




4-2018

Full Issue

Comparative Civilizations Review

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/ccr>

 Part of the [Comparative Literature Commons](#), [History Commons](#), [International and Area Studies Commons](#), [Political Science Commons](#), and the [Sociology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Review, Comparative Civilizations (2018) "Full Issue," *Comparative Civilizations Review*: Vol. 78 : No. 78 , Article 21.
Available at: <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/ccr/vol78/iss78/21>

This Full Issue is brought to you for free and open access by the All Journals at BYU ScholarsArchive. It has been accepted for inclusion in Comparative Civilizations Review by an authorized editor of BYU ScholarsArchive. For more information, please contact scholarsarchive@byu.edu, ellen_amatangelo@byu.edu.

COMPARATIVE CIVILIZATIONS REVIEW

No. 78

Spring 2018

Editor's Note

Peer Reviewed Articles

The Power Configurations of the Central Civilization / World System in the 11th Century

**The Phoenicians and the Formation of the Western World
Does Belarusian-Ukrainian Civilization Belong to the Western or the Latin Civilization?**

Essays

Letter from Germany and Russia

Quo Vadis Pax Americana? The Continuing Battle for Dewey's Democracy

Contentious Cloud Chatter: A Comparative Analysis of Aggressive Speech

Special Feature

Odessa 1919

The ISCSC Archives

Guide to the ISCSC Archives

**What Must Exist Before You Have a Civilization?
One Word Synonyms for "the Comparative Study of Civilizations"**

Book Reviews

International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations

Editorial Board

Editor-in-Chief

Joseph Drew
joseph.drew@iscsc.org

Managing Editor

Peter Hecht
peter.hecht@iscsc.org

Executive Editor

Norman Rothman
University of Maryland University College

Book Review Editor

David Wilkinson
University of California Los Angeles

Senior Editor

Carolyn Carpentieri Potter
Harvard and Columbia Universities

Digital Media Editor

Connie Lamb
Brigham Young University

Outreach Editor

Tseggai Issac
University of Missouri

Technical Editor

Thomas Rienzo
Western Michigan University

Peer Review Editors

Leland Barrows
Voorhees College

Stefan Gunther
Strayer University

Mary Frances Lebamoff
*University of Maryland
University College*

John Berteaux
Monterey Bay State University

John Grayzel
Independent Scholar

ISCSC Leadership

Lynn Rhodes

President

Michael Andregg

Vice-President

Peter Hecht

Executive Director

Table of Contents

Editor's Note

Joseph Drew	1
-------------------	---

Peer-Reviewed Articles

The Power Configurations of the Central Civilization / World System in the 11th Century David Wilkinson	5
--	---

The Phoenicians and the Formation of the Western World

John C. Scott	25
---------------------	----

Does Belarusian-Ukrainian Civilization Belong to the Western or the Latin Civilization?

Piotra Murzionak.....	41
-----------------------	----

Essays

Letter from Germany and Russia

Vlad Alalykin-Izvekov.....	55
----------------------------	----

Quo Vadis Pax Americana? The Continuing Battle for Dewey's Democracy

Michael H. Parsons	64
--------------------------	----

Contentious Cloud Chatter: A Comparative Analysis of Aggressive Speech

Clea Patrick & Leah Hollis	73
----------------------------------	----

Special Feature

Odessa 1919

Ron French	86
Chapter 1 – The Terror starts	87
Chapter 2 – Easter	89
Chapter 3 – In the CHEKA	93
Chapter 4 – Eviction.....	96
Chapter 5 – Marazlievskaya.....	98
Chapter 6 – Deadly sailors	102
Chapter 7 – Guard post.....	106
Chapter 8 – Großliebental	107
Chapter 9 – Franzfeld.....	111
Chapter 10 – Red visitation.....	114
Chapter 11 – The Wood pile	115
Chapter 12 – Odessa.....	117
Chapter 13 – Escape.....	118
Chapter 14 – August.....	121
Chapter 15 – Karlovka	123
Chapter 16 – Revenge	127
Chapter 17– The Arta.....	130
Chapter 18 – Christmas	134
Chapter 19 – Hamburg	137

Table of Contents (cont.)

Archives

Guide to the ISCSA Archives

Dickinson College..... 142

What Must Exist Before You Have A Civilization?

The Northridge Discussion 181

One Word Synonyms for “The Comparative Study of Civilizations”

Roger Wescott..... 193

Book Reviews

Eric Ashley Hairston, *The Ebony Column: Classics, Civilization and The African American Reclamation of the West*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2013

Reviewed by John Berteaux.....198

Robert Harris, *Munich*. Knopf Doubleday, 2018.

Martin Cruz Smith, *December 6*. Simon & Schuster 2003

Reviewed by Laina Farhat-Holzman201

Michael Gubser, *The Far Reaches: Phenomenology, Ethics, and Social Renewal in Central Europe*. Stanford University Press, 2014

Reviewed by Stephen T. Satkiewicz.....203

W. Julian Korab-Karpowicz, *Tractatus Politico-Philosophicus: New Directions for the Future Development of Humankind*. New York and London: Routledge, 2017

Reviewed by Stephanie Spoto.....206

Raghav Sharma, *Nation, Ethnicity and the Conflict in Afghanistan: Political Islam and the Rise of Ethno-politics 1992-1996*. London: Routledge, 2016

Reviewed by David M. Traboulay209

For the Authors

Comparative Civilizations Review Style Sheet216

Conference Announcement

48th Annual Conference of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations

Suzhou University

Suzhou, China218

This document is protected under copyright laws and international copyright conventions. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted by any means in any form, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the express prior written permission of either the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations or the author. For additional information write to:

inquiries@iscsc.org

The International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations
7960 Soquel Drive, Suite 394
Aptos, CA. 95003 USA

Published by and copyright © 2018 by the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations. All rights reserved. Subscriptions: US \$70 USD/year for individuals and \$70/year for institutions; add \$8 USD for foreign subscriptions. Cost for a life subscription is \$500. Back issues are available on a limited basis on request.

Submittals

The *Comparative Civilizations Review* publishes analytical studies and interpretive essays primarily concerned with (1) the comparison of whole civilizations, (2) the development of theories and methods especially useful in comparative civilization studies, (3) accounts of intercivilizational contacts, and (4) significant issues in the humanities or social sciences studied from a comparative civilizational perspective.

By “a comparative civilizational perspective” we mean (1) the use of evidence from more than one civilization (the various national traditions of the modern West being regarded, if so desired, as constituents of a single civilization) and (2) a method likely to throw new light either on the origins, processes, or structures of civilizations or on the problems of interpreting civilizations.

This is a peer-reviewed journal. Please submit your papers in MS Word, Times Roman 12 font, as an email attachment for the reviewer’s consideration. Be sure to include on your paper itself your email address and your academic affiliation and position, or note that you are an “independent scholar.” Send your paper to CCR Managing Editor, peter.hecht@iscsc.org.

ISSN: 0733-4540

Copyright © 2018 by the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations.
All Rights Reserved.

Membership

Please consider joining the ISCSC. Members receive a one-year subscription to this journal, are invited to attend the annual conference, and may participate in ongoing dialogues. Membership is open to all persons interested in civilizations. Go to www.iscsc.org for further information.

Online Access Now Available and Often Consulted

This issue and previous issues may be accessed, searched by keyword or topic, and read at the following URL: <http://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/ccr>. There you will find the full issue plus individual articles and other matters (in pdf form) as contained in the printed version.

Please note the links on the left of the landing page:

- [Journal Home](#);
- [About This Journal](#);
- [Editorial Board](#);
- [Policies](#);
- [Most Popular Papers](#);
- [Receive Email Notices or RSS](#).

You may also select an issue to review (all the way back to 1979) or enter specific search terms in a box on the left side of the page.

The *Comparative Civilizations Review* thanks our Digital Media Editor, Connie Lamb, and her colleagues at Brigham Young University for making this free public access and electronically searchable index possible. Thanks, too, to Prof. Norman Rothman, Executive Editor, for working with Scholars Archive to produce these issues.

Readers may also access all previous issues at <https://ojs.lib.byu.edu/spc/index.php/CCR>.

Web Site of this Organization

<http://www.iscsc.org>

Editor's Note

Spring, 2018

Greetings from the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations.

This has been a period of institutional change for the organization, now happily helmed by longtime ISCSC member and genial official, Gen. Lynn Rhodes, as President. Joining her in the Leadership Team are one of the society's most prolific scholars and writers, Prof. Michael Andregg, as Vice President, and our own journal's Peter Hecht, as Executive Director.

Among the many tasks now facing Gen. Rhodes is finalizing details for the upcoming annual meeting. Members are preparing for the June conference in Suzhou and it appears that there will be good attendance at Soochow University from both China and the rest of the world. I'll see you there!

For the journal, as well, this has been a period of adjustment because our vigorous Managing Editor, Peter Hecht, has moved to Morocco. That means that much of our work for this issue has had to travel back and forth over long distances, but, so far, so good. We all wish the Hecht family well during their sojourn in Africa and hope that they find the other side of the Atlantic from Washington a rewarding and pleasant environment in which to work and live. In the meantime, we can render thanks for the wonders and efficiencies of the electronic age.

As you will see from this issue, we are trying to emphasize the great strengths of our ISCSC archival collection housed at Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. All those interested in the topic of comparative civilizations will certainly enjoy a visit to the collection. It is housed in a stunning, architecturally attractive building, the Waidner-Spahr Library; when I visited there last month, I was greeted upon entry by Debbie Ege, Reference Associate for Archives and Special Collections. What a kind and thoughtful archivist she is; she made the visit pleasant and the intellectual rewards of the visit tremendous. Ms. Ege works alongside Jim Gerencser, the College Archivist for Dickinson. You can reach them or other members of the Archives team by emailing at archives@dickinson.edu or by calling (717) 245-1399.

When you enter the library, go down a flight to the Archives area. There in the beautiful section devoted to the archives, you can request at the front desk whatever materials you wish, and they are brought out very quickly and in accessible boxes, all placed on a very nice, functional storage cart. It's a great place to carry out research: the study tables, lighting, and environment are all excellent, and there is a student café convenient to the archival area.

How lucky for the ISCSC that our former president, the late Prof. Vytautas Kavolis, was a faculty member at such a terrific college. The organization is indebted to Dickinson College for its protection of our organization's most central documents.

What's more, now you can visit the archives fully prepared. We are carrying the Guide to the Collection in this issue, and it tells you what the contents are and how they are arranged. Future scholars writing up the history of the ISCSC will find this collection the best jumping-off point, I think. Our suggestion: don't hesitate to contact the archivists if you need a document from this organization's past.

