it is necessary to pay attention to perception of an image of the country in the state both on a world scene and on methods, by means of which mass-media form this image. In given article we consider an image of Russia in the world, formed by foreign mass-media. The given research analyzes dynamics of development of an image of our country in V.V. Putin's presidency (2000-2008). Also is a part of the project of chair on studying of an image of Russia in Russia and in the world. At the heart of research communication between existing image of the country and that image which is formed directly through the messages lies, which foreign mass-media give to the world community. It is necessary to underline that modern political communications are caused also by processes of transnationalization and globalisation of world space, and mass-media play the major role in process of information of a policy. And though the state as the basic actor on a political arena keeps the importance in sphere of the international information policy, mass-media act in a role active and concerning the independent subject of a political life. At the same time, external and internal politicians are not formed directly by a news media as “the fourth power”. The success of the state and its policy in many respects depends on a position of the influential editions which are coming into the view of all leading politicians, capable to mobilise public opinion, and also from possibilities and ability of key political subjects to involve mass-media in realisation of the course, carrying out of the approaches to the decision of the international problems.

Alla Nedova

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Image of Russia in the Consciousness of Politically Active Youth

In political psychology for today there is no uniform complete theoretical approach to the analysis of perception of images of the country. However separate aspects of this phenomenon are analysed in political psychology, as in domestic, and western, rather in detail. The problem of concept of the state is in the centre of studying of several scientific disciplines – political science, psychology, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, etc. Thus each of disciplines studies the aspect of this concept. So, for example, its nature, sources and the bases, forms of its existence and the mechanism of functioning, its

function in social structure of a society, институциональные aspects become a subject of the political analysis of the state. Nevertheless, about the maintenance of concept of the state till now there is no common opinion among researchers. The concept of an image is extremely multiple-valued. There is a large quantity of the researches devoted to images, not smaller quantity of approaches and theories. In psychology and in social psychology "image" is understood as the generalised picture of the world (subjects, the phenomena), the subjective reality developing as a result of processing of the information on it, arriving through sense organs. The image is always reflexion process. In this sense the person not simply carrier of an internal picture of the world, but also its designer and the proof-reader. In this case designing is understood as reduction of the information on world around in subjective system. The purpose of similar system of the information – the comprehension of sense defined consistently about world around. It also allows the person to construct further «a picture of an objective reality». For studying of images of the country in consciousness of politically active youth research in which following methods have been used has been conducted: deep interview, projective techniques «psychological drawing» and «the neoterminated offers». Sample included 12 respondents. Interrogated – members of the youth political organisations «Young guards», "ours" and «the Youth apple». Respondents are picked proportionally up for an accessory of respondents to this or that youth political organisation (on 4 respondents from each youth organisation); on age (from 18 till 25 years); on a sex (on two men and women from each youth organisation). Deep interview assumes the concentrated attention to a studied problem, formation of complex, all-round understanding of a studied question. Application of a method of deep interview assumes small volume of sample that, however, essentially does not influence accuracy of measurement of the data.

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***The System of Political Values and Perception of Political Power
by the Representatives of Different Generations in Modern Russia***

The political worldview of each person is formed in the process of political socialization. It is defined by political-economical and social-cultural features of this process. The Primary and secondary political socialization of the military and post-war generations, generation of Khrushchev's thaw, stagnation generation fell on the Soviet period for which the specific sociopolitical device and system of values were typical. The formation of primary political

views of the Russian people usually happened in a family which has always been the ground for political values' system. At the time of the Post-Soviet transformations, usually accompanied by the deep social-cultural crisis, resocialization of all the three mentioned generations occurred. Only the Post-Soviet generation has not endured the process resocialization. They were born at the end of the Soviet period, therefore during Post-Soviet time they only had primary and secondary socialisation. The change of political views in the process of resocialization has occurred in all generations. New political values are being built into the developed personal structure and are hardly combined with the political and moral values and beliefs formed during the primary socialization. That is the reason for some differences in their perception of major milestones of the Soviet, late-Soviet and the Post-Soviet periods. In the minds of representatives of different Russian generations the term "crisis" associates with such concepts as "chaos", "disorder", "uncertainty". Today a deep layer of political values, which all generations of Russians possess consists of «values of safety», which are a part of materialistic values structure (in R. Ingharta's terminology). The given values are expressed in such concepts, as "world", "order", "legality", "sovereignty", "patriotism", "freedom" and "justice". They all, as a matter of fact, define priorities of any democratic country.

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Discourses and Mythologems of Russian Political Culture

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Дискурсы и мифологемы политической культуры России

Пространство современной российской политической культуры, сотканное из различных дискурсов социокультурной и политической направленности, прежде всего, характеризуется стремлением к целостному восприятию образов и символов власти в общественном сознании. Стремление к целостности и упорядоченности политического пространства в условиях нестабильности социально-политических отношений приводит к возникновению множества дискурсивных практик, основанных на интеграции и актуализации мифологических структур в дискурсе политической культуры. Этому способствует дезориентация общественного сознания и усиление социальной напряженности, активизируя защитные механизмы психологической адаптации, социально-

политической, культурной и национальной идентичности, формируя новые дискурсивные практики, стремящиеся к доминированию в политическом пространстве, обеспечивая легитимность своей системе образов и символов власти. Доминирование дискурсивных практик, основанных на переплетении мифологем не только традиционалистского мировоззрения, но и рационалистического представления об обществе как сложной системе социально-экономических политических связей, составляет основу современного политического дискурса. Целостность политического пространства с устойчивыми мифологемами социально-политического дискурса, определяющего образы «Своих» и «Чужих», разграничивая область структурированного пространства-времени, выраженного в «гармонии мира» и противостоящего ей «хаоса», в то же время является реализацией интенций архетипических пластов массового сознания и реформировании оппозиции «Мы – Они». В этом смысле, дискурсивные практики современной политической культуры, используя архетипические конструкции мифологем, основанных на дуальной оппозиции «Мы-Они», и персонификации образа «Власти» в политическом лидере общенационального характера, принимают форму политической культуры западноевропейского образца. Однако, традиционалистский образ власти и образ государственной власти гражданского общества в современной России значительно отличается. Персонифицированная в фигуре лидера, кровно связанного с источником этой силы, «Власть» традиционалистской модели представляется основой социальной и политической иерархии социума. Процессы формирования общности «Мы» предполагает формирование образ «Они», персонифицируемого с деструктивными и враждебными силами, целью которых является разрушение упорядоченного традицией социального пространства, независимо от его модели, традиционалистской или рационалистической.

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Traditional Political Culture of the Abkhaz

The political power alongside with the performing of the function of regulation of social relation is the form of public spirituality. In this case, the analysis of the political power allows to reveal its specifics to understand the internal driving power of its justice. That is why to understand the essence of power which is typical for the definite society the first cognitive step should be a determination of bases of spirituality of the concrete nation, the spiritual

constants of its culture. The bases are the lines of spirituality of people, civilization, society that are not only found but also turn out to be essential in all the elements and that is why report the specifics to the whole contents of the concrete culture. The political culture of Abkhaz includes such directives of the public consciousness as: orientation to the traditional way of things, relations and thoughts, on their generality; self-sufficiency of the general bases of material and spiritual life; the handhold on receivership, relatedness of contemporaneity with its roots; installation on semantic identity of past and present. The political power in this case is a way of adaptation and by its means an Abkhaz gets the definite place in life that allows to feel himself self-confident, calm, full of obvious dignity. A person is filling with the sensation of reliability and correctness of his existence and also justification of everything that has occurred in his life. In this connection the idea of the service to a collective (to people) turns out to be the consequence of the internal spiritual pulse calling to distinguish its importance in the whole society and realize yourself exactly in the public deal. The idea of service of Abkhaz is remunerated by liberty, by means of which realizes the possibility to feel itself a part of something that towers over person and is reached the sufficient status which is characterized by the positive social effect. In this case the liberty of person is a consequence of success in good of the public service. In that way is possible to interpret the symbol expressed in Blazon of the Republic of Abkhazia. The service in good of the society appears as a debt, as a duty of person elevated to the level of moral impetus. That is why it is normally taking by public consciousness. The results of such service become the exclusive unselfishness, selflessness rather than personal well-being, personal security, passion to privileges. Then purposes turn out to be the actual stimulus of the political behavior. The idea of service is an aim concerned with the internal justification of the service to precepts of the elders to serve worthy to traditions of gender, the defense of homeland from enemies; serve to people. It expresses the organic and continuity of the relation between a person and his gender, people, homeland; it fixes the value of the subservience of a person to his homeland and the whole society, a debt of a person to realize "aizirhara" - the addition to the hearth of his forefathers. The idea of service confirms the readiness to sacrifice for these purposes. There was praising the service of hero of the Nartski epos Sasrikvi rodu – to the big family of Narts and today this idea is expressed in the service to people of Abkhazia(in the contemporary emblem of the Republic of Abkhazia).

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***The Image of the Hero and Enemy
in Political Communications of Non-recognized States
(On the Example of the Conflict in South Ossetia in 2008)***

The Conflict in South Ossetia, which started at the 7th – 8th of August night 2008, became a fundamental point in the development of world geopolitical processes in the beginning of the 21st century. The War at the territory of South Ossetia has been launched by the authorities of Georgia. The American department of state coordinated their actions. Once again the Ossetian people have undergone real genocide. After these events the rhetoric of leaders of the various world states is transformed. First of all, it concerns leaders of those countries who directly are involved in a conflict zone. In the given context the most expressed and unequivocal statement is the one made by the President of South Ossetia republic of E.D. Kokojty. The opinion of Ossetian people coincide with theses, that are expressed by political elite in Northern and South Ossetia. The point of view of the Ossetian people is distinct and reasoned enough. The aggressor in this case is Saakashvili (he is frequently compared to Hitler) and those Georgian generals who gave commands for the divisions their supervised to exterminate everything and everybody in Tshinvala and Ossetian settlements. Also the President of South Ossetia in the interviews to mass-media addresses the countries which constantly armed Georgia on the threshold of conflict escalation. Georgia is presented as "a puppet in hands" of USA, hold for the aim of expanding the NATO borders and using the territory of Georgia as an additional platform on placing American ABM. Military and humanitarian aid to South Ossetia is rendered by the Russian Federation. The image of "the hero" should be personified by the Ossetian people instead and by employees of the Russian army and by the top leaders of the Russian Federation. The result of active rhetoric between the leaders and the Ossetian people during the conflict and after it is that Russia, and then some more countries, finally recognize independence of the independent state.

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«Mongolia we have lost...»

An image of the country in Russian Mass Media

The research is aimed at studying of Mongolian image forming practiced by Russian mass media in the context of history, state and future trends of the Russian-Mongolian relations. Within the framework of the research it is

planned to reveal sources and mechanism of the given practices reproduction. The role of information is extremely important in the modern world, especially if speaking about it as the tool of implementing of foreign policy and bringing influence on other countries and regions. Russia is not an exception. Since Russia has been stirring up its policy in the Mongolian direction in the beginning of 2000s, internal mass media increased their attention to Mongolia as to the foreign policy partner of Russia. From that moment the process of image forming / reproduction of Mongolia received an additional incentive. Drawing attention of the Russian reader to the Mongolian subjects, mass media try to actualize the problem of importance of relations with Mongolia for the Russian political and economic interests. Of intense interest is category apparatus and image representation of Mongolia by Russian mass media and concerned with all this desirable role and function of Russia in relations with this country. At the same time it is necessary to take into account, that besides Russian readers acting as the target audience, publications in internal newspapers and magazines are also available to a significant amount of Mongolian citizens (mainly representatives of political, business, scientific, journalistic circles) who speak Russian very well. Thus forming of public opinion depends on character of publications not only in Russia about Mongolia, but also, on the contrary - in Mongolia about Russia. As we can see during the recent years, it is far from being always that methods used by Russian side in the process of interaction with Mongolian partners prove to be successful and effective. Therefore the research problem also includes revealing vulnerable points of the way Russia supplies with information its foreign policy. The following can be considered as the preliminary results and conclusions of the research: 1). Publications about Mongolia in Russian mass media are written as a rule within the framework of imperial discourse with its typical specific category apparatus concerning description of the country and the situation around it. Headings and texts of most articles provide the motive of «lost and newly-returned» Mongolia. The country is considered exclusively as the object of Russian policy – the object which does not have its own interests. Accordingly, Russia gets a role of the only “true friend” of Mongolia, capable "to save" it from the western influence; 2). References to the countries' interrelations in their socialist past and emphasizing its positive moments act as an important resource of legitimating Russian "rights" to Mongolia today. In conditions of more concentrated international-political space in region as compared with the epoch of socialism, high intensity of informational streams and various concepts about Mongolia's place and role in the world taking place in the Mongolian society, the existing imperial discourse can have a negative effect on state and future trends of the Russian-Mongolian relations.

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Legislative Power and Constitutionalism in Latin America

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Учредительная власть и конституционализм в Латинской Америке

В странах Латинской Америки в 1990-е гг. прошлого века прошел очередной этап принятия новых конституций. Большинство из них принято на специально созданных Конституционных ассамблеях. Анализ показывает, что учредительная власть ассоциируется именно с учредительным собранием. А это соответствует тому, что на практике латиноамериканских стран эта власть сводилась к созданию и принятию новой конституции. История конституционализма в Латинской Америке показывает богатейшую практику конституционного развития. По количеству принятых конституций эти страны держат первое место. Начиная со времен получения независимости эти страны, прибегали именно к такому способу принятия конституции. Принятия новых конституций Парагвая, Перу, Аргентины, Венесуэлы, Боливии, Эквадора и других латиноамериканских стран показывает, как можно и необходимо действовать властям при реформировании основ государства и общества с участием не только специальных представителей, но и самого народа. Учредительная государственная власть в последние десятилетия вновь приобрела огромную практическую и политическую актуальность в связи с кризисом власти не только в латиноамериканских государствах. Такая практика также актуализирует разработки теоретических основ учредительной власти. Первоначально учредительная власть связывалась с созданием конституции и не претендовала на постоянное осуществление функции законодательной власти. Но при этом считалось само собой разумеющимся отождествление народа с учредительным собранием как единственно возможный в тех условиях способ выражения воли и власти народа. Но со временем «утрата учредительной властью своего самостоятельного значения нашла отражение в постепенном смягчении способов изменения конституции, создание и изменение которой становилось во всевозрастающей мере функцией законодательной или даже исполнительной власти». Поэтому для обеспечения объективных и ре-

альных условий разработки, принятия новых конституции или внесения изменений и дополнений в действующие конституции целесообразно изучит опыт именно латиноамериканских стран. Учредительная власть тесно связана с народом, который имеет право на определение своей конституции, на легитимизацию осуществляемой от их имени власти. Она может обеспечить баланс сил, может определить и установить рамки основным направлениям развития общества и государства. Поэтому нужен юридический закреплённый, действенный механизм обеспечения права народа, так как на определенных моментах развития, особенно это проявляется на практике государственного строительства постсоветских стран, не только исполнительная власть, но и законодательная практикует видимую, а не реальную деятельность. Из постсоветских государств только в России Конституцией 1993г. предусмотрено создание специального Конституционного собрания для внесения изменений и дополнений в нее. На мой взгляд, только учредительная власть полномочна на изменение конституций, так как ее высокая правовая регламентация априори упорядочивает деятельность всех участников конституционно-правовых отношений. Таким образом, учредительная власть не только предоставляет и гарантирует конституции высшую юридическую силу, верховенство, но и обеспечивает реальный баланс социальных сил.

PANEL XXIV

The Newcomers and Old-Timers: Intercultural Communication, Social Transformations and Migration Policy

Convenors: *Dmitri M. Bondarenko, Veronica V. Usacheva* (Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)

Activation of the migration processes, one of the key characteristic features of our time, is often seen as a source of social tension determined by cultural differences between the newcomers and old-timers in a society. Both cultural and social differences and contradictions between the migrants and initial citizens are to be given consideration in the Panel. One of the Panel's goals is to study the migrants and autochthonous population interdependent images in the each others' consciousness, stemming from the premise that the images of other cultures affect crucially the attitude to the respective cultures representatives. Owe to these images the stereotypic visions of other peoples are formed and reproduced, they influence directly the practice of the relations with them. It is important to reveal not only the images as such but also the historical backgrounds for, and dynamics of their formation in different countries of the world, their specificity and directionality that depends on the socio-cultural features of both the "accepting milieu" and various migrant communities. Simultaneously with the formation of the mutual images of different cultures representatives – now dwellers of the same country and members of the same society, one more process is on, too. This process also has two aspects, dealing with which is a part of the Panel's tasks. On the one hand, the migrant communities are becoming diasporas – net associations that establish informal as well as semiformal and formal, links and hierarchies within themselves, with the recipient society, with the country of origin, and with the analogous compatriot communities in other countries. Although in the diaspora communities the pre-migration cultural traditions and social relations are supported and may remain unchanged for a much longer time than in the country of origin, these communities inevitable have to conform to the principles of the recipient society. On the other hand, the process of the migrant communities' socio-cultural integration in the latter presupposes securing by them of some social and professional niches what leads to transformation of the whole system of social hierarchies in a given society. The role of the directing force, of mediators and regulators in the relations between a country's cultural majority and the migrant communities is to be played by the civil society institutions and the state that pursues the migration

policy in the legal, economic, social, cultural, educational, information, and other spheres. Hence, an important task of the Panel is to consider the migration policy in different states and the range and variety of the migrant communities and the wider, whole society's "responses" to the government's "challenges".