Also, we are carrying two articles drawn from the archives, selected from the earlier period of our ISCSC and previously lost to history. You'll find a wide-ranging discussion from 1979 on the topic: "What Must Exist Before You Have A Civilization?" That colloquy was led at our annual meeting in Northridge, California, by Dr. Matthew Melko, one of the ISCSC's outstanding founders, a highly respected scholar and president of the organization from 1983 to 1986. Also, we reprint a wonderful essay by another early leader, the anthropologist Roger Wescott. This is entitled "One Word Synonyms for 'The Comparative Study of Civilizations'." After you read this article, please let us know what your favorite candidate is for the best name of this discipline; perhaps you have an even better suggestion than the many proposed here by Dr. Wescott.

In this issue, we have divided up the contents differently from previous versions. I would like to draw your attention particularly to our rather unusual Special Feature. This has been written by Dr. Ronald French. Dr. French and I met a decade ago in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, where he served as a Vice President for Academic Affairs at Girne American University. The campus is said to be the largest American-style one in Europe, and it is set in a beautiful and lovely part of the island. The university was fortunate to have Dr. French for many years at the academic helm. He lives most of the time these days in Great Britain.

His writing in this issue presents a point of view rarely encountered these days. He is a descendant of a wealthy German family that lived and thrived in the Ukraine for many generations, then fled. When the Revolution of 1917 brought a new order to the dying Russian Empire, the family was in danger; as the Red Army approached southern Ukraine, there was great apprehension on the part of the whites, that is, supporters of the tsarist regime in Russia. This article shows the great extent of what sociologists label "anomie" in a revolutionary situation. It also deals with the clash of many civilizations at once – the Byzantine tradition versus the Soviet regime; the long-time German settlers versus the Ukrainians; the bourgeoisie or aristocracy versus the peasantry; Christians versus the Jews; the various foreign troops, seeking mostly to preserve the dying old order, versus the newly invigorated soldiers of the Bolsheviks.

My own view of the Ukraine varies somewhat from the one taken by Dr. French's ancestors. The country was a killing field for the Jews, and my maternal grandparents were able to escape in time. Thousands did not do so; it is estimated that between 35,000 and 50,000 Jews were murdered in the Ukraine in the four years after the 1917 revolution. As the Special Feature makes clear, however, this did not mean that they were in any way seen as fellow-sufferers by the wealthy classes of gentiles. Quite the opposite.

Comparativist scholars benefit when all sides are presented. It enables a reasonable and well-informed view to be constructed. The territory in which the events of 1919 took place certainly qualifies as a "bloody border" and "historic fault line," to use Huntington's term, between several competing civilizations. Undoubtedly, Dr. French was the perfect person to write such an essay.

We also carry a report, with attractive pictures, that has been written by Dr. Vlad Alalykin – Izvekov. As the ISCSC Representative and Programs Coordinator for Europe and Russia, and as our representative to an important congress held at Moscow State University, Dr. Alalykin-Izvekov recounts the story of the conference but also discusses the great interest he found in Russia in a book he has recently written about a man who was one of the great founders of comparative civilizations as a discipline in the twentieth century, and a founder of the ISCSC: Prof. Pitirim Sorokin of Russia, then Harvard.

There are three refereed articles that were selected for this issue and two other essays, as well. All are well worth reading, providing insights into comparative civilizations. Of course, we have the book review section and our guide for potential authors to round out the contents.

The journal must be doing something right because we can report that thousands of article downloads are occurring each month. During January, for example, we experienced 3284 full-text downloads. And, according to Digital Commons, the three most popular CCR articles for the month were as follows:

- The Causes of Ethnic Conflicts (98 downloads)
<https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/ccr/vol68/iss68/8>
- Globalization vs. Americanization: Is the World Being Americanized by the Dominance of American Culture (94 downloads)
<https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/ccr/vol47/iss47/7>
- Robert D. Kaplan, The Revenge of Geography: What the Map Tells Us About Coming Conflicts and the Battle Against Fate (70 downloads)
<https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/ccr/vol70/iss70/9>

Please let us know your opinions on the organization and contents of the journal. We would be anxious to hear them. In the meantime, let's look forward to an invigorating conference in China during June.

Joseph Drew

Washington D.C.

The Power Configurations of the Central Civilization/ World System in the 11th Century

David Wilkinson

This paper is one in a series in which the political careers of civilizations receive snapshot codings of their overall power structures at feasible intervals. The comparative-civilizational concept herein employed views civilizations as societies with cities, constituting networks whose nodes are the cities and whose links are the avenues of movement between cities.

Cities are interlinked in networks cultural, political and economic. The boundaries of these networks are not the same. This paper examines one civilizational network in its political aspect. Politics is understood as per Hans Morgenthau (1978): a struggle for power and peace, the struggle being unending, the power (if any) and the peace (if any) being transitory. Civilizations in their political aspect are seen not just as networks of cities but as networks of “states,” of “powers,” which fight and negotiate, ally and betray, unite and fracture, conquer and submit, appear and vanish: i.e. practice “power politics” (Wight 1964).

Such networks of powers may be labeled “state systems” (Melko 1969, Wesson 1978), “systems of states” (Wight 1977), or “international systems” (Hoffmann 1961; Rosecrance 1963). Whatever the label, they have recognizable structure or distribution of power, with variety in form. Such form is called “power polarity,” or simply “polarity.” This paper treats “polarity” as a qualitative variable with seven available “values,” all well-established terms in political science. These values reflect the number and type of “centers of power” in the system, or, in a long-established term, its “Great Powers” (Black, 2008; Mearsheimer, 2014; Ranke, 1950 [1833]). At one extreme of this power spectrum, a states-system with no Great Powers embodies “nonpolarity” (Haass, 2008). At the other end, a system whose power structure has been unified (as say in Qin Shi Huang Ti’s “unification of China”) has several labels—“universal monarchy” (Fichte, 2013 [1807]), “universal state” (Toynbee, 1934-1961), “universal empire” (Quigley, 1961), “imperial system” (Melko, 1969), “imperial order” (Wesson, 1967); for our purposes, the simple term “empire” will suffice, understood as indicating a systemwide political unity. The other five values of the polarity variable lie between these extremes: “multipolarity” (Aron, 1966; Kegley and Raymond, 1994); “tripolarity” (Lam, 2011; Schweller, 1993); “bipolarity” (Kaplan, 1957; Waltz, 1964); “unipolarity” (Hansen, 2012; Jervis, 2009; Kapstein and Mastanduno, 1999); “hegemony” (Black, 2008; Posen, 2003; Watson 2007).

The current undertaking is a sequencing of power-polarity structures in search of patterns of stability and change in such power structures. This paper is the 16th of a series in which the political careers of civilizational power structures receive snapshot codings of their overall power structures at feasible intervals. The narratives are produced by collating histories with large frames of reference. Previous articles in the series have examined the Indic system 550 BC-AD 1800, the Far Eastern 1025 BC – AD 1850, the Southwest Asian c. 2700 – 1500 BC, the Northeast African c. 2625-1500 BC (Wilkinson, 2006, 1999, 2001, 2004b), and contended that the Northeast African and Southwest Asian systems and sequences merged c. 1500 BC to form the “Central” system, which persisted. A previous article has coded this system from 1500 BC to 700 BC (Wilkinson, 2004a), and previous papers have examined the system from AD 1100 to date. In the current paper, the Central system’s power structure is coded at 10-year intervals 1000-1100.

What were the boundaries of the Central system in the 11th century? It will readily be seen when we construct a narrative of politico-military transactions that in the 11th century all of “Europe” --the northern fringe (Norway, Sweden, the Baltic lands), Central Europe, Italy, Eastern Europe with the Slavic lands, the Balkans—is part of the same system. So are North Africa and Egypt, Anatolia and Syria, the Caucasus, Mesopotamia, northern Arabia, Iran, and even western Central Asia east of the Caspian Sea (spoken of here as the “East End” of the Central system during the period under study). Culturally, these areas may be seen as the Western, Orthodox and Islamic “culture-civilizations”; politically, they are bound together in a single network of politico-military transactions, whose structure must needs be seen as a whole.

The power configurations of the Central system were coded at 10-year intervals from AD 1000 to 1100. Sixteen *Cambridge Histories* were consulted to elicit the 11th century power structure; both editions of the *Medieval History*, both editions of the *History of Islam*, and the separate histories of early Inner Asia, the Byzantine Empire, Iran, Poland and Russia. It is the norm in such histories for entities such as the Kara-Khanid Khanate or Hungary to be accorded particular attention in the period of their rise to, tenure of, and fall from great power status: thus Golden (1990) writes of Kara-Khanid “conquests,” expansion, “power,” border agreements, interdynastic marriages, and intra-Kara-Khanid wars, while Nora Berend (2004) tells the story of how Hungary moved from a nomad steppe tribal confederation to a “united and powerful kingdom.” These normal-historical power-narratives centered on one great power consolidating expanding, retrenching, allying, defending, intervening, dominating, being subjugated, fragmenting, or one region were then drawn on to synthesize a power-narrative for the entire system.

Comparative Civilizations Review

Figure 1

The Field of Action of the Central System in AD 1000 and AD 1100.

(T.A. Lessman; not to scale)



Note: the (small) numbered countries in the AD 1000 and AD 1100 maps are named on Lessman's source maps at

http://www.worldhistorymaps.info/images/East-Hem_1000ad.jpg and

http://www.worldhistorymaps.info/images/East-Hem_1100ad.jpg

Accordingly, the general procedure adopted in this section is to provide a decade by decade historical recapitulation of the power politics of the Central world system. This narrative is used to derive a coding for the system's power structure at intervals of a decade. To replicate the process, a researcher could go to the same set of historical sources, and independently re-code them; or seek out an alternative set of histories, to check for possible biases in the *Cambridge Histories* exclusively relied upon herein.

The sensitive observer may feel that the following narrative is narrowly focused on wars, rebellions and civil wars, imperial collapses, state failures, dynastic ambitions and extinctions, territories claimed and invaded, gained and lost. The sensitive observer will be correct. The narrative focuses on those events by which power, and rank among the powers of the world, was gained and lost: for power is our topic.