Asja Nina Kovacev

(University of Ljubljana, Slovenia)

Cross-Cultural Migrations and Their Influences on the Subjects' Identity

Migrations cause a lot of crucial changes on individual and social levels. Confrontation of different perspectives, caused by different cultural backgrounds, has been problematic from the age of colonialism till the present times. The physical exclusion from one's former cultural environment evokes competitive interferences between two socio-cultural systems with more or less different (or even contradictory) norms and values. Migrations deform the isomorphism between the subjects' social environment and individual experiences. They usually lead to identity crises and the formation of new identities. Most often they also cause the transformation of the subjects' social character, because people search for new psychosocial identities in their new social surroundings. This process may end as the subjects' dramatic devaluation and their transition onto the verge of society (which is typical for the economic and political immigrants) or as their enrichment and openness to the world (which is characteristic for the members of the former colonialist nations). The problem of acculturation of immigrants in the Western world is getting more and more interesting for the social sciences and it has become one of the main topics of several interdisciplinary researches. The acculturation means the reorganization of the "I-world" structure and its adaptation to the new circumstances. The aim of the present study is to present different forms and stages of acculturation and to clarify the main problems that appear in this process. The most critical immigrant groups, which are researched, are: The immigrants' children, who are confronted with two contradictory systems of values and the generation gap between them and their parents, and women, who are usually subjected to double subordination: in relation to men and in relation to the members of the dominant society.

Vilna Bashi Treitler

(City University of New York, USA)

The Ethnic Project

The paper I present here is a draft of the second chapter of a book manuscript of the same name. "The Ethnic Project" is a concept I developed that describes the ability of certain immigrants connected to one another by ethnicity and shared social capital to work together in very specific ways (that involve uplifting themselves and denigrating others) in order to raise their social status. Ethnicized economic groups in the United States (immigrants and "minorities") begin their incorporation with placement at the bottom rung of the ladder of racial hierarchy. (For example, each immigrant and minority group who was not from Northern or Western Europe was faced with being racially nonwhite. Only later in American history did some of these groups come to gain higher racial status.) In order to improve their racial status, each ethnic group must address the dominant society by portraying themselves as ethnically desirable and economically successful. That is, first, they must specifically cultivate and perpetuate "ethnic myths" about themselves; second, they must distance themselves from the racial hierarchy's bottom, and they do this often by denigrating those they believe "belong" there instead of them. Historians have shown that this was the case with Italians, Irish, Jewish, and Chinese (in the Mississippi Delta) and other groups in the United States. The manuscript will document this history with case studies. But the paper I wish to present here is where I outline the theoretical concept of The Ethnic Project. In this paper, I show that ethnicities in the US are thought of hierarchically, and explain that in specific historical moments, ethnic groups undertook concerted social action (namely, an Ethnic Project) to foster a perception of themselves as "different" from the bottom (blacks), and "similar" to the top (whites) of the racial hierarchy. Some such Projects succeed, and others fail. Ethnic Projects succeed to the degree that the dominant population accepts that the new group is culturally or racially different enough from the hierarchical bottom to merit a recognizable "ethnicity" – itself a label now accompanied by the dominant society's use of racial overtones different from the ones ascribed to the group upon their entry to the US – and also provide relief from the pejorative epithets, socioeconomic prejudices, and exclusionary practices that had originally plagued the group. Those that fail (e.g. Native Americans, African Americans) find no such relief and still struggle but remain racially debased.

Nagamah Gopauloo

(Mahatma Gandhi Institute, Moka, Mauritius)

Intercultural Relations in Modern Mauritius

Mauritius is often cited as a model of a multicultural society par excellence where the caucus of cultures engenders peaceful co-existence and encourages intercultural relations. As a model, it is also said to be emulated for its successful management of diversity by pluri-ethnic African countries. The island has consequently been identified as the seat for the Institute of Intercultural Dialogue by UNESCO. Intercultural relations are the subject of political, economic, social and religious discourses. The Constitution of the Republic of Mauritius makes provisions for representation of minorities through the Best Loser System. As a welfare State, it ensures equitable distribution of resources, access to free education, free medical services and social security benefits to all citizens irrespective of ethnic or religious appurtenance and also caters for all religious groups through subsidies to socio-cultural organizations and religious bodies. The formal arrangements are often questioned as to their pertinence in promoting intercultural exchange among various ethnic groups. The political system based on numerical strength indubitably creates inequalities in the sharing of power and wealth. The Best-Loser System is criticized for accentuating ethnic and cultural differences and eliciting strong ethnic feelings and identity claims. The extent to which these formal arrangements privilege intercultural relations is often questioned. My research shows that intercultural relations flourish in semi-formal and informal situations where social interactions are intense; they thrive in the interstices of the day-to-day interactions in the “agora” rather than in the politicized spaces of power and hierarchy. A case study of social relations on the two-century-old Central Market of Port Louis, a microcosm of society, will serve to illustrate intercultural exchange through the study of networking (political, economic, social and cultural). My research on the market (1993 – 2000), shows three levels of vertical integration in the market: formal, semi-formal and informal and intercultural relations are constructed on an appreciation of differences.

Ekaterina B. Demintseva

(Institute for African Studies, Moscow,
Russia)

***Integration Policies of France and Great Britain:
Different Approaches to the Same Problem***

During the last recent decades the integrative policies of France and Great Britain existed as mutually excluding paradigms. Whereas in the first case the ideology of the state was based primarily on the republican principles and negated any ethno-racial difference in the life of the state, the British held a

reverse aim as the basis of their integration policies, namely the aim to single out ethnic minorities in both social and political aspects. For many decades these policies were mutually counterpositioned. By now, however, one can say that these two policies find points of contingency since both these countries that face the globalization problems are multicultural ones. Despite so different approaches to the same problematics and reverse methods applied for integration of the immigrants, both countries have faced the same problems. In practice neither France nor England can expect full assimilation of the immigrants, especially of the multimillion Moslem communities having formed within these countries. The socio-economic factors and the fact that these communities have already formed as viable organisms have contributed to the impossibility of full assimilation. Both the French and British experience show that the respective countries will have to apply more complex methods of co-existence with the immigrants. The report has the following aims: 1) to trace the new principles of integration of France and Great Britain through the last 50 years; 2) to understand the causes of the emergence of various tendencies in measures undertaken by the state organizations in relation to integration of the immigrants; 3) to compare the two models of integration delineated above.

Grigory A. Karpov
(Institute for African Studies, Moscow,
Russia)

***British Muslims at the Turn of the Centuries:
Problems of Intercultural Integration***

Migration processes of the 2nd half of the 20th century brought to life large Muslim communities in the countries of Western Europe. The 1950s and 60s were the time of revision of and criticism on the policy of social assimilation – the way many governments used to treat ethnic or religious minorities in previous time. Assimilation as a practice of eliminating differences and absorption of minorities was replaced by integration, *i.e.* incorporation of alien cultures and their equal cooperation with the dominating culture. This measure obviously had several positive consequences: representatives of the ethnic and religious minorities became less discriminated, collisions on intercultural grounds dropped in number as well. The negative consequences of this move showed up in full force several decades after, approximately at turn of the 20th century. These include the phenomenon of "soft segregation", the neo-Nazi movement's rise, mutual non-admission and even rejection of culture and mode of life on the other part, appearance and growth of "non-

white" districts (the so called "no go areas"). Besides, unemployment and crime are on the rise among British Muslims. In view of a high level of illegal immigration to Britain and general incapability of the country's intelligent services to control and halt the spread of radical Islamism in the Muslim community, the socio-economic and political situation in Britain threatens to deteriorate in short term.

Kalpana Hiralal

(University of Kwazulu/Natal, Durban, South Africa)

Ethnic Identity in the Diaspora – The Gujarati Community in South Africa

The paper examines the history and settlement of Gujarati speaking Hindu immigrants from Western India, a minority group who settled in colonial Natal in the late 19th and early twentieth century. The Gujarati immigrants, unlike Indentured Indians, did not arrive under a contractual labour system, but as free Indians under normal immigration laws, hence referred to as "passenger" Indians. They differed from indentured Indians, in terms of their place of origin, caste, linguistic and cultural orientation. These factors, together with the labels "passenger" and "indentured" Indians were to create social and economic distinctions between the two groups, which in many ways determined their "status" in society. This paper firstly, traces the historical arrival and settlement of Gujarati speaking Hindus to colonial Natal. Secondly, it attempts to explore the social, economic and cultural factors that contributed to the creation of a distinct ethnic group, who were often stereotyped for being "conservative" and displaying "in-group exclusiveness". It argues that the nature of their immigration status, their strict adherence to caste affiliations and their kinship ties and trade networks, were important elements in sustaining and maintaining their endogamous ethnic character. Several questions are also raised in this study: Why are the Gujaratis perceived by some members of the wider society as being "conservative"? In what ways have the Gujaratis in the diaspora, particularly, South Africa managed to maintain their identity as an ethnic group? How do they reconcile their ethnic identity with a wider national identity in post-apartheid South Africa?

Badruddin

(Goa University, Ponda, India)

***Cross-Cultural Study of Indian Diaspora in Eastern and Central Europe:
A Theoretical Model***

Background. Indian diaspora has a unique place in Russia, Ukraine, Poland (Eastern Europe) and Austria (Central Europe); in the first three states particularly in transformation of socialist minds into an organized economy. Indians, as students, industrialists, hoteliers, literary figures, scientists, and teachers have witnessed ever growing increase. Database networks have been established to provide information about NGOs, educational and technical institutions. *Methodology and Objectives.* The comparative study will remain limited to Indian diaspora in Russia numbering 40,000. Austria (12,000), Ukraine (4,000) and Poland (1,000) only where Indians are demographically higher compared to other East and Central European Nations. Review of literature, and collaborative research are imperatives to prepare theory building. Focus on cross-cultural profile for the examination and assessment of selected employment sectors, aspiration, attitudes, strengths and weaknesses are parameters. Important commercial, social and professional establishments as samples will be of great help. Religious, regional and ethnic organizations are crucial to examine Indian diaspora. Examination of vote force, level of transparency and sensitive handlings of Indian diaspora in the context of ongoing political process are crucial. Various demands and expectations from Indian diaspora like dual citizenship, liberalization of venture capital, flexibility on the execution of philanthropic project, transparency at immigration counters are also important to examine. *Significance of the Study.* India's role in promoting hi-tech resources, supply of knowledge and skilled labour have already resulted in promoting multilateral dialogues. It is therefore obvious that Diaspora will continue to grow and acquire greater promise in the years to come. As an influence building, is mushrooming with the help of study centers, cultural associations, co-religious sentiments, and philanthropic activities. Even Bollywood films, Indian festivals, and multi channel TV programmes enjoy considerable popularity where Indians have done exceptionally well. There is growing awareness of the Indian diaspora's contributions towards investment flows, skills, education and technology transfer with Russian counterparts.

Riwanto Tirtosudarmo

(Indonesian Institute of Sciences, Jakarta)

***The Javanese Diaspora. Processes, Comparison
and the Case of Javanese-Suriname in the Netherlands***

The Javanese constitutes the largest ethnic group in Indonesia as well as in the so-called Malay World, a vast region that is now called Southeast Asia. In

Indonesia alone, according to the 2000 Indonesian population census, the Javanese population is almost 84 million, or 41.71% of Indonesia's population. Within Indonesia, the Javanese, mostly resided in the island of Java, and the rest resided in other islands. Beyond Indonesia, concentration of the Javanese is currently found in several countries: Malaysia, Suriname, New Caledonia, Sri Lanka and the Netherlands. This paper which consists of three major parts is a social and historical account of the Javanese diaspora. The first part elaborates on the diverse and complex processes of migration and state policies, both in the colonial and post-colonial periods, which brought the Javanese into the current geographic distribution in Indonesia and the world. The second part is a comparison of the situation of the Javanese within Indonesia and outside Indonesia (Malaysia, Suriname and the Netherlands). In this part, social, economic, political and cultural aspects of the Javanese communities will be presented comparatively. The third part focuses on the Javanese currently living in the Netherlands who migrated from Suriname around the 1980s. In this part, the process of social and economic adjustment in the context of the Dutch integration and immigration policies is presented. This paper, which is perhaps the first academic attempt to analyze the Javanese diaspora in the world, ends with discussion of the theoretical implications of the Javanese diaspora in relation to the discourse on nation-state, transnational communities and globalization.

Helena Jerman

(University of Helsinki, Finland)

Mobility and Cultural Resources: The Interface of Social Memory and Belonging beyond the Finnish-Russian Border

Research on transnational communities, diaspora families, focusing on the second and third generation has presently got off the ground. Arguably, we need to understand the long-term effects of migration, a continuing process spanning several generations. Ethnographic studies can provide more understanding of social and cultural dynamics in intersubjective situations, often hidden from the public arenas. My paper focuses on the Russian minority in Finland, more specifically on representatives of its second- and third-generation descendants. Because of its ambiguous position as emigrants, immigrants and returnees, the minority provides a pertinent case for historical comparison. The third-generation descendants of 'old' Russians are socially and economically diverse and so is their family background. This also pertains to a number of present day second-generation migrants from Russia. In my earlier studies on the Russian minority in Finland, I wanted to find out

why this minority is a 'hidden' one, from an outside as well as an inside perspective. I argue that the history between Russia and Finland has an important role in, for example, the creation of belonging as well as on the creation of otherness. Whether we talk about Russian immigrants from the 1990s onwards or representatives of the old Russians and their descendants, the Russian minority in Finland is imbued with what I call 'being hidden' or 'hiding oneself'. There are obvious reasons to this. Moving between different time perspectives with different social actors my contribution will explore central concepts of cultural forms within specific social contexts. The present ethnographic situation and the historical dimension are mutually inclusive. Historical sources and actors' perspectives add information not only about transnationalism, ethnicity and belonging but conspicuously so about power relations in a multi-national social space.

Veronica V. Usacheva
(Institute for African Studies, Moscow,
Russia)

***Cross-Cultural Integration in Moscow Megalopolis:
Challenges and Possibilities***

Moscow, being the largest megalopolis in Russia, faces all challenges and problems common to other world megalopolises. Growing migration, gap in standards of living and common weal intensifies social tension. It is usually explained by means of cultural differences between the newcomers and old-timers. The heritage of the Soviet era social organization nowadays goes through transformation generated from the influx of multiethnic population. Mainly spontaneous development of the situation in Moscow is accompanied either by the outburst of ethnic conflicts/instability or emergence of new patterns of cross-cultural integration. The paper represents the outcome of the field research project based on the interviews with representatives of the main Moscow diasporas as well as officials at different levels. The main goal of the study was to identify the models of inter-cultural adaptation and interaction in Moscow megalopolis. The paper investigates the dominant modes of the inter-cultural adaptation; the politics of authorities in the cross-cultural integration sphere; the possibilities of and perspectives for formation of local communities on the ethnic, social and property basis.

Dmitri M. Bondarenko

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Russia)

African Migrants in Russia: A Post-Soviet Odyssey

At present Africans constitute a rather small minority among the migrants to Russia. It is also clear that never their number, as well as social significance, will become comparable to those of the migrants from former Soviet republics and probably even from some other countries, like China. Anyway, the inflow of Africans to Russia is definitely growing. There is no statistics regarding their number but it may be estimated as several dozen thousand. Still innumerable, Africans are already well noticeable in the Russian ethnocultural landscape. While Western Europe has a long-lasting experience of facing and studying the problems of migration, they are still recent for the ex-socialist states where they have not been pinpointed and studied sufficiently yet. In the meantime, the «closed» nature of the socialist societies, the difficulties of the transitional period reforms predetermine the problems in communication between the migrants and the population majority, the specific features of the situation with the forming diasporas and of their probable position in the accepting societies. The present study of the African migrants in Russia falls into two interrelated parts: The sociocultural adaptation of Africans in Russia on the one hand, and their perception by the Russian society on the other. Among the core points eventually addressed are: the formation or non-formation of diasporas as network communities, as a means of both more successful adaptation and identity support; internal sociocultural heterogeneity of the Russian African community; the role of different institutions (religious, educational, entertaining, etc.) in the Africans' adaptation process; a number of other significant topics. The basic methods employed are interviewing, distributing questionnaires, and observation (participant when possible) both among Africans and original Russian citizens. The obstacles on the way to the research's conduction and the results yet obtained in the course of this work in progress are discussed.

Sergej N. Serov

(Institute for African Studies, Moscow,
Russia)

Factors of Interrelations between Africans in Moscow

The goal of the research is to find out how African migrants residing in Moscow form up their interrelations and the factors that influence these relations. As the number of migrants from African countries in Moscow is growing and

the process of diasporas formation and development is intensifying, it is really necessary to find out not only the ways the Africans are interrelated with the Russian society but also with each other. Above all, understanding of the nature and specific features of these interrelations can increase our ability to predict the Moscow African migrants' behavior. The most significant factors are as follows: country of origin, ethnic origin, religion. As *a priori* not so strong and more situational factors we pick out education level, degree of social and cultural adaptation, intensity of contacts with the native country, duration of stay abroad. A comparison of this conclusion with the evidence from African diasporas in other European countries is also necessary. The influence of social, cultural, political, and economic processes in currently taking place in Africa on the interrelations between Africans in Moscow is a special task that has academic significance of its own. So, the evidence from the field social anthropological research are combined with the sources on African diasporas in other European countries and on current situation and processes of different sorts in Africa. The classical social anthropological methods: observation, questionnaire interrogation, interview, were used for collecting the data on Africans in Moscow. The general target was the first generation migrants, *i.e.* those people who were born in African countries and then came to Russia and resided in Moscow. The selection target was formed basing mainly on the degree of the evidence accessibility, the difficulties of its getting being acknowledged.

Ekaterina V. Shakhbazyan

(Institute for African Studies, Moscow,
Russia)

***Moscow African Migrants' Everyday Life:
Great Expectations, Reality, and Nostalgia***

The paper is based on the field evidence collected in 2007 and 2008. In the present-day globalizing world the phenomenon of human mobility has become a moving force of socio-cultural changes and technical progress and at the same time a cause of a great number of problems of different sorts including those studied by social anthropologists. The approach applied in this paper is based on the idea of looking at those problems in the light of their perception by the African migrants themselves. The measure of the migrants' psychological comfort depends crucially on two points (among others): On to what degree their dreams about, and expectations of life outside their home countries have come true, and how much they can preserve their original identities and elements of lifestyle in a foreign country. The most significant

means of satisfying the psychological need in promoting the original, “habitual” identity is participation in the diaspora’s activities. (Diaspora is seen by me as not a mere group of compatriots but as a net community that can give people the possibility to smoothen their nostalgic feelings, either in organized or non-organized forms.) From this standpoint, I discuss the activities of the African migrant groups in Moscow and those activities' estimation by the migrants themselves making special emphasis on the Nigerian community as most numerous and best organized.

Zinaida N. Ionova

(Peoples Friendship University of Russia, Sochi Branch)

***The Influence of Migration Processes on Religious Identity
(The Case of Sochi)***

The problems of traditional identity, including religious, attracts researches’ attention quite often, but peculiarities of religious situations in regions still remain understudied. Besides, the necessity of a differential approach to the state-religious relations in various parts of Russia has not been realized by the legislator yet. Meanwhile, the problem of religious identity, as current domestic and foreign practice show, is now acquiring especial importance. The topic of this research is formulation of the problem of the migration in the Northern Black Sea region’s influence on and consequences for religious identity of the population, and its role in the formation of a new civilizational identity. The Northern Black Sea region is a territory on which active processes of migration have been operating for a long time. Since the second half of the 19th century these processes have been initiated purposefully and controlled by the Russian Empire government for finishing as soon as possible of the Caucasian War and improving the new borders’ security. The migration policy of the authorities was not always well thought-out in terms of economic consequences, but it was clear and logical in terms of political consequences: that was a policy of predominance of at least Christian, if not Orthodox, Russian-speaking population. Russian people were to become a sign of Russia’s presence, while the Christian faith was to unite the mostly migratory population. In the USSR the region turned into an all-Union convalescent home, what inevitably strengthened its multiethnicity, but the state preserved control of migration and the orientation of the policy did not change – Russian population remained an additional (to Marxist ideology) state-forming element. Today the situation in the North-Western Caucasus is characterized by uncontrolled and disordered migration, despite its increased level. The migrants hold the traditional way of life, do not want to adapt and

exercise strong influence on the local community's culture which has always been "running" and hence unstable. What can happen in the present-day situation of absence of counter Russian migration and problems of traditional identities formation, both national and religious, is reduction of this group of population and complication of geopolitical situation in the region which the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union managed to construct with great difficulty. It is necessary not only to regulate the migration flows but also to have a differentiated state-religious policy that will allow to consolidate the geo-strategic presence of Russia in the Northern Caucasus.

Yaroslava V. Rakacheva

(Kuban State University, Krasnodar, Russia)

Educational Migrants in Russia:

Problems of Adaptation and Relation with Local Residents

A significant place in modern system of professional training is held by training abroad. Increasing number of people have wish and opportunity to get education outside their country. For a long time, Russia has been one of the most appealing countries for education migrants, attracted by the combination of rather high quality of education and its rather low cost. However, since recent time certain problems connected with foreign students' safety have arisen. In June 2007, we conducted a sociological research in the city of Krasnodar, one of the major centres of foreign students training in Russia for decades, focused on the problems of foreign students' adaptation and their relationship with locals. 731 students were involved (75% of their total number in the city educational centres at that moment). It turned out that the general level of their adaptation is quite satisfactory. More than half (51.6%) of the interviewed students testified that they feel quite comfortable in Krasnodar, about a third (36.6%) denoted it as normal, and 11.8% told that they feel uncomfortable because of being alienated as foreigners by local residents. 16.3% of the respondents confirmed that they had conflict experience with the locals, and more than 11.1% specified that there were some kinds of misunderstanding, what did not result in conflicts. Generally, the level of safety in the city, in the opinion of the interviewed students majority, is high enough. Only 2.9% expressed the view that the situation with safety is difficult. However, all clashes occur beyond the university and institute facilities. The high school environment is most tolerant. Quality of the education received and costs of educational services satisfy the majority of foreign students, and 59% of the interviewed ones are ready to recommend their relatives and friends training in higher educational institutions in Krasnodar and

Russia in general. In the meantime, 40.8% would refrain from such an advice what may signal that certain problems persist.

Vadim N. Rakachev

(Kuban State University, Krasnodar, Russia)

***Russia's Image in the Foreign Students' Perceptions:
Expectations and Realities***

What problems do foreign students face in the Russian land? How do they see Russia itself? Seeking to answer these questions, we have conducted a sociological-psychological query of the foreign students getting higher education in Krasnodar educational institutions. The respondents were foreign students from the countries of Africa, the Middle East, Central, South and South-Eastern Asia. Their gender proportion (70% – men, 30% – women) looks quite natural, since, as a rule, migration flows, including educational ones, are dominated by men. It may be attributed, to a large extent, to the fact that most foreign students come from the countries of conservative cultural traditions, characterised by low social mobility of women. The technique of 'trailed off statements' was used as a method of research. The respondents were asked to complete ten phrases starting with: 'Russia is ...' It is supposed that, by finishing the phrase freely, a respondent automatically produces associations that reflect both stereotypes and repercussions from his/her personal experience. We were especially interested in finding out the most spread stereotypes of the host country (Russia), their emotional charge (negative, positive or neutral), and in defining the general profile of the students' intercourse with local community. Generally, it may be concluded on the basis of the findings that Russia's image tends to be far more positive than negative in the foreign students' perceptions. The contacts with local community, despite being somewhat controversial, as a whole are acceptable for both sides. The results of the query show that positive associations and stereotypes prevail. The first position, in terms of referring frequency by the respondents, got *education* (54.8, positive emotional context), the second – *territorial and weather* conditions of Russia (46.6%, neutral context), the third – *alcohol and drinking* (32.9%, negative context), followed by *high cultural level* and the definition of *Russia as a great country* (29.8% and 26% respectively, both in positive context). The foreign students are quite eager to increase their knowledge of Russia and its peoples' values, rites and religions. In the course of staying and adaptation here, many of them change their view on Russia and begin to understand and love this country. But, to keep these tendencies alive, certain conditions are needed. Among them, first of

all, is the awareness of local community that the differences, whatever they may be, are not an obstacle for positive interaction and contacts.

Elena I. Nesterova

(Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow)

***Migration Policy of the Russian Empire on Distant Periphery
(The Case of the Southern Far East
in the Second Half of the 19th Century)***

In the mid-19th century Russia finally secured the south of the Far East. Despite declared freedom of settling, no European foreign colonies were created. Russian government preferred Russian subjects as colonists. Parallel to the Russian colonization stream, two spontaneous Asian streams – Chinese and Korean – were becoming more and more noticeable. A part of the Koreans have acquired the right to accept Russian citizenship, but their status remained unclear till the 1880s. It raised obstacles on the way of their inclusion in the Russian Empire's political space. The Koreans were eager to remain in Russia (they accepted Russian names, Christianity, etc.) while the majority of the Chinese migrants did not connect long-term plans with Russia. However, significant inflow and economic activity of the Chinese compelled Russia to take measures to protect her political and economic interests in the region as a part of Russian economic protectionism. The first measures on foreign presence restriction in the Far East were taken in 1882 when all the established privileges were prolonged for Russian citizens only. This decree marked the start of political protectionism in relation to the Russian Empire's subjects. Restriction of the foreigners' rights was reaffirmed in a number of laws issued in 1892 – 1911. Despite the negative attitude to the presence of Chinese in the frontier region, their transition in Russian citizenship was legislatively resolved. Before 1900 not less than 80 Chinese had applied for Russian citizenship. Shortage of hands during the World War I led to weakening of immigration restrictions. The absence of all-Empire immigration law was a specific feature of the situation in Russia. So, the laws aimed at regulation or restriction of the Chinese and Korean immigrants' number were almost always initiated by local authorities. The vast majority of the measures were economic restrictions.

Tatiana A. Saburova

(Omsk State Pedagogical University, Russia)

Community of Newcomers in Siberia in the Late 19th – Early 20th Century

The paper deals with the formation and specifics of the Siberian society as a community of newcomers in the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries. The key point of the paper is possibility and necessity to study Siberian society as a community of newcomers. Newcomers to Siberia were not only peasants but also businessmen, workers, administrators, and intellectuals. Therefore we can study the problem of relations and interactions between newcomers and old-timers in a wider context and within the frameworks of different communities. Firstly, we pay attention to relations between peasants – newcomers and old-timers – in the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century. There are a lot of different historical studies on this problem. On the one hand, some researchers note serious contradictions and struggle between them; on the other hand, some researchers suppose that newcomers were incorporated in the Siberian society and note their positive or negative influence in economic and cultural spheres. To my mind, the ways of newcomers' incorporation and formation of a new group and regional identity are very important questions. How and when did Russian peasants become Siberian peasants on the level of consciousness? We study different types of conflict in rural community in Siberia, the reasons and matters of these conflicts. The specifics of consciousness can be actually revealed in the situation of conflict. Secondly, the relations between local community and bureaucracy. Almost all the administrators were perceived as newcomers and “alien element” because they came from European Russia and usually went back in several years. They perceived the Siberian society as “alien” either. This situation was the cause of a lot of conflicts and a subject of critique. (The study is supported by the Russian State Foundation for Humanities, grant # 08-01-00420a).

Ivan Krott

(Omsk State Pedagogical University, Russia)

Siberian Migration Association of the Second Half of the 19th – Early 20th Centuries: Economic Behaviour of the Ethnic Migrants

The purpose of the paper is to study the characteristic features of adaptation and economic behaviour of ethnic (Jewish and German) migrants in Western Siberia in the late 19th – early 20th centuries within the framework of interdisciplinary synthesis. Basing on a great number of real examples, we reveal the specific features of regional economy displayed in zonal division of the market area and its segmentation according to its ethnic indication, trade and professional specialisation. The result of the research is that these ethnic mi-

grants had their own specific economic strategies and practices within this market area. The specific nature of social and economic structure of the Siberian society greatly determined the ethnic migrants' place in the regional social structure and economy. Restricting the opportunity of self-realization for the ethnic migrants, the accepting society used to act as if it directed all its energy to the economic activities. That is why the major part of the Jewish and German population of Western Siberia was occupied in agriculture, retail and wholesale trade, the service sphere. The share of the ethnic migrants in production and financial spheres was to a great extent less. In our opinion, the main reason for the ethnic entrepreneurship's development in Western Siberia in the late 19th – early 20th centuries was the ethnic migrants' socio-economic marginality. In this case marginality is being examined by us not as belonging to the social bottom but as state of status disparity. Thus, marginality is important as a characteristic of social structure but not as the entrepreneurs' individual characteristic. Not only the difficulties of migration as a "filter" that selected the most active people, but also their position in their new environment was the point. New market conditions that demanded searching for innovative economic strategies, resulted in a great splash of the entrepreneurs' activity. It seems to us that the migrants having felt their estrangement, on the one hand had to integrate within their own associations, but on the other hand to create their own niches within the framework of the regional market area, thus becoming a component of the Siberian society. During that time the Jewish and German population of Western Siberia preserved their ethnocultural originality: traditions, religion, etc.

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Lyudmila A. Dashkevich

(Institute of History and Archaeology, Ekaterinburg, Russia)

German Colonists in the Southern Urals

Considerable migration of German colonists to the Orenburg *gubernia* (province) started in the late 19th – early 20th centuries. The main reason for their migration was land shortage in the regions in which they lived before, within the colonies of South and Central Russia. 8,500 settlers inhabited newly established German colonies of Orenburg *gubernia* by 1915. They owned 73,000 *desyatina* and leased 13,000 *desyatina* of land (1 *desyatina* is approximately equal to 2.7 acres). Local landowners, merchants and Cossacks passed Orenburg land to German colonists. Initially, mother colonies helped the migrants financially in purchasing new lands. The German colonists who

settled in Orenburg *gubernia* were Lutherans, Mennonites and Catholics. The Mennonites' settlements were most numerous. Relations between colonies and local population were generally limited because the majority of migrants were not keen in the Russian language. Children in colonists' schools of Orenburg *gubernia* were educated in German. The Russian language was introduced as a special discipline in several schools only in the early 20th century. National separatism of colonies that retained the "German spirit" bothered local authorities. This spirit especially heightened after World War I. At the same time the great cultural role of hard-working German peasants distant from politics and capable of raising regional economy and creation of effective agriculture was acknowledged. Local population adopted from the Germans new more effective tools, methods of agriculture and cattle breeding.

Alexander N. Kurtzev
(Kursk State University, Russia)

***Russian Migrants and Old-Residents of the Remote Areas in 1861–1917:
From Partnership to Antagonism***

Since 1861 mass migration of poor peasants from central regions to the European remote, mainly Cossack, areas began. There they settled next-door to old-residents, supporting their well-being by leasing land surplus for rent and work for the proprietors, due to what they got the right to build houses of their own. Initially, the relations between the "settled nonresidents" and native Cossacks were marked by mutually beneficial social partnership, including highly developed agriculture, useful arts and trade's bringing in by the former. The negative factor was temporariness and dependence of the tenants' status, new settlers' lack of rights at the Cossack estate's omnipotence. The rapid increase in the number of migrants resulted in shortage of arable and farm lots, in strengthening of discrimination and, in fact, exploitation of the settled migrants, and also in the formation of a large group of "unsettled" newcomers, who worked as laborers for living as tenants at Cossacks' and also settled with houses newcomers'. All that, according to the report of the Kuban region authorities, had caused the growing "antagonism" in the relations between the migrants and the Cossack top, "sometimes running up to the open hostility and armed conflicts" already by the year 1905. The similar situation repeated in the areas of Siberian colonization, where the poor poured since 1896. Unaccustomed to the natural conditions, the peasants from central provinces were at first forced to rely more on the agricultural techniques of the old-residents. The estate equity of these two ranks, includ-

ing the resettling origin of the majority of the Siberian peasants, promoted their social cooperation. The hierarchy of the settlers was represented by the participants of privileged migration with free allotment of official lots in the uninhabited steppe and settlement to the old-residents and state newcomers either through purchase of the receiving sentences with getting farm lots and a possibility to build a house, or illegal habitation of the poorest unauthorized settlers with the only right to rent the land and dwelling. By 1917 the first contingent at a less degree than the second one contacted with the old-residents, often coming into conflicts. Although the third category suffered the greatest and increasing difficulties, it was opposed to the aggressive self-preservation reaction of the first settlers who were trying to secure the economic resources for their own offspring. An eye-witness noted in Tomsk *gubernia* (province) that tens of thousands of newcomers “kept household on rented land without any hope for registration”, since an “unregistered migrant, living in a village, provided some benefit not only to an old-resident but also to a registered migrant: he provided cheap labor force, was a consumer of products at high prices and, finally, was a tenant”. The overall result of the aforesaid was the formation of mutual hostility of many migrants and old-residents on the eve of the Civil War bloodshed.