Great Powers of AD 1000

As of AD 1000, from east to west in the Central system, the great powers were the Kara-Khanid Khanate (Transoxania), the Ghaznavid Emirate (Afghanistan), the Buyid Emirate (Iran-Iraq), Cumania (Caspian steppe), Patzinakia (Pontic steppe), Kievan Rus', the Fatimid Caliphate (Tunis, Sicily, Egypt), the Byzantine ("Roman") Empire in Anatolia and the southern Balkans, the (First) Bulgarian Empire, Hungary (in the Carpathian Basin), the German (Holy Roman) Empire in Germany and northern Italy, and the Ummayad Caliphate in Iberia.

Most 11th century great powers had formed when once semi-nomadic dynasties conquered great cities and formed settled states. The Turkic Confederation known as **Kara-Khanids**, led by Kara-khan Ali b. Musa, had conquered Transoxania from the Samanids in 999, and with it its chief city Samarkand (~75,000 population), and in AD 1000 had lately seized Bukhara (75,000: all population figures hereafter cited are from Chandler, 1987).

The **Ghaznavids** of Afghanistan under the redoubtable Mahmud of Ghazni (r. 998-1030) had conquered Khorasan and Afghanistan from the Samanids in 999. Ruling from Ghazni (60,000), their largest city was Nishapur (125,000).

The **Buyids**, a Shia Iranian Muslim dynasty, controlled Iran and Iraq at their peak in the late 10th century, with footholds in Syria, Oman and even Yemen, but the Buyid Emirate shrank at the margins under Baha 'al-Dawla (r. 988-1012). Still, in AD 1000, the Buyids' cities included Isfahan (100,000) and Rayy (100,000), and they had effective control of the still larger, nominally Abbasid, metropolis of Baghdad.

A different type of power, uncitified but aspiring to follow in the footsteps (or hoofprints) of their once semi-nomadic precursors, was represented by **Cumania**, the Cuman-Kipchak Turkic-multiethnic confederation of khanates, grazing its horses and cattle on the plains east of the Pontic steppe of the Black Sea and west of Transoxania. Cumania lacked any strong central commanding power but nevertheless mustered substantial military forces and assailed their neighbors as opportunity offered, and thus qualifies as a great power of AD 1000.

A similar currently semi-nomadic power was that of **Patzinakia**, the Khanates of the Pechenegs. These began the 11th century as occupants of the Pontic steppe north of the Black Sea, periodically in alliance with or at war against their neighbors, Kievan Rus' to the north, Cumania to the east, Khazaria to the southeast, and Magyars of Hungary to the west.

Grand Prince Vladimir Sviatoslavich the Great of **Kievan Rus'** (r. 980-1015) had converted to Orthodox Christianity and brought his subject people with him; he ruled from the Baltic to Ukraine. His capital was Kiev (45,000).

The 11th century began auspiciously for the **Byzantine Empire**. Basil II of the Macedonian Dynasty (r. 976-1025) had by AD 1000 stabilized his control of the Empire, ruling from Constantinople (300,000).

The **First Bulgarian Empire**, ruled from Ochrida (40,000) by Tsar Samuel (r. 997-1014), stretched from the Black Sea to the Adriatic. Samuel enthroned an ally in Croatia AD 1000.

In 1000, the **Fatimid Caliphate**, an Ismaili Shi'ite Arab dynasty, ruled Egypt, eastern North Africa, Sicily, Palestine and the Hejaz, with a strong emphasis upon trade, art and scholarship, while holding the territories acquired in the Caliphate's 10th century expansion with polyethnic armies of Berbers, Turks, Sudanese and others. Its capital was Cairo (135,000).

Prince Stephen I (r. 997-1038) became the first king of **Hungary** in AD 1000, with the approval of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope. Stephen ruled from Hungary's first capital city, Esztergom (c. 15,000). Hungary was friendly with Germany and Byzantium, rivalrous with Poland and Patzinakia.

The **Ummayyad Caliphate** of Cordoba (450,000) was in AD 1000 under the *hajib* (sc. vizier) Almanzor (d. 1002). As of AD 1000, Almanzor's successful campaigns against the Christian Iberian realms of Galicia, Leon, Castile, and Barcelona had prompted them to ally against Cordoba.

These great powers were institutionally quite diverse, even as the great powers and superpowers of today are institutionally diverse. As noted, Kara-Khanids, Ghaznavids, Buyids, Fatimids, Bulgars, Hungarians and Ummayyads had once been semi-nomadic barbarian war-bands, but, having conquered urban centers (Samarkand, Nishapur, Baghdad, Cairo, Ochrida, Solva/Esztergom, and Cordova respectively), had followed the pattern of civic assimilation noted by Ibn Khaldun (1958 [c. 1377]). The Rus' war-bands had founded cities of their own, Kiev having been declared their metropolis or "Mother of cities" (*mat' gorodov russkikh*).

Cumans and Pechenegs were still in the war-band stage, but had aspirations, directed toward Constantinople. The Byzantine Empire was uniquely organized and bureaucratized. The Holy Roman Empire was differently unique, drawing from about twenty small cities in its two component kingdoms of Germany and Italy.

Culturally the powers were also as diverse as are contemporary powers. Western and Eastern Christianity, Sunni and Shi'ite Islam, and indeed shamanism and Tengrism, all were represented among the great powers of AD 1000.

But however heterogeneous the polyculture of the Central system, its states all spoke the *lingua franca* of power politics. What these entities have in common, and what makes them comparable on that dimension, is their command of force and their control of territories and peoples from whom they drew what force they required at any given moment.

Some of the Great Powers of AD 1000 would not last the century as states (Buyids, Ummayyads). Other proved far more durable (the Byzantine and Holy Roman Empires). Hungary exists today, as a state though not as a Great Power. Perhaps it behooves Americans, with a state history of not quite two and a half centuries, to take due notice of entities now-vanished but of similar duration such as the Ghaznavid Empire, the Fatimid Caliphate or the Kara-Khanid Khanate.

That said, we begin the 11th century with a “multipolar” coding, and with the following roster of great powers:

AD 1000: Multipolar. Great Powers: Kara-Khanid Khanate, Ghaznavid Emirate, Buyid Emirate, Fatimid Caliphate, Cumania, Patzinakia, Kievan Rus', Byzantine Empire, First Bulgarian Empire, Hungary, German (Holy Roman) Empire, Ummayyad Caliphate.

A Power Narrative of the 11th Century Central System

The Kara-Khanid domain was parceled out into appendages for the sons of Kara-khan Ali b. Musa. In alliance, Ali's sons sought to conquer Khorasan from Ghazni but were defeated in 1008. The Kara-Khanids fell into internecine strife, this alternating with hostilities with Ghazni.

The Ghaznavids of Afghanistan disputed with the Kara-Khanids at the Oxus. On near-annual raids (1001-1024) Mahmud penetrated the Indian subcontinent to exact submission and tribute, or, if denied, to loot and destroy Hindu temples.

The Buyid Emirate shrank at the margins under Baha' al-Dawla (r. 988-1012).

Grand Prince Vladimir Sviatoslavich the Great (r. 980-1015) of Kievan Rus' allied with Byzantium, maintained peace with Poland and Hungary, and sought with the help of his many wives and concubines to become a true father to his country. He made his sons princes of Novgorod, Pilots, Rostov, Tmutarakan, Smolensk, Drevlya, Turov, and Volhynia, thereby setting the stage for the later dissolution of his realm.

In AD 1000 the Byzantine Empire made a truce with the Fatimid Caliphate of Egypt, a truce which in fact outlasted its intended ten-year term despite strains over Fatimid treatment of Christians. From 1000 to 1018 Basil campaigned against Tsar Samuel of Bulgaria, while the Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim (r. 996-1021) conducted Ismaili proselytization against the declining local power of the Qarmatian Republic of Bahrein, and he fought a war of words with the theologically prestigious Sunni Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad al-Qadir (r. 991-1031), who was under Buyid domination as regarded secular power.

Tsar Samuel of the First Bulgarian Empire faced a long war of attrition via annual and devastating invasions by the Byzantine Empire under Basil II from 1001.

The rulers of the 11th century Holy Roman Empire faced challenges to their inclinations toward central power and imperial expansion from independence-minded dukes and cities: Dukes of Poland; cities of Rome; and, eventually, Roman Catholic Popes. Otto III (r. 996-1002) of the Saxon line had installed his tutor, the scholar Gerbert, as Pope Sylvester II (r. 999-1003). Otto was recognized as overlord by the Dukes of Poland and Bohemia, and as a friend by the King of Hungary and the Doge of Venice, but had not fully re-established control over riotous Rome when he died young, without issue and without an obvious successor.

During the interregnum that followed Otto's death, Italy broke away under its own King, Arduin of Ivrea (r. 1002-1004), while Germany chose Henry II of the Saxon line. Henry led three expeditions into Italy, the first in 1004 to overthrow Arduin and seize the kingship of Italy). Henry fought the Polish ruler Bolesław I the Brave over Lusatia, Upper Lusatia, Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia in a series of wars 1002-1018.

The Ummayyad Caliphate fell into civil war (Fitna al-Andalus) from 1009 to 1031 as a consequence of succession-murders in the hereditary vizierate and succession-coups in the caliphal lineage. From 1009 to 1031 there briefly reigned the 3rd through 11th Caliphs, four being each once overthrown and restored.

AD 1010: Multipolar. Great Powers: Kara-Khanid Khanate, Ghaznavid Emirate, Buyid Emirate, Fatimid Caliphate, Cumania, Patzinakia, Volga Bulgaria, Kievan Rus', Byzantine Empire, First Bulgarian Empire, Hungary, German (Holy Roman) Empire.

The Buyid Emirate persisted in name, but in fractured form, after the death of Baha 'al-Dawla (1012).

The disputed succession to Grand Prince Vladimir Sviatoslavich the Great of Kievan Russia invited Polish and Pecheneg intervention (1015-1019); with the help of the Pechenegs, Yaroslav I the Wise succeeded (r. 1019-1054).

In 1016 Basil II of Byzantium overcame the Crimean Khazar warlord George Tzul, and later recovered the southern Crimea. In 1014, at the battle of Kleidion, Basil destroyed the Bulgarian army. By 1018-1019 the Bulgarian governors and nobles had surrendered to Basil, whose conquest of Bulgaria brought Byzantine power to the Danubian frontier.

Duke Bolesław I of Poland built Polish independence by setting up an independent church structure, denying tribute, and fighting Emperor Henry II for control of Lusatia, Upper Lusatia, Moravia and Slovakia, which Bolesław obtained at the Peace of Bautzen (1018), and for Bohemia, which Bolesław did not acquire. Having secured his western frontier for the time being, Bolesław turned east, conquered Red Ruthenia, and briefly (1018-1019) reinstated his son-in-law Sviatopolk I the Accursed as Grand Prince of Kiev.