PANEL XXV

The Use of Symbolic Identities as Cultural Models of Power Legitimation: The Case of the Navy and Merchant Fleet

Convenor: *Ioannis Sideris* (Merchant Marine Academy of Greece, Thermi)

This proposal aims at the presentation of a research undergoing within the frameworks of the Maritime Education and concerned with the variety of cultural patterns of power legitimation on board military and merchant ships. These cultural patterns of legitimacy construction are viewed as being parallel, converging, or conflictuous to the official mechanisms distributing authority and power in the setting of a military or merchant ship manned by a multinational/multicultural crew. In particular, being the largest in the world by transporting capacity, the Greek-owned merchant shipping industry operates under a variety of flags [registries] and employs crews of many different national and ethnic origins [mainly Asians and Eastern Europeans]. The Greek-owned shipping industry is not only the most globalized and financially successful branch of the Greek economy, but it is so in comparison with the rest of its competitors as well. As in any globalized economic environment, the imperatives structuring the coexistence of different national, ethnic, and cultural factors in the workplace are interweaved with and affected by a number of well known phenomena, namely inter-ethnic conflict, nationalist and religious presumptions, or, simply, unavoidable ingredients of a still semantically dominant but controversial "Clash of Civilizations". In the light of the findings of the undergoing research, the above mentioned phenomena are not independent of the cultural models of power and hierarchy legitimation, as these latter often function as inter-cultural translators providing acceptable and workable individual perceptions of hierarchical relations. Hierarchy as an organizing principle of human groups, and the creation, transformation, or mutation of symbolic identities as a means to overcome the conflictuous character of hierarchy formation, is the object of our study whose most salient aspects would be presented at the panel. More precisely, we shall make use of a research on the maritime microcosm to focus, in a structurally encompassing manner, on the following issues / problematics of the Conference: 1). ideology and legitimation of power in different civilizational contexts, where we shall examine the role of the socially dominant ideologies in the shaping of individual cognitive schemata; 2). cultural models of power's perception in different civilizations, where we shall try to

articulate the artifact of symbolic identity with the existence of cultural patterns of legitimacy construction; 3). power, society, and culture in the era of globalization, where we shall propose an alternative reading of the inter-cultural dynamics in regard to what is currently considered as up-to-date theory in "Managerial Anthropology", inter-cultural management, and conflict resolution studies.

Ioannis Sideris
(Merchant Marine Academy
of Greece, Thermi)

Symbolic Identities at Play amongst Crew Members of Merchant Ships

The environment of a merchant ship construes a field offering significant advantages for the study of phenomena related to issues of “identity”, conflict, and hierarchy. It must be stated here that I use the term “identity” to refer to all those processes of identification, segregation, contradistinction and regrouping resulting in a construct expressed in formulae such as “We” and “Others”. Studying the questions that derive from identity issues of seafarers who man the Greek-owned merchant ships, which involve not only the young trainees but mature seamen as well, I have been repeatedly confronted with data revealing the ambiguous, fluid, and interchangeable character of “identities”. I should also stress the fact that I approached the subject-matter of the “identity issues” from two different angles: the first one examines human behaviour as “rule-governed”, while the second one faces human behaviour as simply “rule-describable”. At this moment I do not intend to deal with comparisons or juxtapositions between “objectivist” and “constructivist” ontologies grounding the comprehension of certain social practices. I shall try, instead, to determine the aforementioned phenomena of ambiguity, fluidity and interchangeability of identities in relation with the [trans-]formation of parallel hierarchies -official as well as informal- and the legitimisation of power relations on board ships. In this presentation I shall try to identify some of the relations existing between the culturally informed models of legitimisation of power and hierarchy and their translation by individuals performing and developing personal strategies at the workplace. I shall examine some cases of individual performances of the legitimisation process which try to cope with various conflictual relations on board ships. Finally, I shall attempt a reading of these performances as cases of intercultural dynamics in a highly globalised environment.

Georgios Gotzamanis
(Merchant Marine Academy AEN of Macedonia
N. Michaniona, Greece)

Aristotelis Naniopoulos
(Aristotelian University, Thessaloniki, Greece)

***Towards an Assessment of the Impact of Internet
on the Human Element in Shipping***

A characteristic trait of modern times is the continuously increasing access to information and to information-based services. Personal computers have become an indispensable tool in every house, school and company, offering exceptional possibilities concerning the production, treatment and distribution of information. The rapid growth of using the Internet has offered an easy and low-cost way of connecting with many computers, providing what is generally known as information super highway, with astonishing possibilities and applications in all sectors, including that of shipping. The containerisation is regarded as the most important technological change in shipping. The significance of "integrated transport chain", in which marine transport constitutes an essential constituent, has received a lot of attention in transport bibliography. During the last decades innovative methods of cargo handling have been developed and are still being developed, whilst computers are often used to serve loading – unloading of the cargo with a simple advisory operation function or even control function. These new cargo handling technologies reduce the total amount of work for the transport of cargo from port to port. Owing to the extensive use of computers and automations, in a lot of cases, the seafarer's duties have been decreased to a mere passive control. Moreover, a known specificity of marine profession is the difficulty to maintain a regular family life as well as to establish personal relations on shore. In a way, the new cargo handling technologies have rendered the previous problems more profound. The newly introduced cargo handling techniques increase the sense of isolation and loneliness experienced by crew members on board, whilst reducing at the same time their leisure in port. New communication technologies can be used, among other applications, for computer-to-computer and person-to-person communication. The crew members can communicate with people on shore using the telephone and the fax, along with e-mails and other Internet services. The use of these new technologies for person-to-person communication has improved the possibility for crew members to keep in touch with their family and friends. The present paper discusses the effects of the Internet on human element in the shipping industry by taking into account elements from the relevant bibliography together

with the results from a questionnaire survey addressed to Merchant Marine cadet officers as well as shipping companies.

PANEL XXVI

Traditional Identities in Modern Social and Political Processes in the Caucasus

Convenors: *Enver F. Kisriev* (Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia); *Robert Bruce Ware* (Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, USA); *Naima Neflyasheva* (Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)

The Caucasus is a very specific region of the world where various communities based on deeply rooted traditional modes of social ties (clan-like, Jamaat-like, ethnic, religious and other identities) preserve their stability and actually reveal themselves in social and political life. When after the collapse of the Soviet Union some radical political transformations occurred in the Caucasus, studies relating to regeneration of the traditional Caucasian identities and their participation in social and political processes developing in the states of the Southern Caucasus as well as in North Caucasian subjects of the Russian Federation acquired a strong scientific and practical interest.

Sergey Bur'yanov

(Moscow City Pedagogical University, Russia)

The Problems of Religious Freedom and State's Secularity
in the Context of the Socio-political Situation in the Caucasus

С.А. Бурьянов

(Московский городской
педагогический университет, Россия)

***Проблема реализации принципов
свободы совести и светскости государства
в контексте общественно-политической ситуации на Кавказе***

В современной России реализация конституционных принципов свободы совести и светскости государства сталкивается с серьезными трудностями, следствием чего являются нарушения прав верующих, в т.ч. мусульман. Особую озабоченность вызывают действия российских силовиков. Непродуманная и опасная политика конфессиональных различий федерального центра служит катализатором напряженности на Кавказе. В результате мусульмане ощущают себя дискриминированными, а

то и вовсе чужими в России. Все это чревато не только эскалацией насилия, всплеском терроризма, но и распадом федеративной системы.

John Colarusso

(McMaster University, Hamilton, Canada)

Circassian Hierarchy

Few societies were more hierarchical than that of the Circassians and their kin, the Ubykhs, the Abkhaz, and the Abazas. All of these peoples had four social strata: princes, nobles, freemen, and slaves. These strata were virtually castes: if born into one, there was little prospect of rising, nor of falling. Within the strata were even forms of sub-ranking. One would envision an extremely autocratic social pattern for authority, and yet this complex ranking scheme had numerous ways in which the needs and opinions of the lower strata were expressed to the upper ones. Princes and nobles who were indifferent to such channels were traditionally seen as overreaching in their roles and authority. They were considered bad princes or nobles. In the past 140 years this stratified system has eroded. The result is a considerable degree of turmoil in which ambitious individuals seek to attain lofty status in what they see as a replication of the old ways. Wounded pride, thwarted ambition, and frequent resentment still plague modern social relations because of a misconstrual of the older social rankings and their function. In fact, a natural democratic spirit now dominates among most Circassians. with open debate expressed to leaders at public meetings. This openness, however, is coupled with tendencies to strong loyalty. This unusual social dynamics enabled Circassian society to adapt to adverse conditions for millennia.

Eleonora B. Kamkiya

(Peoples Friendship University of Russia, Sochi Branch)

***Traditional Institutions and Modern Political-and-Legal Sphere
(The Republic of Abkhazia Case)***

The ordeals close to fortunetelling, named God's Judgement, are known from the history of the Middle Ages. It should be noted, as well as they were know in Greek antiquity. We can meet them in other so-called primitive societies. In the Middle Ages ordeals were the delegation of the upshot process decision into God's hands. This phenomenon has been existed in modern Abkhazia, in spite of its rare utilization. "Anykhi" the holy places for praying, from the olden times in Abkhazia as protection from external encroachment

and regulation of the social relations in Abkhazian society. People resorted to the help of sanctuary in the most tangled situations, in complex conflicts between different Abkhazian society representatives. In modern conditions sanctuaries are still acting as "high authority" to which people resort in case of "complete absence or insufficiency of proof in disputes", when there is no hope on truth establishment by earthly possible way and restoration of fairness, when there is no possibility to influence a person's behaviour in a different way when he is suspected in committing a crime when there is impossible to bring out the suspected as well as chastise the one who offended. Furthermore, people address to the specified institute because here the truth can be fixed in disputes which the court and the public prosecutor's office do not cope with. The study of importance given institute in regulation of relations in modern society has shown that it can influence not only people's privacy, but also politician-legal sphere. In particular, the matter is on the modern history events – the war of 1992-1993 and the addressing to the "anykh" of the Republic's leadership at the recommendation of the elders to curse the ones who came with arms to Abkhazia.

Enver F. Kisriev

(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)

Ethno-parties as Subjects of Political Processes in the North Caucasus

The subjects of an internal political process inside democratic states are political parties. Presently, political processes are organized by almost all of the countries on party basis. The first parties emerged on the basis of class interests, but their further evolution in different countries was divergent. On the one hand, there are a lot of examples when a party seized power by force and had an absolute rule of the country. On the other hand, we presently observe the permanently growing tendency of establishing the so-called "catch-all parties" – the parties oriented to support of population in general irrespective of the people's status, place and role in the public relations structure. The key role of parties in realizing political processes requires that academic political studies focus on the parties. However, it would be taken into account fact that many of them long ago turned into forms deprived of any contents. They are only a façade hiding the real, quite differently organized forces. Political process has always been and remains a struggle for power and resources between public forces opposing each other. Therefore, a researcher should aim at revealing these genuine subjects of political relations. The analysis of a historically formed social structure, the character of traditional relations and the system of the most meaningful identities conditioned by them could help

to achieve this goal. Our investigations of the political process in Dagestan during radical reformatations in the 90th allowed us to reveal, behind the façade of numerous public organizations emerging at that period of time, the real subjects of the political relations. They originated from people belonging to one and the same Jammaat or a union of historically close to each other medieval city-states that in the past made the basis for political identification of Dagestani people. We called those structures “ethno-parties” as they had all attributes of a party, i.e. a required share in corporate interest, an organization headed by a leader, a sufficient number of activists required for conduction of some actions, some financial and mass support of some segments of the population. However, their solidarity is based on specific traditionalist identities. An observance of the political process in other North Caucasian republics also allowed us to single out some specific ethno-parties. However, they are based on other, peculiar to those societies, basic identities of traditionalist character.

Elena Kobakhidze

(North Ossetian Institute for Humanitarian
and Social Research, Vladikavkaz, Russia)

***Structure of Public Power in the Social System
of Traditional Mountain Societies of the Central Caucasus***

Essential features of social organization of mountain societies of the Central Caucasus on the boundary of the 18th – 19th centuries (the beginnings of active introduction of the Russian state-administrative regulations in the traditional mountain everyday life) were the basis for the formation of power relations of potestary-political character. The patriarchal power institutes were the bearers of public power in its various aspects (executive, legal regulative and judicial). However the character and the volume of their functions have not been strictly regulated and varied in accordance with complexity of social units. Being the most important functional characteristic of the traditional society, the public power was the basis for its cyclic reproduction and simultaneously, the provision for the internal dynamics. The internal dynamics of the social system compensated the absence of external dynamics; it was determined by interaction of the system’s structural elements, alteration of its characteristics and functions in accordance with hierarchical position and the degree of structural order. The volume and the degree of internal organization of structural units of the traditional mountain society correlates with hierarchy of power relations, the aspects of which are shown to various degree on each level of hierarchical social system. As a whole the space of traditional

power is outlined by the dichotomy positions “one-man ruling – collective ruling”: on the lower levels of social hierarchy the authoritative power of the head of family-related structure is confirmed, the complication of social units leads to the increase of the role and social importance of collective principles of administration, which have been fully represented in the institute of collective gatherings. The non-formalized, “irrational” character was the universal social characteristic of the traditional power. This feature has conditioned the personification of separate aspects and power categories and their forming as interpersonal, defined in terms of kinship independent of real blood relationship of the community members. The power was treated as a special kind of the interpersonal interaction constructed on recognition of authority. The authority and influence of elders and elders’ councils on various levels of the social system intertwined with indisputable authority of collective gatherings, supplementing each other according to a concrete social context.

Naima Neflyasheva

(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)

The Modern Religious Identities in the Northwestern Caucasus: Transformation and Cooperation

Forming three principally new types of identities is one of the main tendencies in the modern ethnocultural processes in the Northwestern Caucasus. An actualization of the traditional Adygei identity which is based on the “Adygei khabze”, the vision, moral, ethic and behavioral code, has been happening against the background of both constructing the Adygei statehood in the 90-ties and intensifying relations with the Adygei diaspora in the Middle East. There are following reasons to form the “Adygei discourse”: local historical studies to have reached their peak at the end of 80-ties, an unofficial mediaspace with an independent press and web-sites, world Adygei congresses; Adygei non-government organizations, and local genealogical legends where families and clans are usually said to be nobler and more ancient than they are. The final ideological goal for bearers of this identity is an unfinished (though remaining chances to be risky fulfilled) political project called “The Great Circassia” which is actively supported by the non-government movement “The Circassian Congress”. The South Ossetia and, especially, Abkhazia independence recognition process gave a new impulse to develop narratives of the Adygei-Abkhazian ethnogenetical past and to actualize the ethnical identity. It must be stressed that, within the framework of this discourse, the religious component was not a dominating one, and this fact fairly allowed some researchers to define “khabze” as the religion of the Adygei

(the Circassian). There is, also, a competitive, based on the moderate Salafi ideology, discourse which has been forming in close connections to the crisis of the “Adygei khabze”. Within the discourse, an idea of monotheism and all Muslims’ brotherhood is central and there exist no nationalities, cultures, and territories. In the Northwestern Caucasus, a relatively small group of new (young) Muslims has become bearers of this identity. At last, it is a principally new event for the last 10-15 years that ethnically Muslims have been becoming members of Jehovah's Witnesses, especially in the Northwestern (the republics of Adygei and Kabardino-Balkaria) and the Central Caucasus (the republic of the North Ossetia). In the nearest future, these identities will coexist and develop hand in hand, and the external political situation will be determining a level of their mutual conflicts

Michael Reynolds
(Princeton University, USA)

***The Caucasus Army of Islam:
Ottoman Intervention and the Fate of Panislam in the Caucasus in 1918***

This paper draws on Ottoman, Russian, and Azeri language sources to examine the formation and impact of the Caucasus Army of Islam and Ottoman intervention in the Caucasus during the waning months of World War I. Enver Pasha, the Ottoman Minister of War, established the Caucasus Army of Islam in the spring of 1918 for the purpose of mobilizing local Caucasian Muslims to liberate the newly born republics of Azerbaijan and the North Caucasus from the Bolsheviks and to establish buffer states between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. By recruiting Caucasian Muslims to serve in its ranks under Ottoman volunteer officers, the Army of Islam was to accomplish two functions. The first was to alleviate the Ottoman manpower shortage by utilizing native Caucasians. The Army of Islam would also function as a training force for Caucasians and bequeath the new Azeri and North Caucasian republics a cadre of experienced soldiers and an effective contemporary military institution, and thereby bolster their viability as independent states. Although established nominally in the name of the Caliph, the Army of Islam represented a modern innovation in that it sought to attract and mobilize Caucasian Muslims directly through appeal to their individual identities as Muslims, as opposed to tribal, dynastic or sectarian identities. The participation of local Muslims was intended to endow the army with a legitimacy suited to an era of self-determination. Thus its second function was to serve as a screen for Ottoman activity, enabling the Ottoman state to achieve its goals while denying responsibility or control over the Army of Islam. The paper follows

the Army of Islam from its genesis as an idea in February 1918 through its operations in Azerbaijan and Dagestan up until its disbandment at the end of the war in October 1918. The paper examines its reception by native Caucasians and its impact upon local politics.

Walter Richmond

(Occidental College, Los Angeles, USA)

Circassian Attempts at the Formation of a Central Government, 1830-1864

This paper analyzes the issues that impeded efforts made in Circassia to create a centralized government during the Caucasus Wars with Russia. Three aspects are addressed. First, the traditional power structures in Circassian society made it nearly impossible to develop an effective government. Second, a civil war had just begun in Circassia as the war with Russia escalated, and this caused loyalties to change repeatedly as the different factions vied with one another. Third, interference by external forces, particularly Imam Shamil and the British, caused further internal rifts in Circassian society. The traditional form of government in Circassia was feudalism combined with a form of proto-democratic assembly called the *khase*. Each of these elements suffered from serious shortcomings. On the one hand, there was no dominant aristocratic family or families, and so factions continually fought among themselves, and tribes frequently split and merged. On the other hand, no decision made at a *khase* could have the force of law unless it was unanimously approved, and even then there was no enforcement mechanism. Complicating this system further were the *tleuzhes*, “brotherhoods” that cut across tribal lines. A complex system of customary law was also frequently at odds with whatever authority might exist, and the average Circassian was more likely to respect the traditions than any authority figure. As Russo-Circassian hostilities escalated at the beginning of the 19th Century, Circassian society was in the early stages of a civil war. The Abadzekh, Natukai and Shapsegh tribes, the three largest, overthrew their aristocracy and established “democratic” rule. In an attempt to re-establish their dominance, some aristocrats turned to the Russians, while others turned to the Ottomans. The result was to further fragment Circassian society at a moment when unity was essential to national survival. At this crucial point, two conflicting forces worked to unify the Circassians in accordance with their own needs. The Circassians themselves, initially encouraged by British covert agents, took steps to create an effective government that could unify all the tribes against the Russians. This government was to be an adaptation and development of the quasi-democratic *khase* system. Unfortunately, the British were not suffi-

ciently interested in the fate of the Circassians to follow through on their promises, and all Circassian efforts failed. At the same time, Imam Shamil sent deputies (*naibs*) to Circassia to unify the tribes under an Islamic banner, and with the ultimate goal of creating a pan-Caucasian front to combat the Russians. This resulted in a competition between the third *naib*, Muhammad Amin, and a Circassian leader, Sefer-Bei Zanoko, for authority over the Circassians. Because of the reasons outlined above, the Circassians were ultimately unable to create a centralized authority that could deal with the Russians either diplomatically or militarily. The conclusion of this paper will speculate on the role this played in the long-term fate of the region.

Domitilla Sagramoso
(Kings College, London, UK)

Violence and Islam in the Russian North Caucasus

Over the past years, a loose network of formally autonomous violent groups, or Islamic *jamaats*, has developed throughout the North Caucasus, primarily in the Muslim republics of Ingushetia, Dagestan, Karachaevo-Cherkessia and Kabardino-Balkaria. Over the past five to six years these groups have conducted many terrorist attacks against law enforcement structures, government officials and also local religious figures. Despite regular efforts by security forces to subdue these Islamic terrorist networks, the situation remains highly volatile. Responsibility for most of the killings and attacks in the North Caucasian republics is regularly claimed by Islamic *jamaats*—or communities—calling for the withdrawal of Russia's presence from the region and the establishment of an Islamic state. They strive for the separation of the North Caucasus from Russia, and the replacement of the existing secular and pro-Russian regimes by Islamic rule based on the Shari'a, or Islamic code of law. Islamic ideals thus seem to guide and inspire much of the terrorist violence, although they are intermingled with deep nationalist sentiments, especially among rebel groups in Chechnya. However, the intricacies of the violence in the North Caucasus are much more complex, and are only partially related to the spread of radical Islam and separatist aspirations. Other underlying factors, such as the perpetuation of discredited and corrupt ruling elites, the persistence of severe economic hardship, youth unemployment and social alienation, and the absence of proper and effective channels of political expression are also driving the violence. By looking into the region's unsatisfactory socio-economic and political conditions and analysing the development of political Islam in the region, the presentation will try to elucidate the drivers of the current violence in the North Caucasus.

Richard Sakwa
(University of Kent, Canterbury, UK)

***Great Powers and Small Wars in the Caucasus:
How the Cold Peace Turned into a Hot War in 2008***

The paper evaluates the failure of the international political order established after the disintegration of the Soviet bloc in 1989-91 to establish a viable and inclusive international system of security and development. The focus will be on how this has played out in the Caucasus. The war in Chechnya was the longest and arguably the most bitter conflict on the territory of the former Soviet Union, yet some sort of resolution has emerged based on a sultanist regime in a clientelistic relationship with Moscow. In assessing the Chechen war(s) from 1994 until 2008, we can identify the emergence of a Russian 'dual state', in which the state as a normative/legal entity has increasingly given way to the prerogative state on issues of vital interest such as territorial integrity and access to resources. Whilst a variety of transnational forces may have contributed towards the emergence of so-called 'new' wars in Chechnya, any new type of peace that will emerge in the Caucasus will be determined by continuing renovations in Russian domestic politics, which in turn are a response to changing power relations in the international system. To understand conflict in and around Russia, it is vital that we get Russia right. The failure to do so helped precipitate the 'Five-Day War' in Georgia in August 2008. If we can do so, we can better understand not just the war in Chechnya, but other conflicts such as the struggles in Georgia, not to mention gaining a more nuanced sense of Russian priorities in its dealings with other former republics of the USSR and the world at large.

Inga Z. Sukhanova
(Peoples Friendship University of Russia, Sochi Branch)
***The Role of Customary Law in the Society of Adigeya
in the Beginning of the 19th Century***

The North-Western Caucasus in the beginning of the 19th century was fragmented in a social-political way. According to the nature of a political structure and a form of administration scientists divide Adigi on the tribes: "aristocratic and democratic". The regulation of the public relations of Adigi in the beginning of the 19th century was realized by the customary law. By the beginning of the 19th century the customary-law structure in the society of Adi-

geya had been prevailing over the others that can be defined as a degree of “democracy of the society”. However, the result of the democracy of adigi seems quite ambiguous. Touching on lawful relations between nobility and free peasantry “the democracy of the society” was not changing the status of the categories of the population that was not free – serf peasants – and it was reflecting on the social structure. On the level of the customary law were solving the questions of punishment, there were no prisons and physical punishment. The punishments were limited to fines that were proportionate to degree of the misdemeanour which were increasing in case of its repetition. The main form of punishments for different crimes consisted of property payments. Basing on “adats”, civil and criminal cases were resolved. Judges were electing from the most authoritative people in the society and they were named “thari ohas” that means “jurors”. Blood enmity usually was finishing by reconciliation of the enemy sides with the help of the court of mediators. The trial was public and open. The infinite court disputes that were explained that the custom or “adat” did not determine the time of lawsuit prescription and all the old rights had the objective juridical meaning that is reflected in the documents of the mountain oral courts. The important question was the formation of the system of legal proceedings and judicial system in the customary law of adigi. Before the appearance of Russians in the Northern Caucasus the highlanders had the court of arbitration. Special court institutions – “megkeme” were created with the reforms of Mohammed Amin. Norms of the customary law of adigi in the beginning of the 19th century were the juridical norms of the feudal type basing on the custom and tradition of the society. They were carrying the imprint of the normative syncretism which was the leading sign of the social-normative culture in the ancient times.

Fahri Turk

(Trakya University, Edirne, Turkey)

The Role of Sufism in Politics of Chechnya

The specific geographical and ethnocultural characteristics of the North Caucasus predetermined a primary role for Sufism in its societal and political evolution. Despite a century-long suppression, by the Russia, Sufi Islam has survived and continued to influence the everyday life and politics of the region. Sufi Islam received an impulse as a result of the political and religious liberalization of the early Yeltsin government. Sufism has turned into one of the cultural denominators of Dagestanis, Chechens and Ingushes. Local Sufis are characterized by their pretensions to religious exclusivity, a fanatical commitment to their faith and absolute submission to religious authorities.

Furthermore, post-communist national revival has facilitated the merger between the Sufi structures and semi-illicit ethnic clans. As a result, the wirts (tarigas) have begun to play an increasing role in political and economic spheres, assuming an intermediary function in resolving disputes between clans. In Chechnya the Sufi revival has been determined by the dynamic of the Russian-Chechen conflict. There the political, economic and corporate interests of the Chechen participants of conflict have had certain priority over their religious affiliation. Thus during the first Chechen war in 1994-96 the Chechen Kadiriis and Wahhabis fought together against the Russian federal forces, and most Naqshbandiis remained uninvolved in the conflict. With other words Chechen nationalists could not mobilize Naqshbandiis for the war of independence and tried to advance their rapprochement with the Kadiriis that were much more disadvantaged than the Naqshbandiis during the Soviet time.

Thomas de Waal

(Conciliation Resources, London, UK)

Elites and the Nagorny Karabakh Conflict: Leaders or Led?

Armenian and Azerbaijan elites have "instrumentalized" the Karabakh dispute since 1988 to pursue political goals, using the "sacred cause" of Karabakh for their own purposes. In the perestroika era they competed for influence in Moscow and ruled out dialogue with one another. But since the 1994 ceasefire, this hard-line discourse has ultimately trapped elites, with the result that they are afraid to open up the discussions they have in private in the negotiations sponsored by the Minsk Group co-chairs to a wider public. Leaders still express sharply differing negotiating positions and strongly nationalistic stances on the Nagorny Karabakh conflict that draw on historical discourses which have deep resonance their societies. The elites have an effective monopoly of the negotiating process, treating with suspicion contributions to the peace process from other actors and non-governmental activists. For progress to be made in the peace process, international actors need to offer simultaneously greater incentives to elites to make peace, with greater threat of sanction if there is no progress.

Robert Bruce Ware

(Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, USA)

Vertical vs. Horizontal: The Historical Struggle of Expansionism and Localism in the Northeastern Caucasus

This paper analyzes the historic, three-way struggle among indigenous, Islamic, and Russian approaches to social organization in the North Caucasus. While distinctive and varied among themselves, most indigenous forms of North Caucasian social organization are relentlessly particularist and parochial. Historically, these indigenous forms have come into conflict with a series a hierarchical, or otherwise absolutist, forms of social organization that have provided for the geographical expansion of great empires across the lowlands to the north and south of the Caucasus Mountains. Arabs, Mongol, Persian, and Russian empires (among others) have expanded by means of social organizations designed for lowland societies until they have bumped up against the Caucasian highlanders. The history of the region has been characterized by periods of stark opposition, and by periods of relative compromise, between these methods of expansive social organization, on the one hand, and the particularism of the highlanders, on the other. For the last two centuries, Russian and Islamic forms of expansive social organization have competed in their efforts to control or co-opt the highlanders. For example, Imam Shamil waged war upon the Dagestani djamaats at the same time that he fought the imperial Russians in the first half of the nineteenth century. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the tsarist administration supported village structures and adat against the Islamic hierarchy. Today, quasi-traditional forms of Russian hierarchical domination are competing in the North Caucasus against the expansive absolutism of Islamist extremism. Neither form is compatible with the traditional localism of the North Caucasus. The winner in the current struggle between Russia and the Islamists will be the side that most successfully appeals to the traditions of North Caucasian social organization.

Anna Zelkina

(London University, UK)

***Islamist Tendencies in the Post-Soviet Muslim Societies
in the Global Context***

The beginning of the 21st century has been marked by the high profile of socio-cultural and political (including militant) activity of the radical Islamist groups. This activity is not confined to any particular country or region but rather is a phenomenon that manifests itself on the global scale. In my presentation I propose to place the development of radical Islamist groups in the Russian Federation in the context of the global Islamist movement. The purpose of the investigation is to try to establish the way trans-national Islamist

ideology has been internalised by certain groups of the Muslims in the RF, how these groups fit into the broader Islamist framework and how they influence the religious, political and cultural landscape of the Muslim societies in the Russian Federation.

Akhmet Yarlikapov

(Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow, Russia)

“Our Name Must Be on the Map of the Republic!” (Formation of Districts with Ethnic Names in the Republic of Carachaevo-Cherchessia)

А.А. Ярлыкапов

(Институт этнологии и антропологии, Москва, Россия)

“Наше имя должно быть на карте республики!” (Создание районов с этническими названиями в Карачаево-Черкесской республике)

Карачаево-Черкесия, как и Кабардино-Балкария, ошибочно считается двухсубъектной республикой. На самом деле титульными народами здесь считаются не только карачаевцы и черкесы, но также и русские, абазинцы и ногайцы. Тем не менее в названии республики поименованы только два из пяти «субъектообразующих» народов. Это приводит к чувству «ущемленности» у представителей остальных народов. Выступления лидеров национальных движений двух этносов – абазинцев и ногайцев закончились появлением на карте республики двух новых районов, соответственно Абазинского и Ногайского. Их появлению предшествовало непрерывное обострение межэтнических трений, в частности, из-за земельного вопроса в случае с абазинами, которые считали, что их «древние родовые земли» захватываются карачаевцами, а тесное соседство с родственными черкесами приводит к растущей ассимиляции и потере языка. Ногайцы же считали, что создание на базе считавшегося ранее ногайским Икон-Халкского района более крупного Адыгее-Хабльского района было откровенным издевательством над ними. Дело в том, что название районного центра переводится как «Адыгский аул», и район, в котором по-прежнему большинство составляли ногайцы, фактически нес наименование другого этноса. Дополнялось все тем, что пост главы района всегда занимал черкес. Часто эти проблемы умело использовались кандидатами на пост главы республики. Обещая создать районы для абазинцев и ногайцев привлекали их голоса Семенов, а также Батдыев. Под конец своего президентства Батдыев и провел серию мероприятий, закончившихся исполнением этих его предвыборных обещаний. Создание Абазинского и Ногайского районов в Карачаево-

Черкесии – свидетельство глубокого кризиса в сфере межэтнических отношений, национальной политики и создания единой российской политической нации.

PANEL XXVII

Transfer of Institutions and Technologies in the Context of Dialogue of Civilizations

Convenor: *Yuri V. Gromyko* (Institute for Advanced Studies
“Human Capital Development“, Moscow, Russia)

Among the most important constituent bases of the contemporary world are communicability and transferability, especially insofar as they concern institutions and technological systems (both industrial and humanitarian) at the level of interstate relations. The study and explanation of phenomena such as the interaction and transfer of institutions and technologies, particularly from the perspective of power and politics, are thus one of the most challenging tasks pertaining to the goal of establishing regional and global security, as well as of preserving identities. Is Russia prepared today to not only borrow and acquire institutions and technologies - first and foremost "Western" ones - but also translate them? What are the place and role of the state itself as an institution and how can this institutional and technological transfer be accomplished in the context of dialogue of civilizations? What is to happen both to the country identity and to ethnic identities in such a context? What humanitarian technologies should be like? These are questions that actually inquire into the place, part, and functions of the state as a political institution in the contemporary world. The present-day world of globalization is the Oikoumene that is deteriorating because of the unrestrained expansion of a limited set of technologies over the entire universe - technologies destroying biological and sociocultural diversity in the world - as well as because of the imposing on all residents of the "global village" of a narrow circle of values obliterating their identities. The overcoming of "egoculturalism" and the building of an intercivilization dialogue are the most pressing problems of nowadays. The examination of these issues and possible projects of solving problems of global and regional security are the focus of the section. Problems for discussion: 1). Principal characteristics of the contemporary world and the role of the state as a political institution; 2). The transfer of institutions and technologies: historical, regional, cultural, and political aspects; 3). The translation of institutions and technologies in the context of the issue of maintenance and preservation of identities.