Holy Roman Emperor Henry II led a second invasion of Italy in 1014 to reseat Pope Benedict VIII, who had been expelled by a Roman noble. Benedict (r. 1012-1024) became concerned about Byzantine reincursions into southern Italy, and persuaded Holy Roman Emperor Henry II to balance against the Greeks.

Sweyn Forkbeard, King of Denmark, conquered England in 1013 and died in 1014; Ethelred the Unready (r. 978-1013, 1014-1016) returned, to face rebellion from his son Edmund Ironside and invasion from Sweyn's son Cnut the Great. Ethelred died in 1016, and Edmund and Cnut contended for power; Cnut was victorious in 1016. Cnut ruled the "North Sea Empire" of Denmark, England, Norway, and the southern tip of Sweden until his death in 1035. He allied with Poland and Normandy and subjected Scotland and the king of the Irish Sea. The North Sea Empire was in its brief term a great power.

AD 1020: Multipolar. Great Powers: Kara-Khanid Khanate, Ghaznavid Emirate, Fatimid Caliphate, Cumania, Patzinakia, Volga Bulgaria, Kievan Rus', Byzantine Empire, Hungary, Poland, German (Holy Roman) Empire, North Sea Empire.

Mahmud of Ghazni at the peak of his power c. 1027 established a brief rule over territories from today's Iran (Rayy fell to the Ghaznavids in 1029, taken from the Buyids) to the Punjab. The Seljuk Turks began to nibble at Mahmud's domains from 1027.

Mstislav, Prince of Tmutarakan and of Chernigov, and brother of Grand Prince Yaroslavl the Wise, was able to force a temporary partition of the Kievan realm 1024-c. 1035.

Croatia submitted to Byzantium as a vassal state, Armenian Vaspurakan was annexed (1021), Georgia truncated (1022). Basil II left a stable, powerful and prosperous empire to his successors, the inept Constantine VIII (r. 1025-1028) and the unlucky Romanus III Argyros (r. 1028-1034).

Holy Roman Emperor Henry II led a third invasion of Italy in 1022. He had limited success in restoring imperial control over a chaos in southern Italy. Henry faced rebellions from the German Dukes of Swabia, Bavaria and Saxony at various times. He died in 1024 without issue. The German dukes next elected Conrad II, first of the Salian Dynasty (r. 1024-1039, imp. 1027). Conrad toured the German duchies to assuage local opposition to his election. The Italian nobles again saw an opportunity to establish an independent kingdom, and Conrad invaded Italy in 1026-1027 to overawe and subjugate them. Conrad worked to secure closer personal control of the duchies of Bavaria, Swabia and Carinthia, where he was able to install close relatives as dukes.

Upon the death in 1025 of Bolesław I the Brave of Poland, who had in his last two months of life ruled as King of Poland, his son Mieszko Lambert ruled as King (1025-1031). Mieszko assisted German nobles rebelling against German King and (later) Roman Emperor Conrad II. Conrad retaliated by organizing a coalition against Mieszko, cooperating with Lusatian rebels, concluding predatory alliances with Duke Oldřich of Bohemia (who reacquired Moravia) and Grand Prince Yaroslav I the Wise of Kiev (who recovered Red Ruthenia), and neutralizing Poland's ally Stephen I of Hungary by territorial concessions.

AD 1030: Multipolar. Great Powers: Kara-Khanid Khanate, Ghaznavid Emirate, Fatimid Caliphate, Cumania, Patzinakia, Volga Bulgaria, Kievan Rus', Byzantine Empire, Hungary, Poland, German (Holy Roman) Empire, North Sea Empire.

The Seljuk Turks continued their incursions against the Ghaznavids after the death of Mahmud of Ghazni in 1030. Under Sultan Tugril Beg (r. 1037-1063), this Turkic steppe confederacy took (1037-1040) Khorasan, the former Ghaznavid west, from the Ghaznavids.

Yaroslav I the Wise reunited the Rus' at Mstislav's death in 1035. Yaroslav allied with Sweden in marriage and war, alternately fought and allied with Poland and Byzantium, and drove the Pechenegs out of the Pontic steppe in 1036. Thereafter, the Pechenegs moved west and crossed the Danube, being replaced in the Pontic steppe by the Cuman power.

Byzantine Emperor Michael IV the Paphlagonian (r. 1034-1041) faced pressure from Arabs, Pechenegs, rebelling Bulgarians and Serbs, Lombard allies and Norman mercenaries; he regained Sicily, and lost it again.

King Stephen I of Hungary held off an invasion by Holy Roman Emperor Conrad II in 1030. After Stephen's death in 1038, there were civil and foreign wars and German and Polish interventions.

After his defeat at the hands of Emperor Conrad II, King Mieszko of Poland fled to Bohemia and was briefly replaced by his half-brother Bezprym (r. 1031-1032), who repudiated regal status and held the ducal title. After Bezprym's assassination Mieszko was restored and ruled again as King (1032-1034). At Mieszko's death, his nominal successor was Casimir I the Restorer.

After two campaigns (1033-1034), Holy Roman Emperor Conrad II acquired the Kingdom of Burgundy. Conrad managed to secure the succession to his son, Henry III the Pious (r. 1039-1056, imp. 1046).

Norman mercenaries had entered service in southern Italy from 999. They began to establish their own statelets from 1030 at the expense of Lombard dukes and princes and of the Byzantine Empire. Slow progress was made by separate Norman forces in southern Italy and Sicily against Lombards, Byzantines and Muslims.

In France, Henry I (r. 1031-1060) was even weaker than his father Robert with respect to his feudal "vassals."

The North Sea Empire of Cnut the Great was personal, and broke apart upon his death. England fell to Harold I Harefoot (r. 1035-1040).

By 1031, the Caliphate of Cordoba had broken up into more than thirty "*taifas*," mostly ruled as emirates. The Abbadid *taifa* of Seville was expansive, conquering eleven other *taifas* by 1078. The collapse of the powerful Caliphate offered the Christian states of northern Iberia—León, Castile, Navarre, Aragon and the Catalonian counties—the opportunity to expand against its weaker and fractious successors. Ferdinand I united León and Castile 1037-1065, and made full use of his ensuing power advantage.

AD 1040: Multipolar. Great Powers: Kara-Khanid Khanate, Ghaznavid Emirate, Fatimid Caliphate, Cumania, Patzinakia, Volga Bulgaria, Kievan Rus', Byzantine Empire, German (Holy Roman) Empire, León & Castile.

About 1041-1042, Kara-Khanid rivalries led to the division of the Khanate into Western and Eastern Khanates, which fought over Fergana.

Under Sultan Tugril Beg, the Seljuk Turks took the Iranian plateau (1040-1044). The Buyids lost Kerman to the Seljuks in 1048.

The Fatimids lost Tunis to local rebels in 1048.

Peter Orseolo of Hungary (r. 1038-1041 and 1044-1046) was restored, after his first deposition in favor of Samuel Aba (1041-1044), by Holy Roman Emperor Henry III, despite Peter earlier having invaded the Empire, as had Samuel.

Casimir I the Restorer of Poland (r. 1042-1058), aided by German Emperor Henry III, regained actual power in Poland in the face of pagan rebellion, noble secession and Bohemian invasions.

Holy Roman Emperor Henry III managed with difficulty to subjugate the rebellious duchy of Bohemia (1040) and forced Samuel Aba of Hungary to surrender some border territories (1042-1043), next reinstalling the expelled Peter Orseolo as vassal king of Hungary (1044). Henry deposed three quarreling would-be popes and appointed Clement II in 1046, partially asserting imperial authority in southern Italy in 1047. He next reasserted authority in his lowland northwest, and appointed two popes in quick succession.

On the death of Harold I Harefoot his brother Harthacnut, king of Denmark, briefly ruled England (1040-1042). Edward the Confessor, son of Ethelred the Unready, succeeded, and ruled 1042-1066, preoccupied with internal power struggles and border affrays with Scotland and Wales.

AD 1050: Multipolar. Great Powers: Eastern Kara-Khanid Khanate, Western Kara-Khanid Khanate, Ghaznavid Emirate, Seljuk Sultanate, Fatimid Caliphate, Cumania, Patzinakia, Volga Bulgaria, Kievan Rus', Byzantine Empire, Poland, German (Holy Roman) Empire, León & Castile.

In the long rule of Ibrahim of Ghazni (r. 1059-1099), the Ghaznavids became basically a part of the Indic system.

Seljuk Turk Sultan Tugril Beg attacked Byzantine Anatolia (1054). The last Buyid Emir of Iraq (1048-1055) was displaced by the Seljuk Sultan, who took Baghdad and Iraq from the Buyids and subjugated the Abbasid Caliphate of Baghdad (1055-1060). The Abbasid Caliphate persisted in name but without secular power.

Upon the death of Grand Prince Yaroslav I the Wise, Kievan Rus' was divided among his three surviving sons, Iziaslav I of Kiev (who sought support from Poland, Germany and the Papacy), Sviatoslav II of Chernigov, and Vsevolod I of Pereyaslavl, who ruled as a triumvirate under the primacy of Iziaslav (1054-1073). Vsevolod I made peace with the Cumans c. 1055.

The Hungarians having overthrown his vassal Peter Orseolo and installed King Andrew, the Holy Roman Emperor Henry III invaded Hungary twice (1051, 1052) without success.

Casimir I of Poland spent his reign stabilizing his holdings, was appeased by Henry III with Bohemian territory (1054), and was succeeded in 1058 by Bolesław II the Bold.

Holy Roman Emperor Henry III's appointed pope Leo IX (r. 1049-1054), urged by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos, unsuccessfully fought the Normans in southern Italy (battle of Civitate, 1053), revealing the weakness there of both the German and Byzantine Emperors.

Pope Leo IX wrote to Michael Cerularius, Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, asserting the universal secular and religious imperium of the Pope, a position unacceptable to Byzantine Patriarch and Emperor alike. Excommunications were exchanged, and the Papal-Byzantine alliance broken, in the first act of the Great East-West Schism.

Pope Nicholas II (r. 1059-1061) ousted the Antipope-to-be Benedict X with Norman help, and accordingly allied with the Normans and claimed the right of the Cardinals to elect the Pope, as against the rights of previous contestants, the Italian aristocrats and the German Emperors. Meanwhile the Norman Robert Guiscard (c. 1015-1085) became, at first in name by papal favor and later in fact by his own doing, Duke of Apulia and Calabria.