Yuri V. Gromyko
(Institute for Advanced Studies)

“Human Capital Development“, Moscow, Russia)
***Transfer of Institutions and Technologies
in the Context of Dialogue of Civilizations***

The current world financial economical crisis reveals the absence of ideas of new techno-industrial and socio-cultural set-ups that can change existing world capitalist order and its institutions. The transition to a new socio-cultural set-up supposes creation of new technologies in the frame of infra-structural-industrial platforms that could be realized only as a product of international cooperation between different countries. The example of such platforms are corridors of development that are simultaneously transport highway, informational and energy transportation, exchange of engineering knowledge epistemic highway. The basis of sovereignty of any country consists in its capability to manage and to integrate institutes of practically oriented fundamental science, with institutes of developing education and with institutes of innovative industry. Transition of such institutions to the third countries is the most important condition to stimulate not the growth and the profitable exploitation of resources of these countries but genuine process of development. So the supranational context of overcoming the financial crisis is connected with the right of every country for development that must be formulated as a special statute or rule of international law. The confirmation of such a statute or rule for every country of its sovereign right for development is the condition of transition to the new civilization set-up. Russia has experience of such institutional transition that was organized first of all in the Soviet Union to launch in different national republics Academies of science, different industries and educational institutions. Russian science is also the result of institutional transfer within the project of Leibniz to organize fundamental science institution in Russia according to the pattern of German science institutions.

Hilde K. Link
(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München, Germany)
Identity and Value Systems: German Companies in India

German companies discover India as a profitable location. But a company as such does not exist. It is always man and his social and cultural environment, who is responsible for loss and gain. So German company-members in India have to face habits and traditions of their Indian colleagues, based on different value systems, and vice versa. Nevertheless a German company expects all its members, also the Indian ones, to identify with value systems, which

are part of its own culture. The individual culture of an employee is expected to be congruent with the company's culture to maximize gain. In countries like Japan, the employee of a company identifies with the company's success. The company's success is his success. This does not work out in India. There the individual culture is not congruent with the foreign company's culture. One of the most important values for companies, in Germany as well as in India, is responsibility. Responsibility as a value, which is absolutely necessary to lead any company, wherever on the world, into success. I state that managers in India as well as in Germany use one and the same word (responsibility) as a form with different contents. A wide field of intercultural conflicts opens, which always ends in the question: Who has the power in which hierarchical system?

Ksenia Gerasimova
(Cambridge University, UK)

***A New Generation of NGOs (Nongovernmental Organizations):
An Artificial Import of the Institutions and Implications for Development***

The main focus of such developmental debates is quite often placed in the economic format, including multinational corporations, the economic integration of the regions, the less associated with this theme is the topic of the recent growth of the nonprofit sector. Despite the existing optimistic evaluations in philanthropic style of the potential of this phenomenon, I would like to argue that it is a pattern of a bigger process, called globalization, and show certain related concerns. First, it is important to show that the sector has similar features in its contemporary development as business (although it is different from business and has a nonprofit nature), such as the increased number of mergers among nongovernmental organizations, a recorded shift to the service-providing function and a general commercialization of the sector. This proves that the recent generation of NGOs is completely different from their predecessors; and the sector is a field of major social and economical transformations. Basically, the business techniques are being transferred to the third sector. Then I will introduce my argument about the recent rise of 'new' NGOs being an artificial import of the institutions from outside, to the grassroots communities, in order to smoothen the outcomes of the structural adjustment, and in ultimate sense, the costs of globalization. Secondly, I would like to share the existing and potential consequences of such total change of the nature of the nonprofit sector for world development, in terms of the resource management and the modern foreign aid issues. In conclusion of my talk, I hope to have a little discussion with the audience.

Seyed Javad Emamjomehzadeh

Leila Jafari

(Isfahan University, Iran)

Globalization and Culture

Globalization is a very broad term that refers to the different processes by which the world became increasingly intensive. It is associated with a range of cultural consequences. Some scholars believe that it will lead to a global culture which localized national ones. But the others believe a global culture can't be desirable and not only national cultures have potential to be alive but also some local cultures take a chance to grow up. This article says the globalization could have these two results simultaneously. It can lead to a kind of hybrid culture in which cultures are affected by each others but non of them became peripheralized. cultures in these cultures individuals form new communities, linked by shared interests and passions, that can cut a cross national borders in which national identity does not disappear, but the bonds of nationality become loosen. This culture can embrace some foreign influences and resist others. Foreign influences can rapidly become domesticated, changing national culture, but not destroying it. It may lead to increase tolerance or even negative reactions and intolerance among different cultures. In this fragmented and unfragmented world American culture can be attractive and many like its cultural products but it doesn't mean to become American and still strong bonds to native culture is remained. Choosing different way of life is essential part of freedom and seeking to impose a cultural identity on a people is equivalent to locking them in a prison and denying them the most precious of liberties.

PANEL XXVIII

War, Economy and Society in Southern Africa, 1867-1902

Convenor: *Ian Phimister* (University of Sheffield, UK)

Such a panel, we believe, engages with several of the wider Conference issues and themes, particularly those of 'from simple societies to the world-system: pathways and forms of political integration'; 'socio-political and cultural-mental factors of social transformation'; and 'violence and non-violence in the history of political institutions'. Our reasons for thinking this are as follows: the violent integration at the end of the 19th century of the southern African sub-continent into the wider world of European, largely but not entirely British, imperialism, has long attracted the interest of historians and other scholars. Yet both the long-term origins and the short-term causes of the South African ['Anglo-Boer'] War are still hotly debated. Amongst many possible explanations for this continuing historiographical controversy is the fact that the 'Boer' side, or sides, of the question has not been systematically examined. We are convinced that a revision of the Kruger [Transvaal / ZAR] state's standing in history is long overdue. President Kruger's own crucial role as an innovator, especially with regard to his insights and policies in connection with the economy of the ZAR, stands in urgent need of thorough-going investigation. Reassessment of the pattern of modernization of the ZAR and the part played by Kruger, is likely wholly to recast interpretations of the coming of the South African War. It will provide an opportunity to scrutinize critically, not least from a wide range of international perspectives, those polarized views that have seen the conflict as essentially one between Boer backwardness and British civilization.

John Darwin
(University of Oxford, UK)

Whose British Imperialism? Whose 'British South Africa'?

The insertion of the Transvaal and more broadly South Africa into the world economy in the late nineteenth century occurred in a very specific geopolitical context. On the one hand there was South Africa's place in a British maritime world which, since the 1780s, had treated the security of its Cape route to India as a strategic priority. This had led not only to the seizure of the Cape in 1795 and its retention after 1806, but also to the concern of the London government to maintain control over the Southeast African coastline as a

whole. Notoriously, control over the Cape had sucked the British deeper into the sub-continent. But equally notoriously, the resources that had made a sub-continental conquest feasible in India were lacking in Southern Africa. Hence the British wars of conquest from the 1810s to the 1880s had usually been aborted before they could open the way to a real 'British South Africa'. The other side of the geopolitical equation was the capacity for resistance of locally rooted communities, white and black. It was against the tenacity of their efforts at state-making that proconsular imperialism had repeatedly failed. In the last decades of the century, the contest between local state-making and British imperialism reaches its crisis, at exactly the time when globalization was exerting its strongest influence on the regional economy. It might have been expected, on previous experience, that British imperialism would try once again to exert its sub-continental authority, and fail once again through lack of resources and political will. The critical change lies not so much in the aims and motives of British governments, or even of their 'men on the spot' as in the change in the nature of British imperialism in South Africa, not least its acquisition of powerful new allies.

Johan Bergh

(University of Pretoria, South Africa)

***White Farmers and African Labourers
in the Transvaal in the 1860s and 1870s***

The 1860s and 1870s is of significance in the Transvaal and South African agrarian history. In this period the availability of African labour to white farmers emerged as a critical problem and forced the Transvaal authorities to launch investigations into this matter. They identified a number of causes for this. One of the prominent causes was the discovery of diamonds on the southwestern Transvaal border in 1867 which created a huge demand for African labour. In this way competition between the agricultural sector and the capitalist mining industry emerged perhaps for the first time on a meaningful scale. When white farmers settled in the Transvaal, various factors contributed to their demand for African labour – such as the growing number of settlers, the emergence of markets in the towns and the transformation of production on white farms to more labour-intensive market-orientated farming, as well as the developing towns in the Transvaal that also generated a demand for African labour. The Transvaal authorities instituted a number of measures in their attempts to secure African labour for the white farms in the Transvaal. African labour was, regulated by an ordinance of 1864 on African labour and related matters. In the face of the demands of the diamond fields

for African labour, the Transvaal authorities realised that something should be done to secure the African labour pool in the Transvaal for white farmers. They appointed an African labour commission in 1871 to investigate and report on labour and related matters. The Commission attempted in their recommendations to make the regulations that administer Africans and African labour more efficient, but also to present a more human face to it – obviously with an eye on the lure of the diamond fields.

Hermann Giliomee

(University of Stellenbosch, South Africa)

***‘Caught between Imperialism and Republicanism:
The Dilemmas of Cape Afrikaners of the late 19th century’***

Afrikaners have been described by a historian as the ‘ideal prefabricated collaborators’ of the British Empire. Their loyalty to the Empire was tested to the limits by the aggressive imperialism of Alfred Milner, British High Commissioner to the Cape Colony. He wanted a super federal state consisting of Britain, Australia, Canada and a new South Africa, sending delegates to an Imperial Parliament in London. It was not primarily a federation of whites that he had in mind, but the political unity of a superior Anglo-Saxon ‘race’. In this scheme of things the Afrikaners were to be a mere adjunct of the superior race. Milner painted a picture of a seditious Cape Afrikaner community ready to undermine British authority in order to help Paul Kruger of the South African Republic. He persuaded London that a recalcitrant Transvaal could become the focus of disaffection in all the British colonies. This paper investigates the complex identities of the Cape Afrikaners, which tended to immobilize them in the face of Milner’s policies. They were colonial patriots with a loyalty both to the Crown and to their own colony. If they had a preference for republicanism, it was, as the liberal politician James Rose Innes called it, ‘academic’, and an aspiration to be realized ‘in a dim and distant future.’ Another of their identities was as part of a white South African nation. They feared that any military conflict between Britain and the republics would set back the realization of this ideal. Against these two principal identities there was a weaker sense of a common Afrikaner *ethnic* identity, prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder with the republican Afrikaners. It was the devastation of a bitter war in the Boer Republics that freed them from their tight imperial bonds and created room for new political, economic and cultural strategies.

Ian Phimister
(University of Sheffield, UK)

The City of London and the Coming of War in South Africa, 1895 – 1899

This paper takes issue with those views of the South African War which have ascribed to the City ‘a thirsty impatience for war’. It proceeds by periodising the complex relationship between speculative and productive interests on the Rand, an exercise that suggests that important sections of London’s financial press and the City itself were perfectly content with the returns from the gold mining industry. Criticism of Kruger’s Transvaal Government was muted until 1899. Only then did key Randlords associate themselves with Imperial demands for reform. Both before and after 1896, large sections of the financial press tended to be more critical of the speculative, frequently quasi-fraudulent market activities of the Randlords and other operators than they were of Kruger’s Government. Until well into 1899 there was no concerted campaign for reform. On the contrary, market commentators after late 1897 expressed their satisfaction with the returns from deep-level mining. This perspective helps bring the relationships between the Randlords and the Kruger Government, and between the Randlords and the British authorities into sharper focus. Nor were City interests particularly worried about the supply of gold from the Witwatersrand. Even in the months leading up to the outbreak of war in October 1899, ‘money market’ columns in the financial press expressed no anxiety at the prospect of war with the world’s leading gold producer. That the Bank of England would have to raise the bank rate to secure its existing reserves and attract further supplies of gold was seen as axiomatic, and when it did so at the beginning of October, this was unanimously deemed sufficient to see it through the inconvenience of interrupted gold supplies from South Africa. While the City as a whole may have pivoted on gold, it did not turn on the Rand.

Johan Wassermann
(University of KwaZulu-Natal, Ashwood, South Africa)

***On the Periphery of the British Empire –
The Economic Impact of the Anglo-Boer War on Natal Afrikaners***

In the lead-up to the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), the Governor of the Colony of Natal, Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, accused the 5000 strong Natal Afrikaner community, almost all of them British subjects, of being culturally and ideologically aligned to the Boer Republics. Many English-speaking Natalians took the governor’s views even further, slating Natal Afrikaners as

backward and disloyal and in the process giving them a 'whiteness' different to their own. Such sentiments were easy to construct as Natal Afrikaners occupied, in terms of the hierarchy of political power, the lowest rung of the ladder amongst whites. Economically they were, by dint of the fact that they were almost exclusively trapped in the agrarian sector of the economy, likewise left on the periphery of the Natal commercial society. From their side, the Natal Afrikaners understandably associated themselves with the Boer Republics rather than with Natal and the British Empire. The coming of war left Natal Afrikaner society, an ethnic minority related to the invading forces, in a conundrum. Legally they were British subjects and were expected to remain loyal to the Crown. The invading Republican forces on the other hand laid claim to their support and their property for the duration of their 188 day occupation. The return of the Natal authorities and the British Army resulted in punitive measures in the form of the confiscation of livestock, fines, attempts to confiscate land and a scorched earth policy. This paper argues that Natal Afrikaners were at the time not viewed as authentic carriers of whiteness and were excluded from the Colonial structures of dominance and supremacy. In terms of this master narrative it was therefore easy to dismiss them as backward and inferior and for both the Colony of Natal and the British Army to justify plundering the economic livelihood of fellow British subjects.

PANEL XXIX

Free Communication Panel

Mikhail V. Chernikov

(Institute of Management, Marketing and Finance, Voronezh, Russia)

Praxiological Analysis of the Phenomenon of Power

М.В. Черников

(Институт менеджмента, маркетинга и финансов, Воронеж, Россия)

Праксиологический анализ феномена власти

Нетривиальный и в то же время методологически перспективный анализ логики и архитектоники власти можно дать с позиций современного праксиологического анализа (СПА), сутью которого является распространение функционально-экономической парадигмы рассмотрения на широкую область межсубъектных отношений. В планируемом выступлении автор намерен продемонстрировать эвристические возможности СПА, последовательно анализируя под вышеуказанным углом зрения такие проблемы как: организация межсубъектных отношений, феномен Команды, формирование политического поля Команды, власть и иерархия в системе функционирования Команды.

Elena Sadokha

(Kharkiv National Pedagogical University, Ukraine)

About World Transparency

Increasing mobility, ideology of common to all mankind realities, collision of radically different logics of thinking, information interchange which happens not only among direct interlocutors are main features of modern society that is gradually gaining characteristics of society of knowledge. In intensifying inner dialogue and enlarging field of discursive practices, procedures of transparency play an extremely important role and show basis of world view, taking into account its polyvalency. In the new picture of world process of learning appears as a process of creating meeting in the place of human's meeting with the world, in intermediate worlds that are methodologically seen through use of corresponding descriptive procedures as open-meaning connections of common knowledge, activity, interpretation.

Valeriya Valeriyevna Tkachenko
(Kuban State University, Krasnodar, Russia)

The Field of Correlations as a Factor of Collective Actions

The paper focuses on the theoretical model of the evolutionary process of social and political changes, which dynamic includes several stages: 1. The increase of fluctuations; 2. The emergence of “sensitivity” towards external influences; 3. Individuals become responsive to greater range of stimulus by greater openness. The increased openness is characterized by multiple correlations. The field of correlations is a field of psychological forces, where everyone acts in ways that are a function of the others’ acts and goals; 4. The stage of the anticipate adaptation. Making a comparison between results of the research devoted to person's strategy in the transitive society (by Naumova N.F.) and these stages, we take notice of a great probability of protest movements during the third stage. The openness of structure that occurs in a mutually shared field is critical for development of the protest climate.