Ferdinand I of Leon & Castile subjugated the rival Christian Kingdom of Navarre (1054), and took territory from it. He began the conquest of Badajoz (1057-1062).

AD 1060: Multipolar. Great Powers: Eastern Kara-Khanid Khanate, Western Kara-Khanid Khanate, Seljuk Sultanate, Fatimid Caliphate, Cumania, Patzinakia, Volga Bulgaria, Byzantine Empire, Poland, German (Holy Roman) Empire, León & Castile.

Seljuk Sultan Tugril Beg took Fars in 1062, ending the Buyid dynasty. Sultan Alp Arslan (r. 1063-1072) conquered Armenia and Georgia in 1064 and fought the Fatimids in Syria from 1068.

Civil war in Fatimid Egypt in the 1060s permanently weakened the Fatimid dynasty.

A Cuman-Rus' 172-year war began in 1061. The Cumans defeated the Rus' triumvirate's army in 1068 and were then defeated by Sviatoslav II of Chernigov alone.

Byzantine Emperor Constantine X Doukas (r. 1059-1067) weakened the Byzantine military and lost most of southern Italy to the Normans, Caesarea in Cappadocia to the Seljuk Turks, Balkan territory to the Oghuz Turks, and Belgrade to Hungary. Romanus II Diogenes (r. 1068-1071) attempted to recover territory lost to the Seljuks.

Andrew of Hungary preferred his son Solomon (r. 1063-1074) to his brother Béla I (r. 1060-1063); in 1060, Béla's Polish backers defeated Andrew's German backers, but Solomon's German backers installed him after Béla's death. There was a period of cooperation between Solomon and Andrew's sons (1064-1071) during which Hungary briefly seized Belgrade from Byzantium.

Holy Roman Emperor Henry III, having died young in 1056 amidst no more than the normal number of rebellions, left a sea of troubles to his son, Henry IV. Henry IV (b. 1050, r. 1053-1105, imp. 1084) suffered the consequences of being an infant-"king."

Bolesław II the Bold of Poland opposed the German (Holy Roman) Emperor Henry IV (or rather his handlers) and his Bohemian allies. Bolesław installed (1061) Béla I as King of Hungary but failed to prevent his succession (1063) by Solomon. Bolesław reinstated (1069) Iziaslav I as Grand Prince of Kiev.

Pope Alexander II (r. 1061-1073), elected in the new manner without reference to the German Emperor, successfully defended his claim to the Papal See against the forces of the German candidate, Antipope-to-be Honorius II. Alexander in his newly independent status called for a crusade against the Moors in Spain and blessed the Norman conquest of Anglo-Saxon England.

Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger I Bosso began the Norman conquest of Sicily in 1061.

Philip I of France (1060-1108) was, like his predecessors, preoccupied with vassal revolts, though he did add somewhat to the royal demesne.

Edward the Confessor of England was briefly succeeded (1066) by Harold Godwinson, who was destroyed by the Norman Duke William the Conqueror (r. 1066-1087). King William I spent some years consolidating his hold on England, and managing his fractious sons.

Ferdinand I of León & Castile continued his expansionist career, taking territory from Zaragoza (1060) and Badajoz (1057-1062), extracting tribute (*parias*) from Zaragoza (1060), Toledo (1062) and Valencia (1065), and raiding Seville and Badajoz (1063). But Ferdinand partitioned his kingdoms and vassalries among his children at his death in 1065, and his successors fought one another.

AD 1070: Multipolar: Eastern Kara-Khanid Khanate, Western Kara-Khanid Khanate, Seljuk Sultanate, Cumania, Patzinakia, Volga Bulgaria, Byzantine Empire, Hungary, Poland, German (Holy Roman) Empire.

Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan defeated and captured Byzantine Emperor Romanus IV Diogenes at Manzikert in 1071, provoking Byzantine civil strife. Sultan Malik-Shah I (r. 1072-1092) and his domineering vizier Nizam al-Mulk subjugated the Western Kara-Khanids in campaigns from c. 1072 to 1090.

In Kievan Rus', Sviatoslav of Chernigov in his last years (1073-1077) temporarily displaced Iziaslav of Kiev. Vsevolod of Pereyaslavl succeeded (r. 1078-1093).

Hungary fell into civil war, Solomon again receiving German support. Solomon was overthrown by Czech forces in favor of Andrew's son Géza I (1074-1077). An invasion by German Emperor Henry IV failed to reinstate Solomon, who was however able to preserve his power in two fortresses and to continue his struggle during the rule of Géza's brother Ladislaus I (r. 1077-1095).

Bolesław II of Poland had a lively decade. He received the royal title (1076) from Pope Gregory VII the Great in return for his opposition to Emperor Henry IV in the Investiture Controversy; he installed (1077) Ladislaus I as King of Hungary; he again reinstated (1077) Iziaslav I in Kiev; he reconquered (1078) Red Ruthenia; and at last he was deposed and exiled by his barons (1079). He was replaced by his brother Władysław I Herman (r. 1079-1102).

Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV quelled a Saxon rebellion (1073-1075), and defeated the Great Saxon Revolt of 1077-1080. Henry fell into the Investiture Controversy with the extreme papal-supremacist Gregory VII (r. 1073-1085). Gregory, with Norman backing, conducted a power struggle with Henry IV, excommunicating him on three occasions (1076, 1080, and 1084).

By 1080, Anglo-Normandy may be seen as a great power. It had certainly attracted the attention of papal diplomats, who sought (but did not get) its fealty, and of the King of France, who sought to weaken it by promoting the rebellion of William's son Robert.

Alfonso VI the Brave (r. 1072-1109) reunited the kingdoms of León & Castile.

The Almoravid leader Yusuf ibn Tashfin (r. 1072-1106) succeeded to the Almoravid command in northern Morocco from 1072 under the banner of Islamic Puritanism.

AD 1080: Multipolar. Great Powers: Eastern Kara-Khanid Khanate, Western Kara-Khanid Khanate, Seljuk Sultanate, Cumania, Patzinakia, Volga Bulgaria, Byzantine Empire, German (Holy Roman) Empire, Anglo-Normandy, León and Castile, Almoravids.

The Eastern Kara-Khanids were briefly and nominally subjugated by the Seljuks in 1089-1090, but in fact continued to act independently.

Byzantine civil strife allowed the 1080s conquest and Turkification of much of Byzantine Anatolia when Seljuk Sultan Malik-Shah I (r. 1072-1092) authorized his generals to carve out 6 vassal “atabeyliks” in northeastern, eastern, central and western Anatolia. In 1087, the same Byzantine civil strife tempted the Pechenegs to invade the Balkan territories of the Empire.

Solomon of Hungary persevered in his struggle for power, joining with Cumans and Pechenegs against Ladislaus (1085) and then against Byzantium, until he died fighting the Byzantines (1087). Thereafter Ladislaus stabilized Hungary.

Władysław I Herman of Poland appeased the Empire and Bohemia, and abandoned the struggle to control Hungary.

Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV fought long and bitterly against Pope Gregory and his Italian and Norman supporters, with enough success to enthrone Antipope-to-be Clement III in 1080 and again in 1084-1100. But Gregory’s diplomacy extended to England, France, Spain (where he urged a crusade), Bohemia, Poland, Kievan Rus’, Byzantium and Armenia, and after his death Normans and anti-imperial Italians rallied behind Pope Urban II (r. 1088-1099).

William the Conqueror’s personal union of England and Normandy (Anglo-Normandy) ended with him; Robert inherited Normandy and England fell to William II Rufus (r. 1087-1100). William II brought Scotland into fealty and pressed into Wales.

The attacks of Alfonso VI of León & Castile upon the *taifas* brought him Toledo (1085) and the tribute of Granada and Seville. But his expansion was halted by the intervention of Yusuf ibn Tashfin at Sagrajas (1086).

AD 1090: Multipolar. Great Powers: Eastern Kara-Khanids, Seljuks, Cumania, Patzinakia, Volga Bulgaria, Byzantine Empire, German (Holy Roman) Empire, León and Castile, Almoravids.

Having conquered the Western Kara-Khanid Khanate by 1090, the Great Seljuk Empire promptly collapsed when both Seljuk Sultan Malik-Shah I and his domineering vizier Nizam al-Mulk died in 1092. Its successors included the emirates of Aleppo and Damascus, the atabeylik of Mosul, and a shrunken but still powerful Seljuk Sultanate of Rum (Anatolia).

In Kievan Rus', Vsevolod was succeeded by his nephew Sviatopolk II Iziaslavich (r. 1093-1113). The Cumans raided Rus' after the death of Vsevolod, and Sviatopolk joined his cousin and rival Vladimir Monomakh of Chernigov in a punitive expedition, which was repelled at the Stugna River in 1093. Thereafter, Sviatopolk and Vladimir were rivals in Rus'.

Ladislaus I of Hungary and his nephew Coloman the Learned (r. 1095–1116) were able to maintain themselves and begin to establish domination over Croatia. But (in 1097 or 1099) Cumania defeated Coloman's expansion in their direction.

Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV continued to struggle against the Papal coalition in Italy, but was beleaguered by the revolt of his son Conrad (suppressed in 1098), and never succeeded in re-establishing the former imperial domination of the Roman church.

Freed to promote the papalist vision, Pope Urban II responded to a Byzantine call for help against the partitioned Great Seljuk Empire by preaching (1095) a crusade for the reconquest of the Holy Land. Byzantine Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (r. 1081-1118) was able to use Byzantine gold to supply the western adventurers who rallied to the First Crusade (1096-1099). The First Crusaders helped Alexius retake territory from the truncated Seljuk Sultanate of Rum even as they established their own Crusader statelets in Edessa, Antioch and Jerusalem at the expense of the lesser Seljuk successor states.

Byzantine gold also purchased the defeat of Pecheneg invaders in the Balkans. In 1091, the Pecheneg power was broken at the battle of Levounion by a Cuman-Byzantine alliance. The Pechenegs were again defeated by the Cumans in 1094, and thereafter sank into obscurity under Byzantium or Cumania.

William II of England subjected Robert in Normandy (1091). In 1100, William was killed; his brother Henry I (r. 1100-1135) succeeded.

The leader of the *taifa* of Seville, pressed by Alfonso VI of León & Castile, called in the Almoravid Yusuf ibn Tashfin, who took control of the taifas except Zaragoza, and held Alfonso at bay for the rest of the century.

AD 1100: Multipolar. Eastern Kara-Khanids, Cumania, Volga Bulgaria, Byzantine Empire, Hungary, German (Holy Roman) Empire, León and Castile, Almoravids.