Tarmo Malmberg
(University of Vaasa, Finland)

***Against High Politics:
The Idea of Counter-Society in Media and Cultural Studies***

One of the main trends of critical media thinking during the post-1960s period in the West has been the idea, fostered by Sixties counter-cultural movements, of an ‘unofficial’ society outside of and against the official society organised around the state apparatus, the capitalist economy and the cultural establishment. The concept of civil society owes much of its appeal to this anti-etatist, anti-capitalist and anti-high-cultural animus. The Anglo-American media and cultural studies, from the British origins to its more contemporary positions, has given several expressions to the idea of counter-society, which is here approached from the perspective of political action directed against high politics. ‘High politics’ starts from the classical premise that society as a polity is ultimately concerned with questions of life and death; it is the self-defence of a state against its inner and outer enemies that makes politics a matter of decision-making with grave consequences and demanding statesmen with practical wisdom. ‘Popular politics’, in contrast, is concerned with people’s immediate everyday life, unconcerned with the affairs of the state, the parliament included. During its development, media and cultural studies has found at least four different candidates for the place of the counter-society as the arena of popular politics. First, the model was pro-

vided by the forms of self-organisation of the working-class (Williams, Hogart); second, by the subcultural and other similar groups with alternative life-styles (Hebdige); third, by the idea that the contemporary society is divided between the elite ('they') and the people ('we'), which marks also the dividing line between high and popular forms of action (Fiske); and fourth, by introducing various sexual and other minorities, such as gays and lesbians, as the nation inside of the nation living according to its own codes (McKee). It is the purpose of the paper to analyse in some detail these four models of counter-society, in order to assess their basic premises as guidelines for political action in modern liberal democracies.

Damayanthie Eluwawalage

(Missouri State University, Springfield, USA)

Gender in Attire: Hierarchy and Culture in Western Civilisations

Attire, throughout history, performed a vital function as a form of non-verbal communication. The questions such as why men and women dress distinctively, why women's clothing conceals their bodies and why women's clothing is more decorative are directly associated with the social and cultural differentiation of gender and the resultant roles and behaviours expected from each gender. Male dominance and the subsequent uneven distribution of social power between men and women is one of the primary reasons for the positioning of gender in social hierarchies. The contrastive power relations of husband/wife, master/pupil, employer/employee, as well as the comparable power relations, nationalities, occupational associates etc., fundamentally shape the way in which society exists. The pre-twentieth century western societies were founded on such power relations expressed in terms of gender, class and occupation, ie, the power of men over women, of an employer over his employees, of a king over his subjects. Social power is identified with prestige, glamour, force, authority, prominence, supremacy and repute and is aided by the possession of wealth. The dominant ideological beliefs, such as, the male public sphere and the female domestic sphere; masculine intellect and feminine emotionalism; male activism and female passivism; and masculine physical and mental strength and feminine physical and mental weaknesses, must have prompted the prominent gender differentiation of male dominance and female submission throughout the centuries. Any breach of the 'great law of subordination', especially between husband and wife, was regarded as a sort of petty treason. In the nineteenth century, as a symbol of their economic standing, women wore decorative and expensive dresses designed to restrict movement which made them incapable of working.

Adorned in fashion they were observed as family show-pieces, symbolic of their role as a 'man's chattel'. Therefore, women's fashionable finery in the nineteenth century was an indication of their social subordination. The phenomena of male dominance and hierarchy could be analysed in many theoretical facets, such as psychological, economical, biological and societal. According to these arguments, patriarchal male dominance and female dependence was caused by dichotomous rationales, such as their respective biological roles related sexual differences and social inequalities of gender.

Larissa Andreeva

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Mass Extasy in World Religious Practices

Л.А. Андреева

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Массовый экстаз в религиозных практиках мира

Обзор религиозных культов, практиковавших массовый экстаз показывает, что всем им присущи некоторые общие, вневременные черты: судороги, галлюцинации, забвение в большей или меньшей степени моральных норм, девиантное поведение – вплоть до агрессии. Религиозно-культурная традиция определяет в известной мере поведение участников, однако степень ее воздействия в состоянии экстаза – «выхода из себя» весьма ограничена. Приблизительно одинаковы и методики вхождения в экстаз: использование ритмичного музыкального сопровождения и соответствующих телодвижений. Пребывание человека в экстазическом состоянии, особенно если оно имеет массовый характер, при котором спонтанно возникает, психическое заражение, может низвести его не только к доцивилизационным, но и к докультурным типам поведения.

Alicia Meza

(Metropolitan College, Forest Hills, USA)

The Western Desert and the Nile Valley during the Neolithic Period

The crucial socio-economic developments of the Neolithic Period redefined the cultural interaction between the regions of the Western Desert and the Nile Valley. As a consequence, the newly structured economies were propelled in to their path to social stratification and state formation. The aim of

this paper is to investigate these processes that began in the Western Desert of Egypt and were closely related to those of the Nile Valley, the Maghreb and the Sudan. Cultural exchanges and movements of people could be explained in terms of the diverse environmental changes that affected the regions. New niches created opportunities for the development and transformation in food procurement strategies and the subsequent social symbiosis of these areas. Therefore, as in any type of interaction, if environmental changes affected the geomorphology of North Africa and the Sahara region creating new possibilities for the flora, fauna and humans, the physiology of the environment was also affected by the change in humans' living conditions.

Rouhollah. Yousefi

Morteza Hessari

(Islamic Azad University, Varamin-Pishva, Iran)

Cultural Transmission, Exchange and Complex Society in Late Fourth and Early Third Millennium B.C in Northern Central Iranian Plateau

The first large-scale expansion of Mesopotamian state-level society in the Proto Elamite period established a network of social and economic interactions linking southern Mesopotamia with Syria, Anatolia and Iran. Proto Elamite cultural materials found in sites along travel routes from central Zagros to northeastern regions of Iranian central plateau testify to this contact and to the transmission of Proto Elamite culture. This expansion, in a quest for resources, set the stage for increased social complexity in the populated centers in regions of contact. However, some populated centers in central Iranian plateau especially those in Tehran, Qazvin and Gorgan plains that lay adjacent to main East-West line of contact demonstrate significant cultural influences from the Proto Elamite system. In this context, sites located between Qazvin plain in the west of central Iranian plateau to Damghan and Khorassan in eastern zone of Iranian central plateau, attest rich indications of Proto Elamite cultural contact during the late fourth millennium. This article examines evidence that demonstrates actual dependent of local development trajectories and urban hierarchies that exhibit social complexity. These trajectories of dependently increasing social complexity can be traced clearly at the sites of Tepe Sofalin and Tepe Shoghali in Varamin Plain, Tepe Qabrestan in Qazvin Plain and Tepe Hissar in Damghan Plain.. Despite scattered evidence of cultural relations with areas outside the study region, the overwhelming evidence for dependent cultural development serves as a reminder of the mono source of economic and social stimuli that operated in areas adjacent to the main lines of Proto Elamite contact. In sum, the extent to which the social

complexity in the study area thrived or failed is far from independent upon particular Proto Elamite influences. At the meantime, some local social factors, including the apparent effects of local environmental changes emerge as complementary factors in explaining development patterns in Central Iranian Plateau during the early third millennium.

Tatiana Zelenetskaya Young
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***New Insights into Hierarchical Dynamic
between Sacalaca and Parcela Escolar, Quintana Roo, Mexico***

During the 2008 season, an approximately one kilometer-long transect was mapped between two previously studied sites – Sacalaca and Parcela Escolar - in the Coahuah region of Quintana Roo, Mexico. Two goals of the survey included: 1) to clarify if these two sites were a single aggregate or two distinct sites; and, 2) to determine hierarchical and spatial relationship between studied sites. Previous research proposed affiliation or some degree of dependence of Parcela Escolar to Sacalaca based upon territorial extent, the layout and makeup of the sites. The natural features of the landscape such as *cenotes*, caves, and deep soil pockets played a significant role in the political superiority and ranking of the sites. Therefore, variation and categories in the hierarchical levels can be hypothesized based upon spatial and temporal relationships of the sites and presence of prominent architectural components, and distinctive natural features. Recent findings, however, reflect a new dynamic in hierarchical and spatial relationship of the investigated sites.

Alexander V. Marey
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***Action for Assault and Personal Dishonor
in the “Siete Partidas” of Alphonse X of Castile the Sage:
Formation of the Legal Framework of a Person in Medieval Law***

Analysis of the regulation in the “Siete Partidas” a concept of the personal dishonor and, more concretely, the *corpora delicti* forming a part of, and either the ways of its prosecution let shoot a glance at the concept of a person in medieval Spanish law. In the paper author examines a process of forming of the personal dishonor in the “Siete Partidas” and tries to show a progress in medieval law of a juridical conception of the person.

Roxanne Easley
(Central Washington University, Ellensburg, USA)
M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin
between the State, the Estates, and Society, 1855-1862

Even in an autocratic state, a political model pitting the state against the people is unworkable, as the career of M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin shows. In the turbulent context of Russia's Great Reforms, Saltykov occupied a peculiar position as a wealthy state servitor and a well-known, scathing satirist. In literary and intellectual circles, as an "official for special projects" at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and as a provincial vice-governor, Saltykov was an active participant in the most important political debates of the era. While he openly ridiculed the attempts of traditional *sanovniki* and gentry to preserve serfdom, he equally rejected the strategy of the "enlightened bureaucrats," who hoped to co-opt public energies in the interests of the state. In 1860 Saltykov nonetheless found himself obliged to implement the emancipation legislation in Tver'. During his two-year stint as vice-governor, he joined forces with a spontaneously organized and nontraditional faction of Tver' gentry in support of yet another political vision: public self-administration. Saltykov argued that the institutionalization of public opinion, in the form of provincial representative assemblies open to all the rural estates, could serve as a powerful check and balance against the interference of both established social formations and the bureaucracy in civil life. He urged his readers in 1863 not to struggle against "the logic of development," which favored the creation of a unified public. Saltykov's Tver' allies soon faced arrest and imprisonment, a fate he narrowly escaped. Though he returned to sporadic official service later, Saltykov plainly had come to believe his talents were better used elsewhere. He proposed a new journal titled *Russkaia pravda*, specifically addressed to reform through law. When state censors denied this request, Saltykov joined the editorial board of Chernyshevskii's *Sovremennik*. Saltykov's experience in the reform era reminds us of the wide spectrum of political views and factions possible even in the most rigidly defined hierarchies. It also points to the unstable nature of Russian political organization in a transformative period, in which principles of representative self-administration were entangled with older autocratic, corporate, and bureaucratic forms of administration. Saltykov offered one assessment of how the gaps between the *soslov'ia* and the state could be bridged on behalf of the public good.

Maria V. Mints

(St. Petersburg State University, Russia)

***Hierarchy and Power in Russia and Egypt
of the 19th Century as Seen by Foreigners***

Two contradicting positions supposing that Russia in terms of its historical development is whether closer to East or West include independent observers opinions who play a role of so-called umpires. If French authors perception of Russia of the 19th century (J. de Stahl, A. de Kustin, T. Gautier, A. Dumas) is broadly known, an opinion of the guest from the East is highly precious for getting impartial vision of that period. Such an advantage can be gained by having a look at almost forgotten Arab scientist Sheikh at-Tantawi who served in the 1840-1850s in St. Petersburg University. His unique manuscript titled "Description of Russia", which is still not translated to Russian entirely, is the only 19th century Arab author's work describing Russia. It is not only important to compare perception of Russia from both East and West, but also Russian and Western authors of the 19th century (A.B. Klot-Bey, E.U. Lein, A.A. Rafalovich, A.S. Norov) perception of genuine oriental country – Ottoman Egypt. This shall help us to specify the parameters of foreign culture perception and appreciation. "Description of Russia" depicts a positive and moderate opinion of a scientist trying to express an independent position without any intentions to criticize or to glorify the supremacy of his native culture. Sheikh at-Tantawi's work is a sort of description. The author considers hierarchy and power as an integral part of Russian society with reference to religious differentiation regarding serfdom law, religion tolerance, sovereign power supremacy, ranking and showed-off distinction marks. All these treats can be correlated with Arab and Muslim learned culture. In the books of broad-minded European authors, unlike Muslim scientist work, more or less similar analytical philosophical approach can be observed. In this approach hierarchy and power in Russia and Egypt are examined in terms of Christian or liberal concepts of individual rights, rejecting despotism and knee-crooking spirit. As for Muslim East, where at-Tantawi has grown up, sovereign was sacralized and the idea of individual nonentity and dispersion in the comprehensive hierarchy and that the existing order could only be weaved by God was being imposed. From Muslim Egypt point of view Russian authors also lack criticism. With extremely different approaches regarding Russian statehood French authors and Arab Sheikh came to similar conclusions: social structure and power hierarchy in Russia of the 19th century are close to social and power hierarchy of East. Descriptions of Egypt of the 19th century by foreigners also prove this conclusion: European perception is

elective and analytical, as for Russian perception – it is positive and indifferent. Yet the Christian values remain primary criteria for both perceptions.

Gezim Alpion

(University of Birmingham, UK)

***The Egyptians' Foreigner Complex:
Taping the Source of an Ancient Indoctrination***

The paper will be broadly based on a revised version of my article “Foreigner Complex”, which is included in my forthcoming book *Encounters with Civilizations* (Calcutta: Meteor Books, 2008). In his acclaimed work *Orientalism* (1978), Edward W. Said traces the misrepresentation of the oriental “other” in the late eighteenth century, i.e. when Napoleon went to Egypt at the head of the 1798-99 French expedition. The degradation of the “other” in the West, however, is not done only for religious purposes, as Said often seems to suggest in this particular work and throughout his oeuvre. The negative image of the Orient in the West may have something to do with Islam, but the faith of the Muslims is hardly the main reason why Oriental countries, especially the Middle East, are often misrepresented in the literature produced by and intended for Westerners. In my paper I will argue, that contrary to Said's belief, the West's denigration of the Orient started in earnest not at the start of the nineteenth century, but in 32 BC when Octavius crowned himself King of Egypt just over a century after 146 BC, when the fall of Carthage marked the rise of Rome to superpower status. The Romans envied Egypt's success during almost 3,500 years of Pharaonic rule and to silence the Egyptians' pride they were brutally iconoclastic. This is the time when the West first started the looting and the plundering of “inferior” cultures and civilisations. On the pretext of heresy, Rome exterminated many people in Egypt and across the Middle East, including those who had converted to Christianity. From the start the Romans knew that one of the main reasons the Pharaohs had defeated numerous enemies for over three millennia was military. With their well-equipped and highly trained army, the Egyptians had proved themselves to be staunch fighters. They had excelled as brave warriors especially under the command of legendary strategists such as Mina, Ahmus, Tohetemes III, Ramses II and Ramses III. In order to prevent rebellion, the Romans, from the first, prohibited the Egyptians from entering the Roman forces, and also from establishing their own corps. The glorious military past of the Pharaohs made it vital for the Romans to suppress the bellicose arts of their contemporary Egyptians. Egypt was declared Emperor Augustus's garden from the outset of the Roman yoke. Gradually, the Romans succeeded in forcing the

Egyptians into peasant farming as their sole occupation. The Romans succeeded to an extent in turning the Egyptians into simple, obedient farmers. This was one of the reasons that made the deepening of the foreigner complex a much easier task to achieve for future conquerors.

Stanislav Aleksandrovich Agureev

(Moscow City Pedagogical University, Russia)

***Emperor Menelik II and the Political Power of Ethiopia
in Russian Public Opinion, Late 19th – Early 20th Centuries***

The end of the 19th century was turning-point in Ethiopian history. Abyssinia won a victory in the struggle against Italian colonization's in Adua (1896) and became the unique African country, which saved his independence. Information about it spread far from African continent and gave up all hope on birth a new Christian country in East Africa with rich and independent culture. But the first time of Menelik's government was the time of difficulty for Abyssinians'. The economical and political situations –separatism and wars with Maxdist Sudan; hunger and epidemics demanded from Menelik administrative and economical reforms and repulse threat of foreign invaders. But in very short time the Ethiopian Emperor became the most political statement in Africa. Many Russians and other European investigators and journalist with admiration wrote about him. This literature was very popular and gave interesting information about Menelik and history, culture and traditions of Abyssinia. Many Russian magazines noted his «political mind», «inquisitiveness», «kindness», «religiosity», «Christian love» and general talent and heroism. The emperor Menelik remains one of the most outstanding statesmen in African history. The famous historian of Ethiopia S. Punkhurst has called Menelik II the greatest statesmen in Africa, who began the history of Modern Ethiopia.