The Sequence of the 11th Century Central System Power Structure

- *AD 1000: Multipolar.*
- *AD 1010: Multipolar.*
- *AD 1020: Multipolar.*
- *AD 1030: Multipolar.*
- *AD 1040: Multipolar.*
- *AD 1050: Multipolar.*
- *AD 1060: Multipolar.*
- *AD 1070: Multipolar.*
- *AD 1080: Multipolar.*
- *AD 1090: Multipolar.*
- *AD 1100: Multipolar.*

The century was entirely multipolar. At no time did any subset of its Great Powers move out of the pack and thereby render the system tripolar, let alone bipolar or unipolar.

The above codings are of course available for use by other researchers, with the customary source acknowledgement.

We may reasonably wonder why the Central System power structure was so stable (sc. durable) even while it was so unstable (sc. war-prone). Concluding hypothesis: *the durability of the multipolar systemwide power structure depended upon the fragility of the “states,” the “Powers,” which composed it, which tended to fracture before they could reach a position of systemwide influence.*

Acknowledgements

The AD 1000 and 1100 maps are noticed as from **Talesman's Atlas of World History**, owned by and copyright to Thomas Lessman, via the licensing of all its content as CC-by-nc-nd-3.0 US. License. (Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-NoDerivatives-3.0).

References

(1) Historical sources

- Berend, Nora. "Hungary in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, edited by D. Luscombe & J. Riley-Smith, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 304-316.
- Boyle, J. A., editor. *The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 5. The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1968.
- Chandler, Tertius. *Four Thousand Years of Urban Growth*. Lewiston: St. David's University Press, 1987.
- Fierro, Maribel, editor. *The New Cambridge History of Islam. Volume 2. The Western Islamic World, Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Frye, R. N. *The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 4, The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1975.
- Golden, Peter B. "The Karakhanids and Early Islam." *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, edited by Denis Sinor, Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 343-370.
- Gwatkin, H.M., et al., editors. *The Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. III. Germany and the Western empire*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1924.
- Holt, Peter Malcolm, Ann K. R. Lambton, and Bernard Lewis, editors. *The Cambridge History of Islam. Volume 1A. The Central Islamic Lands from Pre-Islamic Times to the First World War*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Holt, Peter Malcolm, Ann K. R. Lambton, and Bernard Lewis, editors. *The Cambridge History of Islam. Volume 2. The Further Islamic Lands, Islamic Society and Civilisation*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Hussey, J.M., D. Nicol and G. Cowan, editors. *The Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. 4, The Byzantine Empire, part I, Byzantium and its Neighbors*.
- Luscombe, D. E., and Jonathan Riley-Smith, editors. *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. 4, c. 1024-c. 1198*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Morgan, David O., and Anthony Reid, editors. *The New Cambridge History of Islam. Volume 3. The Eastern Islamic World, Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Perrie, Maureen, editor. *The Cambridge History of Russia, Vol. 1, From Early Rus' to 1689*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Reddaway, W. F. et al., editors. *The Cambridge History of Poland, Vol. 1, from the Origins to Sobieski*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1950.
- Reuter, Timothy, editor. *New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume 3, c. 900 - c. 1024*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Robinson, Chase F., editor. *The New Cambridge History of Islam. Volume 1. The Formation of the Islamic World, Sixth to Eleventh Centuries*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010.

- Shepard, Jonathan, editor. *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c. 500-1492*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Sinor, Denis, editor. *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Tanner, J. R., et al., editors. *The Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. IV. The Eastern Roman empire (717-1453)*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1923.
- Tanner, J. R., et al., editors. *The Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. V. Contest of empire and papacy*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1948.

(2) Conceptual sources: Great powers, Power structures, Polarity and its Forms

- Aron, Raymond. *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations*. Translated by Richard Howard and Annette Baker Fox. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1966.
- Black, Jeremy. *Great powers and the Quest for Hegemony*. London and New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Fichte, Johann Gottlieb. *Addresses to the German Nation*. Indianapolis: Hackett, [1807] 2013.
- Fox, William T. R. *The Super-Powers*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1944.
- Gulick, Edward Vose. *Europe's Classical Balance of Power*. Cornell University Press, 1958
- Haass, Richard L. "The Age of Nonpolarity." *Foreign Affairs* (May-June, 2008): 3ff.
- Hansen, Birthe. *Unipolarity and World Politics*. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Hoffmann, Stanley. "International Systems and International Law." *World Politics*, 14.1 (1961): 205-237.
- Ibn Khaldûn. 1958 *The Muqaddimah: An introduction to history*. Translated from the Arabic by Franz Rosenthal. 3 vols. Princeton University Press, [c. 1377] 1958.
- Jervis, Robert. "Unipolarity: A Structural Perspective." *World Politics* 61.1 (2009): 188-213.
- Kaplan, Morton A. *System and Process in International Politics*. New York: Wiley, 1957
- Kapstein, Ethan B., and Michael Mastanduno. *Unipolar Politics: Realism and State Strategies after the Cold War*. Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Kegley, Charles W., and Gregory A. Raymond. *A Multipolar Peace? Great-power Politics in the Twenty-first Century*. New York: St. Martin's, 1994.
- Kennedy, Paul. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. New York: Vintage, 1987.
- Lam, Lai Sing. *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms and Mao's Global Order of Tripolarity*. Peter Lang AG, 2011.
- Melko, Matthew. *The Nature of Civilizations*. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1969.
- Morgenthau, Hans J. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. Fifth Edition revised. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978.

- Murray, Donette, and David Brown, eds. *Multipolarity in the 21st Century: A New World Order*. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Mearsheimer, John J. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2014.
- Posen, Barry R. "Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation of U.S. Hegemony." *International Security* 28.1 (2003): 5-46.
- Quigley, Carroll. *The Evolution of Civilizations: An Introduction to Historical Analysis*. New York: Macmillan, 1961.
- Ranke, Leopold von. *The Great Powers <Die Grossen Mächte>*. Translated by Hildegard Hunt von Laue. Princeton University Press, 1950.
- Rosecrance, Richard N. *Action and Reaction in World Politics; International Systems in Perspective*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1963.
- Schweller, Randall L. "Tripolarity and the Second World War." *International Studies Quarterly* 37.1 (1993): 73.
- Toynbee, Arnold. *A Study of History*. 12 vols. Oxford University Press, 1934-1961.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. "The Stability of a Bipolar World." *Daedalus* 93.3 (1964): 881-909.
- Watson, Adam. *Hegemony and History*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Wesson, Robert G. *The Imperial Order*. University of California Press, 1967.
- Wesson, Robert G. *State Systems: International Pluralism, Politics, and Culture*. New York: Free Press, 1978.
- Wight, Martin, and Hedley Bull. *Systems of States*. Leicester University Press, 1977.
- Wight, Martin. *Power Politics*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1946.

(3) Elements of the current project

- Wilkinson, David. "Analysis of Power-Structure Fluctuations in the 'Longue Durée' of the South Asian World System." 1 *Structure and Dynamics: eJournal of Anthropological and Related Sciences* No. 2 (2006), Article 2. (With Sergei V. Tsirel.) <http://repositories.cdlib.org/imbs/socdyn/sdeas/vol1/iss2/art2>
- Wilkinson, David. "The Power Configuration Sequence of the Central World System, 1500-700 BC." 10 *Journal of World Systems Research* (2004a), pp. 654-720.
- Wilkinson, David. "Power Configuration Sequences in the Northeast African World System to 1500 BC." 50 *Comparative Civilizations Review* (2004b), pp. 82-104.
- Wilkinson, David. "Power Polarity in the Far Eastern World System 1025 BC--AD 1850: Narrative and 25-Year Interval Data." 5 *Journal of World-Systems Research* no. 3 (Fall 1999), pp. 501-617.
- Wilkinson, David. "Problems in Power Configuration Sequences: The Southwest Asian Macrosystem to 1500 BC." 17 *Comparative Civilization* (2001), pp. 1-13.

The Phoenicians and the Formation of the Western World¹

John C. Scott

A small maritime region, Phoenicia lay on the Eastern Mediterranean coast. The Phoenicians, who were Semites, emerged as a distinct Canaanite group around 3200 B.C. Hemmed in by the Lebanon Mountains, their first cities were Byblos, Sidon, Tyre, and Aradus.²

Scholars agree that there are two sources of the Western tradition: Judeo-Christian doctrine and ancient Greek intellectualism. More generally, there is recognition that Western civilization is largely built atop the Near Eastern civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt. A basic question arises, however, as to which ancient people specifically prepared the way for the West to develop. While early Aegean cultures are often viewed as the mainspring, assessment of the growing literature reveals that the city-states of Phoenicia *stimulated* (Bronze Age) and *fostered* (Iron Age) Western civilization.

Phoenicia, the principal axis of Eastern influence, sent forth pioneering seafarers, skilled engineers, gifted artisans, and the master entrepreneurs of antiquity. Through a peaceful, long-distance exchange network of goods and ideas, they influenced the trade, communication, and civilizational development of the Mediterranean basin. The height of Phoenician shipping, mercantile, and cultural activity was during the Greek early Archaic period, especially the Orientalizing phase, c. 750-650 B.C., which appears to have laid the foundations for fifth century B.C., classical Greece.

Phoenician mercantilism also prompted European state formation in the Aegean, Italy, and Spain. Rome would succeed Greece and Carthage. Finally, Roman Carthage promoted Latin Christianity.

¹ For research assistance, the author is grateful to Texas A & M University, Institute of Nautical Archeology.

² Sanford Holst, "Origin of the Phoenicians: Interactions in the Early Mediterranean Region," a paper presented at Queen Mary College, London, England, on June 29, 2008, accessed May 6, 2014, <http://www.phoenician.org/originofphoenicians.htm>.

This past century, anthropologist Ralph Linton, in *The Tree of Culture*, confirmed the influence of the Phoenicians: “Their main role in the development of the Greek and other Mediterranean cultures was as intermediaries between Asia and Europe.”³ Modern Phoenician studies were launched during the early 1960’s by Sabatino Moscati and the Italian school. By the seventies there was an emphasis on the Phoenician expansion. *The Sea Traders* was introduced by archeologist James B. Pritchard. “They became the first to provide a link between the culture of the ancient Near East and that of the uncharted world of the West...They went not for conquest as the Babylonians and Assyrians did, but for trade. Profit rather than plunder was their policy.”⁴ Toward the close of the century, *La civilization phenicienne et punique: Manuel de recherché*⁵ appeared as a landmark collection of articles in the field of Phoenician-Punic studies. Reviewer Philip C. Schmitz’s concluding comment: “To the general historian, the volume offers an alternative history of the Mediterranean before Rome, balancing the hellenocentric narratives that have so long determined the shape of ‘Western’ civilization.”⁶

Bronze Age: Phoenicia and Embryonic Western Civilization

According to the prominent world-systems (ancient, non-Marxist) theory, fundamental structural changes radiated out of fourth millennium B.C. urbanized, southern Mesopotamia. By way of this expanding “core-periphery” system, from the Early Bronze through the Iron Age, North Africa and the whole of Europe were eventually integrated. The world-systems approach emphasizes long-distance trade and communication, and it includes the traditional concept of cultural diffusion. Diffusion involves ideas, technology, goods, and individuals; nevertheless, aspects of culture, may be modified or even rejected by local elites and their societies.

By the third millennium B.C., there were two core powers, Egypt and Mesopotamia. “Semi-peripheries” were capitalist polities that conducted trade between cores and the undeveloped peripheries. Just to the north of the Phoenicia region was the small Canaanite kingdom of Ugarit; it was semi-peripheral to Mesopotamia. Actually, many scholars treat Ugarit as a purely Phoenician city. Phoenicia proper formed a unique, westward-facing maritime region that served as a semi-periphery of *both* cores—thus stimulating the rise of a new civilization in the West.

³ Ralph Linton, *The Tree of Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), 341.

⁴ James B. Pritchard, introduction to *The Sea Traders*, by Maitland A. Edey (New York: Time-Life Books, 1974), 7.

⁵ Veronique Krings, ed., *La civilization phenicienne et punique: Manuel de recherché* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

⁶ Philip C. Schmitz, “A Research Manual on Phoenician and Punic Civilization,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121 (2001): 636.

Minoan civilization (height, c. 1950-1450 B.C), combined with later Mycenaean Greek contributions, is duly acknowledged as the forerunner to classical Greece, which elevated Western civilization. Civilizations expert Fernand Braudel considers Minoan Crete a bridge between East and West. As such, his foundation of Western civilization: “Cut off from the [barbaric] Aegean world, Crete looked towards Cyprus, Ugarit, and Byblos; through these places it made contact with Egypt and Mesopotamia, without which any serious development would have been unthinkable. Crete was from then on enmeshed in a context of eastern civilization.”⁷ Many archeologists concur that the emerging Minoan elite gradually began to import Near Eastern exotic, prestige products and technologies, such as advanced sailing ships; that is, they favored a shift away from Aegean to Eastern Mediterranean models of culture.⁸ By the third millennium B.C., the Phoenicians had become major sea traders. As the bearers of Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and other Eastern cultures, Phoenician influence seems clear. Conversely, since the 1970’s, theories of (primarily) indigenous development on Minoan Crete have had a strong following.⁹

The rise of Crete’s monumental buildings, c. 1950 B.C., state Papadimitriou and Kriga, “with their bureaucratic administration and large-scale storage of agricultural surpluses...suggests political affiliations with, and considerable influence from the Near East.” Found within the buildings are exotic materials and luxury products (gold, ivory, and faience); new metalworking techniques are also introduced. Thus, “the evidence may suggest some kind of state-level relations with the Egyptian Middle Kingdom, perhaps via the Levantine coast.”¹⁰

⁷ Fernand Braudel, *Memory and Mediterranean*, trans. Sian Reynolds (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001), 112-113.

⁸ Peter Tomkins and Ilse Schoep, “Crete,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, ed. Eric H. Cline (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 70.

⁹ Sanford Holst, “Minoans and Phoenicians: Indigenous Development versus Eastern Influence,” a paper presented at California State University, Long Beach, on June 24, 2006, accessed June 30, 2014, <http://www.phoenician.org/minoansphoenicianspaper.htm>.

¹⁰ Nikolas Papadimitriou and Demetra Kriga, “‘Peripheries’ versus ‘Core’: The Integration of Secondary States into the World System of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East in the Late Bronze Age (1600-1200 BC),” in *Exchange Networks and Local Transformations*, ed. Maria Emanuela Alberti and Serena Sabatini (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), 10, 11.

By importing monumental construction techniques, Minoan elites seem to have been emulating their Near Eastern counterparts.¹¹ L. Vance Watrous points to Near Eastern inspiration for Cretan Hieroglyphic and Linear A (and, thus, Mycenaean Linear B) syllabic writing, clay tablets, and sophisticated sealing practices as major elements in the administrative model.¹² Perhaps the leading theory is that the Cretan scripts derive from Old Phoenician.¹³ Economist Michael Hudson underscores the fact that accounting, along with writing, time (in base sixty), prices, and monetary silver, were first standardized in Sumer for the administration of the commercial sphere.¹⁴

The emergence of the later Middle Bronze to early Late Bronze Age elite at Mycenae took place during the Shaft Graves period. Similar to the Minoan, the Mycenaean elite favored a shift toward Near Eastern luxury products (Orientalization) in their cultural development.¹⁵

In economic history, Late Bronze Age political stability, which included royal protections, but also rules, for merchants and traders, spurred commerce. The Phoenician business model of the Bronze and Iron Ages represents an inheritance from Mesopotamia. Thus, mixed enterprise flourished as the crown (public) and merchants (private) each contributed capital to invest in manufacturing and long-distance trade.¹⁶

Byblites of the Late Bronze Age created a remarkable twenty-two letter alphabetic writing system, known as Phoenician. It was developed out of the Ugaritic script, which, in turn, had developed out of proto-Canaanite.¹⁷ Aside from its diplomatic and cultural merits, the commercial value of the Phoenician alphabet aided the region in its rise as a mercantile empire during the Iron Age. Simultaneously, it aided in the ongoing transfer of high culture from the Near East to the West.

¹¹ Ilse Schoep, "Social and Political Aspects of Urbanism in Middle Minoan I-II Crete: Towards a Regional Approach," in *Inside the City in the Greek World*, ed. Sara Owen and Laura Preston (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2009), 33-34.

¹² L. Vance Watrous, "The Role of the Near East in the Rise of the Cretan Palaces," in *The Function of the Minoan Palaces*, ed. Robin Hagg and Nanno Marinatos (Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Athens, 1987), 69-70.

¹³ See Jan Best, "The Oldest Scripts in Crete: Derivation, Development, Decipherment," in *Ancient Scripts from Crete and Cyprus*, ed. Jan Best and Fred Woudhuizen (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 1-29.

¹⁴ Michael Hudson, "Introduction: The Role of Accounting in Civilization's Takeoff," in *Creating Economic Order: Record-Keeping, Standardization, and the Development of Accounting in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Michael Hudson and Cornelia Wunsch (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2004), 1-3.

¹⁵ Bryan E. Burns, "Trade," in *Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, 292, 296.

¹⁶ Karl Moore and David Lewis, *Birth of the Multinational* (Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press, 1999) 69-90; and Karl Moore and David Lewis, *The Origins of Globalization* (Abington, UK: Routledge, 2009), 85-90.

¹⁷ Glenn Markoe, *Phoenicians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 110-111.

Sweeping across the Eastern Mediterranean at the close of the period, c. 1200 B.C., were the invading or displaced Sea Peoples from the Aegean. The Hittite Empire collapsed, Ugarit was permanently destroyed, and Egypt went into decline, despite the victory of Ramses III. Fortunately, the Phoenician cities survived (one theory is that they allied themselves with the Sea Peoples). Ill-fated, the Mycenaean civilization also fell and, thus, Greece entered its “Dark Age”. Western culture was devastated and now largely isolated from the cosmopolitan Near East. Creating a vast, mercantile network—as well as filling the Aegean vacuum—was Phoenicia. Subsequently, Phoenician civilizational influence spanned (another) thousand years and traversed the Iron Age, not impacting but rather impelling the Occident.

Iron Age: Exploration, Mercantilism, and Cultural Diffusion in the West

The major Iron Age, starting c. 1200 B.C., city-states were Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Aradus, Beirut, and Tripoli. Robert Stieglitz remarks that the “internationalism” of the Late Bronze Age was soon “replaced by the flowering of the Phoenician renaissance.”¹⁸ World historian Jerry H. Bentley points out that maritime commerce *actuated* the economic, social, and cultural integration of the Mediterranean basin. Initiated by the Phoenicians, then followed by the Greeks (who reflected the Phoenician pattern) and Romans, merchants organized networks of exchange and distribution. These networks encouraged the division of labor and the building of states.¹⁹

Early in the first millennium B.C., the Phoenicians set-up ports, bases, warehouses, and emporia, up to the southern Black Sea and across the Mediterranean basin and beyond. Initially, trading stations were established at strategic geographic and economic locations. Led by Tyre, in southern Phoenicia, territorial colonies were established in Cyprus, mineral-rich Sardinia and Iberia, the Balearic Islands, Sicily, Malta, and agriculturally-rich North Africa (first Utica and Carthage). Exploration and colonization went past the difficult Strait of Gibraltar or Pillars of Hercules. (Hercules was originally a Phoenician deity.) The Atlantic coasts of Africa and Europe, and, perhaps, the Canary Islands (visible from the shore) and the British Isles, were discovered.

¹⁸ Robert Stieglitz, “The Geopolitics of the Phoenician Littoral in the Early Iron Age,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 129 (1990): 9.

¹⁹ Jerry H. Bentley, “Sea and Ocean Basins as Frameworks for Historical Analysis,” *Geographical Review* 89 (1999): 215-219.

By 1200 B.C., the Phoenicians were building large merchant ships. In world maritime history, declares Richard Woodman, they are recognized as “the first true seafarers, founding the art of pilotage, cabotage, and navigation” and the architects of “the first true ship, built of planks, capable of carrying a deadweight cargo and being sailed and steered.”²⁰ Master shipbuilders, during the Bronze Age, they laid a keel. For sturdy hulls, pegged mortise-and-tenon joints were developed on the Levantine coast; this method spread westward, and it became standard until the Late Roman period.²¹ The brailed rig sail—so vital, because it enabled tacking against the wind—was likely a Levantine innovation. Transport amphorae that became standardized for volume, in use and imitated for over two thousand years until Byzantine times, were invented in Phoenicia. In stellar navigation, the North Star was discovered, which the later Greeks called the Phoenician Star; this enabled sailing at night on shorter distance, open-sea routes. They apparently invented the Mediterranean wind rose and the crow’s nest. The first evidence of maritime law also appears in the Levant.²² Iron Age contributions include the art of cartography;²³ artificial (and self-cleaning or flushing) harbors, such as those in Sidon, Tyre, Atlit, and Acre;²⁴ and, the revolutionary bireme or double-decked war galley.²⁵

Industry was another key to the success of the mercantile network. Both luxury and common goods were produced. The Phoenicians pioneered mass production. Their region, for example, emerged as the leading producer of glass, which now included *transparent* glass. Finished articles, such as flasks and beads, by the thousands, were shipped across the Mediterranean.²⁶ In Spain, wheel-turned pottery was introduced and mass produced.²⁷ The Carthaginians mass produced ships: parts were labeled with the Punic alphabet.²⁸

²⁰ Richard Woodman, *The History of the Ship* (New York: Lyons Press, 1987), 16. Cabotage refers to navigation along the coastline.