Devendra Samadhan Ingle

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Caste based hierarchy and power Structure in India: New Dimensions

Nowhere in the world, one could come across such a dreadful discriminating inequalities other than the Indian subcontinent. The social system which is known as “The Caste System” has been nourishing inequalities, hierarchy and power structure in Indian society. The roots of this Caste-based inequalities and oppressive domineering powers wielded by the higher caste could be

traced deep in to the annals of Indian history. It can be unequivocally ascertained that the Indian caste structure carries a heavy burden of history for over a couple of millennium. Notwithstanding all those religious, political or economical and other changes, the foundation of the inequalities and hierarchical discrimination and power structure remain unshaken throughout the long history. The Caste based hierarchy and power structure are still thriving in full blood despite the recent advent of liberal democratic polity. Sustenance to caste system is being provided by the religious, cultural, ideological and material foundations. The role of such a support system has so far proved to be decisively important. In the beginning, the Brahmanical scriptures provided the ideological support to the caste system on one hand and the material support was provided by the village system and feudal modes of production. Now it will be rewarding to search and apprehend this basic rationale behind the perpetuation of Caste system in the changed Indian context. This is the endeavor undertaken in this work. Also, it is to be seen how dissemination and implementation of caste based hierarchical distinctions and oppressive domination is being effectively carried out. In this regard, some of the guiding questions could lead in search of answers which form the core of the paper: 1). Despite various social transmutations how the caste system has sustained. What is its forte? 2). What are its basic foundations causing the perpetuation of the caste system? 3). How the caste system is still in vogue even today with its age old characteristics of discrimination hierarchical dominance and power structure thereof?

Ichhimuddin Sarkar

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***Interrogating the Tribal Insurgency OF Bangladesh:
Movement for a Separate Jummaland in the Chittagong Hill Tracts***

The area named Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) came into existence in 1860 when by the Act XXII of the same year, the hills and forest tracts to the east of the Chittagong district were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the civil, criminal and revenue courts and officers of the regulated districts and placed under the control of a superintendent of the Hill Tracts consisting now three districts namely Khagrachhari, Rangamati and Bandarban and by surface the largest district in Bangladesh. The roots of the tribal problems under consideration lie deep in the past and it is likely that the hill people of this region were even unhappy during the colonial period. During the Pakistani regime their condition was not better and towards the final phase of the liberation war of Bangladesh, the incipient politicization of the tribal got a fresh impe-

tus. The paper is an attempt to analyze the roots of this movement and the ideology, if any that has been guiding the tribal people to defy the Government of Bangladesh and to prefer a bloody struggle for a separate homeland over the years. It is again a matter of investigation how the Government of Bangladesh is trying to find solution of the problem and taking initiative to integrate them peacefully and equitably into the mainstream of national life. Many valuable and unexplored documents and literature are in our disposal and they deserve a thorough analysis at this hour so as to understand the tribal problems of Chittagong Hill Tracts vis-à-vis the issues which seem to legitimize the demand of a separate land named Jummaland in present Bangladesh.

Oleg Novikov
(Moscow, Russia)

***Development of Politico-Social Beliefs of African-Americans
in the First Half of the 20th Century***

Nowadays when Obama became the President being an “official” public politician, and African-Americans hold different posts in administration, it is interesting to look how different the situation was 50–90 years ago, and how it was changing. The points of issue are two black public leaders of the previous century – Marcus Garvey (1887–1940) and Adam Clayton Powell (1908–1972). In the 1910–1920s Garvey understood that he could not come into establishment, what defined the way he acted. He established “African Republic” in New York, which possessed some sham attributes of the state like “army” and “government”. The Republic was ruled by Garvey, who was called “His Highness the Potentate”. The “officials”, “aristocracy” and “military men” wore uniforms with rewards of “African Republic”. Street parades in Harlem in which bands took part, led to the increase in number of Garvey’s supporters. Then he found shipping company “Black Star Line” to resettle African-Americans to Africa. For Garvey everything good was black and everything bad was white. The estrangement from white culture increased when Garvey established African Orthodox church. He said that God and angels were black and devil was white. In the late 1930s Garvey declared: “European fascism is secondary, because the idea of supremacy and purity of race belongs to us, and dates the beginning of the century. We were first fascists”. Powell acted another way as early as in the beginning of the 1940s. He took part in the elections to New York City Council with the slogan “One people! One struggle! One victory!” and won. On his post Powell attained that Harlem became the district of US Congress. In 1944 he was

elected to the House of Representatives. African-Americans loved Powell not for his legislative activity, but for his behavior toward white Congressmen. He did not allow treating him like inferior. Once he called President Truman “small man in White House”, and was blot out of guest list for reception to him. In 1952 Powell was charged for tax underpayment by revenue service. He was also accused in spending taxpayers’ money on his own luxuries, and answered that “I don’t do anything more than any other Congressman, but ... I’ll not do less!” In 1963 Powell made even a sharper claim: “Until we cannot occupy administration completely and define the policy of national Negro organizations we must admit that there is no hope for us”. So, the example of these leaders shows how the demands of African-Americans were progressing and how the methods of achieving their purposes were improving.

Ntokozo Mthembu

(University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa)

The Bearers of Ubuntu / Botho Principles at the Helm of Individualistic Capitalist Norms: The Case of Traditional Leaders in the Post Apartheid Azania (South Africa)

The paper examines the role played by the traditional leaders in the pre industrial, colonisation process i.e. apartheid era and post apartheid epochs. It also looks at the centre of the burning issue of leadership, the concern of weaknesses and strengths of various leadership styles that are adopted by African leaders in facing these challenges. The paper explores various strategies such as the “African Renaissance” achieving cultural, scientific, economic constrains and renewal. The paper scrutinise the historical development and its impact in the current conditions of misunderstanding and intolerance of differing political agendas. The paper revisits theories of control such as *ubuntu* philosophy within the spacious of democracy in relations to the socio-political dynamics of ancient Africa systems of governance. The discourse of merging two contending fundamental guiding developmental orders – theocracy the ancient world order is critically looked at. The paper critically look at the rise of various empires in ancient Africa i.e. Ethiopian Empire and Roman Empire and its influences towards the weakening and strengthening traditional leaders in various epochs of history to a present state. It looks at the present African surviving monarchies, i.e. King Mswati III despite the continuous onslaught by colonialist agenda. Lastly, this paper looks at weaknesses and strengths of developmental theories such as human centred approach to development in developing Africa to advantage its populace. Various approaches such as *linear thought* (Welsing, 1991) to develop-

ment are suggested in this paper. Another approach to development is the *Afrocentric approach* that is considered as the way of self realisation in all social aspects including environment, education, science, sport, spiritualism, peace, collective security, love, architecture and corruption free government administration (Mthembu, 2008:12).

Pedro Teixeira Pereira
(University of Barcelona, Spain)

Power through Social: The Portuguese Social Policy in the 20th Century

The guiding lines for what is known as welfare politics were established between the 19th century and the end of the 20th, a period from which arose the present Portuguese welfare system. With the republican regime (1910), the State took an active role in protecting its citizens creating, in 1919, of a compulsory social insurance system – thus giving birth to the first social welfare state. Later, the Estado Novo (New State) regime would move away from the existing social policies, rebuilding a new social context, that is still one of the chapters of the country's History less known. Under the domination of Salazar (1930s-1970s), the political power worked, aiming to a social security model, sustained by two great pillars: assistance (for passive citizens) and welfare (for active citizens). These components were assembled between the 1930s-1940s, combining old republican systems and introducing new corporative social structures in order to provide the Portuguese society with some, effective, social security. The State is an intervenient that plays the fundamental role in this social construction, establishing the grounds. However, it became clear the true and deep will of Salazar's thinking: to provide the private initiative with the responsibility to make real a social policy. The regime wanted only, despite of all the legal incentives and speeches in contrary, to supervise and coordinate all the efforts of the active citizens, working to lift a welfare system. However, soon became obvious that the private initiative alone wasn't enough. So, the State was forced to call upon itself some of the social assistance responsibility. By the mid 1940s, against the most profound belief of the regime's ideological doctrine, the Portuguese welfare system was becoming a Welfare State, a public aid system, and not what the regime most wanted: a private model of social security.

Natalia Varych
(Kharkiv National Pedagogical University, Ukraine)
Modern Myths of Ukraine

Economic globalization, simultaneous anti-globalization movements and information – oriented society signs growth, spread of democratic reformations process, market transformations are present day realities. They are gradually becoming essential features of life in Ukraine. Trying to define what is past, non-resident, and what reflects the deepest processes having fundamental character in social processes, we try to understand if things we are involved in are just next temporal fragment which will disappear later for ever or disappear leaving definite latent meaning which will influence on further socio-historical development of the country. In this concern we turn to political and socio-cultural modern myths of Ukraine constructions, reconstructions and deconstruction analysis.

Alexander A. Panov

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***Religious and Secular Higher Education
as Factor of Common Racism and Xenophobia***

A proportion between courses, aimed at the modernization of society and forming traditional cultural values is rather delicate issue in the elaboration of a modern educational program. Thus, the one of corner-stones of contemporary educational policy in Russia is the question about inclusion of the course «The Basics of Orthodox Culture» into school educational program as the obligatory. It has been accepted yet in two Russian regions (Bryansk and Belgorod). However while Russian Orthodox Church hierarchs and some of public and political figures and scientists insist on necessity of this, others argue distinctly against and consider that it is contrary to Russian legislation and brings the risk of interreligious and international dissention in the state. In our paper we are going to find out as far as these apprehensions are found. We attempt to reveal if there are some influences of types of education in some Moscow universities (religious or secular) on common racism and xenophobia level among students. This problem seems to be very important since the phenomenon of common racism and xenophobia is the one of crucial socio-cultural problems of modern Russia.

Radomir Djordjevic

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in Kosovska Mitrovica, Serbia)

***Religious Graffiti Messages in War and Their Influence on Genocide
Committed on the Territory of Ex-Yugoslavia***

The author deals with the multiethnic war in Yugoslavia (1991-1995) through the analyses of religious messages – graffiti of all the sides that took part in it and brings a conclusion: Graffiti messages had (partly) contributed to the development of many further genocide actions over the Serbian population by the separated republics. As a consequence, graffiti messages gained a quality of the “indirectly direct” provokers of the genocide actions committed by many paramilitary units of the separated republics of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia.

Rahimbek S. Bobohonov

(Institute for African Studies, Moscow, Russia)

***“Hisb at-Tahrir al-Islami”: An International Terrorist Organization
or a Political Party? Mythes and Reality***

Р.С. Бобохонов

(Институт Африки, Москва, Россия)

***«Хизб ат-Тахрир ал-Ислами»: международная террористическая
организация или политическая партия? Мифы и реальность***

«Хизб ат-Тахрир ал-Ислами» («Партия [исламского] освобождения») – организация, основанная в 1953 году в Иерусалиме судьей местного шариатского апелляционного суда Таджиддином ан-Набхани как филиал египетского движения «Братья мусульмане». После смерти ан-Набхани в 1977 г. организацию возглавил палестинец Абдул Кадим Заллум. В дальнейшем, после смерти Заллума, в 2003 году лидером организации стал Ата Абу Рашта. «Хизб ат-Тахрир ал-Ислами» имеет четко сформулированную цель, идеологию и международную сеть. Главная цель организации – восстановление справедливого исламского образа жизни и исламского государства (халифата) и воплощения в нем исламской системы. Основу политической доктрины партии составляет идея о воссоздании религиозно-политической структуры (Халифат) времен Пророка и его первых четырех преемников, когда единожды в истории ислама удалось осуществить справедливое государственное управление с равномерным распределением общественного продукта, поскольку мусульманская умма в точности следовала божественным предписаниям, а халифы избирались из самых достойных. Последующие Омейядские и Аббасидские халифы и «халифы» Османской империи посте-

ленно отошли от множества принципов первоначального халифата. Важную часть доктрины составляет теория исламской революции Манхаж. Активную деятельность вели и ведут все филиалы этой организации в Египте, Иордании, Тунисе, Кувейте, Палестине и странах Западной Европы, в особенности в Германии. На пост советском пространстве эта организация появилась, прежде всего, в республиках Центральной Азии (с 1995 г. – в Узбекистане, с 1998 г. – в Таджикистане, с 1999 г. – в Киргизии, Казахстане и Туркмении), затем в Азербайджане, Украине, Белоруссии и России. Следует отметить, что с 14 февраля 2003 г. решением Верховного суда России организация бала включена в список запрещенных террористических группировок. Напомним лишь некоторые эпизоды деятельности этой организации в разных странах мира: В 1968 г. «Хизб ат-Тахрир ал-Ислами» осуществила попытки государственного переворота в Иордании и Сирии, которые провалились; намеревалась осуществить путч в Египте в 1974 г. По имеющейся информации, его организовал палестинский террорист, член «Хизб ат-Тахрир ал-Ислами». Другой активист был членом группы, которая убила президента Египта Садата в 1981 г. Попытки переворота также были осуществлены в Ираке и Тунисе. В 1994 г. десять членов «Хизб-ат-Тахрир ал-Ислами» были обвинены в планировании убийства короля Иордании Хусейна. Есть основания полагать, что «Хизб-ат-Тахрир ал-Ислами» является ответственной за убийство в Алеппо в декабре 1999 г. известного исламского ученого Мухаммада Амин Якхана. В декабре 2004 г. общественные деятели Татарстана выступили с открытым письмом, обвинив российские правоохранительные органы в массовых арестах примерно 200 российских мусульман под надуманным предлогом их связи с «Хизб ат-Тахрир аль-Ислами». В Центральной Азии, особенно в Узбекистане, «Хизб ат-Тахрир ал-Ислами» находится в жесткой оппозиции нынешним властям республики. Активная подпольная деятельность этой организации хорошо развернута по всей республике, особенно в Ферганской долине, где проживает большая часть населения республики. Власть обвиняет эту организацию в попытке осуществления покушений на президента республики Ислама Каримова (1999 г.), организацию нескольких взрывов в городах Ташкент, Наманган, Фергана и беспорядки в городе Андижане (2005 г.). «Хизб ат-Тахрир ал-Ислами» в Узбекистане тесно сотрудничает не только с соотечественниками (узбеками и таджиками, проживающими за пределами республики), но с головной организацией на Ближнем Востоке.

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***The IRGC, Iran's Invisible Government
in the Hierarchical Power Structure of Iran***

The paper will examine Iran's government as it was created after the formation of an Islamic Republic in 1979-1980, and the reality of the evolution of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) on the development of that government and its present international policies with particular emphasis on Iran's nuclear program. It will analyze the evolution of Iran's visible and invisible government's as it impacts Iran's publicly stated foreign policy and national security objectives, and the lengthy on-going debate about international nuclear control organizations alleging that Iran is in violation of its international nuclear weapons development agreements. (Brooks, 2008) States threatening the international status-quo can sometimes be reasoned with in times of peace, and on other occasions not. The failure to realize either societal reform of leadership groups in the latter instance, on occasion, results in international conflict. (Hutchins, 2008) Khomeini, founder of Iran's present government advocated a new worldwide struggle (led by Iran) to create a new international Islamic society as required by Islam's founder. (Laffin, 1979) Iran's leadership support Islamic clerics in Syria, Lebanon, Pakistan, Egypt, in Europe, Asia, and the United States who call for violence against western culture (The Clarion Fund, 2008). The western world increasingly encounter a more traditional society challenging its traditional policy objectives in the Middle Eastern region (Pierre, 1982) Iran's Aminedjad also acknowledges the existence of the 'Hidden Prophet' in Iran today, while also calling for the physical destruction of those opposing Iran: as a precursor to Shokri Mousafa's advocacy for a new world-order to be achieved by Islamic nuclear war with the west (Gabriel, 2002) This paper will analyze (Sibley, 1972 and Riordan, 1982) the economic/political/social consequences of hierarchical power miscalculations for Iran and neighboring states, and quantify the physical impact of such miscalculations by Iran and/or other regional states.

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Political Obstacles in Iran – Russia Nuclear Cooperation

By ending up the imposed war of Iraq against Iran in 1995, Iran could make an agreement with Russia for completing the nuclear basement of Bushehr in

this arena, America has become worried about the Russia cooperation with Iran in the field of nuclear subject. But not only, it did not succeed to change the Russia behavior and preventing this country from continuing cooperation with Iran. But also, Russia could make a big step by adding 5 another Reactors to Bushehr nuclear basement. So, although there were a lot of disagreements and forces from America and its alliances, the Russia cooperation with Iran was in establishing the first electronic basement of Iran in Bushehr. Although during the past years, the Russia professions have declared repeatedly that they will complete nuclear basement in Bushehr and its establishment's delay has not any political identity and it is only in the dimension of Economic and Technical subjects but every day there are more and more susceptible views to Russia foreign policies and its purposes from flowing the politic about Iran. With regards to the technical-economic cooperation between Iran and Russia, we have not seen any prominent advancement in the fields of political cooperation. According to this fact the purpose of this research is to discuss about the below problem: What are the political obstacles in Iran – Russia nuclear cooperation? 1). The reciprocal unreliability in cooperation between Iran and Russia; 2). Russia worried about the possibility of going Iran to Western countries; 3). Russia's attention to the consideration resulted from the Western pressure about relation of not having cooperation with Iran.