²¹ Cemal Pulak, “Uluburun Wreck,” in *Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, 873; and George Bass, “Cape Gelidona Shipwreck,” in *Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, 799-800.

²² Shelley Wachsmann, *Seagoing Ships & Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant* (College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 1998), 300, 51, 323-325, 332.

²³ Mark Woolmer, *Ancient Phoenicia: An Introduction* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011), 84.

²⁴ Arad Haggi, “Report on Underwater Excavation at the Phoenician Harbour, Atlit, Israel,” *International Journal of Nautical Archeology* 39 (2010): 283.

²⁵ Woodman, 16-21.

²⁶ Gerhard Herm, *The Phoenicians*, trans. Catherine Hiller (New York: William Morrow, 1975), 80.

²⁷ Moore and Lewis (1999), 128.

²⁸ Piero Bartoloni, “Ships and Navigation,” in *The Phoenicians*, ed. Sabatino Moscati (New York: Abbeville, 1988), 76.

Their most famous product, the expensive Tyrian and Sidonian purple dye, was exported either as powder or as dyed fabric, especially wool. The Greeks ascribed the ethnic name of Phoenicians (derived from the word *phoinos*, meaning red) probably because of their red to violet cloth. The Royal Purple of the ancient monarchies, as in Rome, became the Western standard of imperial adornment.

The artwork of the Phoenician cities was renowned in ancient times, and it is increasingly respected by experts today. Besides fine textiles and glassware, other major productions were woodworking with mortise-and-tenon seams; ivory work, often inlaid in furniture; metalwork, including bronze, silver, and gold cups and bowls; and, jewelry: perfected were the Near Eastern techniques of filigreeing, granulation,²⁹ repoussé, and gold sheeting (embossing pertains to bowls). By 1000 B.C., iron smelting and ironworking were mastered.³⁰

As sea merchants in the West, they brought Mesopotamian astronomy and weights and measures, as well as their own Phoenician alphabet: a phonetic code (not a pictographic system) to build words. This simplified writing system did not require professional scribes as in Egypt or Mesopotamia, and it could be written on a variety of media. The egalitarian alphabet was (and is) easy to learn—in fixed sequence. A long-distance network of trade involved contracts, correspondence, and record keeping.³¹

Preliminary trade with the Euboean Greeks was established during the tenth century B.C. This traffic introduced Eastern prestige goods, such as gold jewelry and fine cloth;³² weight standards;³³ and, Phoenician alphabetical writing,³⁴ perhaps the first in Greece.

The title of the synthesis *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, by Walter Burkert, exhorts Hellas-centered classicists. Its theme: the formative epoch, from c. 750-650 B.C., known as the Orientalizing period, was decisive. Under the influence of the high culture of the Semitic East (Assyrian, Phoenician, Aramean), Greece laid the foundations to create a culture that would eventually dominate the Mediterranean—classical civilization. The most important transmission was the Phoenician alphabetic script (Mycenaean Linear B had died out).

²⁹ Maria E. Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West*, 2nd ed., trans. Mary Turton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 79.

³⁰ Maitland A. Edey, in *Sea Traders*, 62.

³¹ Linton, 112.

³² Susan Sherratt and Andrew Sherratt, "The Growth of the Mediterranean Economy in the Early First Millennium BC," *World Archeology* 24 (1993): 367, 369.

³³ John H. Kroll, "Early Iron Age Weights at Lefkandi, Euboea," *Oxford Journal of Archeology* 27 (2008): 37-48.

³⁴ Lincoln Paine, *The Sea and Civilization* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), 84.

Along with the concept of the book, Semites contributed traditional Mesopotamian literary forms, techniques, and motifs—besides the Phoenician pantheon—that find strong parallels in Hesiod, Homer, and Aesop.³⁵ Mentioned above are the scientific traditions of nautics, astronomy, and measures. Another Eastern tradition, including Phoenician, was fine music: inherited by the Greeks and handed down to the European Middle Ages. Phoenicia conveyed the religious-sport festival and athletic stadium (monumental architecture), forerunning the celebration of the Olympic games.³⁶

So the editors of *Debating Orientalization* reaffirm the centrality of the Phoenicians in the cultural process of Orientalization: defined as the indigenous adoption and reworking of Eastern goods and ideas. This practice is first seen on Cyprus, then in the Greek, Italian, and Iberian regions.³⁷

The prehensile Archaic Greeks modified the Phoenician alphabet in order to accommodate their vowel-intensive Indo-European tongue. This formed the basis of the West's (Latin and Cyrillic) alphabets. Marshall McLuhan, who famously quipped “the medium is the message,” and Robert K. Logan, in studying the alphabet, conclude that it is more than an efficient form of writing-communication. The alphabetical (like the numerical) system is how societies organize information. Beyond literacy and systematization, the alphabet stimulates both abstract and rational thought through the phonetic coding and decoding process. As a result, the adoption of Phoenician letters—especially in Ionia and Athens—created an intellectual environment for the development of Greek, and, subsequently, Western science.³⁸

In the Greek language, writes Burkert, there is a “marked presence” of Semitic loan words, thus proving Phoenician cultural influence. These are displayed in the critical areas of writing, commerce, trade, and craftsmanship. Following are selected examples: *alpha*, *beta*, *gamma*, and so forth, are letter names; *byblos*, the word for book (and later, Bible) since the Greeks imported Egyptian paper from Byblos; *mina*, the standard unit of weight and currency; *kanon*, the standard unit of measurement in architecture or measuring rod; *titanos*, lime, *gypson*, plaster, and *plinthos*, clay brick, are new construction terms; *gaulos*, the word for ship, *makellon*, market; and, *arrabon*, deposit.³⁹

³⁵ Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, trans. Margaret E. Pinder (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 5-6, 128-129, 25, 29-33, chap. 3.

³⁶ Labib Boutros, *Phoenician Sport, Its Influence on the Origin of the Olympic Games* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1981).

³⁷ Corinna Riva and Nicholas C. Vella, “Introduction,” in *Debating Orientalization*, ed. Corinna Riva and Nicholas C. Vella (London: Equinox, 2006), 13-14.

³⁸ Robert K. Logan, *The Alphabet Effect: The Impact of the Phonetic Alphabet on the Development of Western Civilization* (New York: William Morrow, 1986), 25, 17-21, 187-191, 207, 103, chap. 6. McLuhan is quoted on p. 25.

³⁹ Burkert (1992), 35, 34, 28-40.

Orientalizing art is principally represented by fine metalworking, ivory carving, jewelry (gold filigree, granulation, and so on), ceramics, and the first large-scale architecture. Greece's monumental temples and statuary are based on an Eastern prototype, and they appear during the eighth century B.C.⁴⁰ Architectural features that were adopted include the Phoenician Proto-Aeolic capital, forerunner of the Ionic capital, and ashlar masonry. The Phoenicians also acted as intermediaries to carry Egyptian architectural techniques to Hellas. For the interior of buildings, beyond plaster, other materials used were wood (cedar) paneling, for example, Phoenician-built Solomon's Temple; alabaster slabs; and, stucco (Phoenician-Punic world). Originally, Phoenicians of the Bronze Age developed lime mortar with hydraulic properties from which the Greeks evolved true cement.⁴¹ Subsequently, the Romans would produce concrete.

Historian of science Leonid Zhmud comments on the preliminary data used in the first—in the world—mathematical proofs by the early Hellenes. “Semitic borrowings in the Greek related to weights, measures, and practical calculations confirm that this area was open to Oriental influence.”⁴² A fifth century B.C., contribution, the abacus, probably reached Greece from Phoenicia.⁴³ This valuable calculating device was in service in the West until the French Revolution.

The democratic and constitutional Athenian city-state—pivotal to the growth of the Western world—may be another adaptation. From the Bronze Age onward, observes Glenn Markoe, “true city-states” functioned in Phoenicia.⁴⁴ These autonomous, monarchical city-states with their councils of elders and peoples' assemblies are characterized as proto-democratic. With regard to Greece, preceding Athens, Sparta had a constitution. Aristotle, in his analysis of the Spartan and Carthaginian (Punic) constitutions, points to similarities: councils and popular assemblies. Thus, Simon Hornblower, Robert Drewes, and others assume that the Spartan system followed a Phoenician prototype.⁴⁵

The Phoenician models adopted or adapted by Archaic Greece, like the alphabet, allowed for commercial intercourse with leading societies, along with the development of Western civilization. It is generally accepted that Phoenician standards of weights and measures were universally employed by the Greeks, passed on to the Etruscans and Romans, and inherited by medieval Europe.

⁴⁰ Günter Kopcke, “What Role for Phoenicians?,” in *Greece between East and West: 10th – 8th Centuries BC*, ed. Günter Kopcke and Isabelle Tokumaru (Mainz: Zabern, 1992), 110-112.

⁴¹ Donald Harden, *The Phoenicians* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), 141, 136.

⁴² Leonid Zhmud, *Pythagoras and the Early Pythagoreans*, trans. Kevin Windle and Rosh Ireland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 250.

⁴³ O.A.W. Dilke, *Mathematics and Measurement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 21.

⁴⁴ Markoe, 87.

⁴⁵ Stephen Stockwell, “Before Athens: Early Popular Government in Phoenician and Greek City States,” *Geopolitics, History, and International Relations* 2 (2010): 123-133.

Hudson makes the convincing case that the financial customs of classical Greece and Rome were not indigenous to Indo-European societies as many assumed previously. Instead, during the Archaic period, largely through Phoenician maritime commerce, financial innovations were diffused to the Greeks and Etruscans, then transferred to the Romans: maritime law, insurance contracts, joint financing of business ventures, banqueting (aristocratic symposium), deposit (aforementioned *arrabon*) banking, and interest-bearing debt.⁴⁶

Finally, the example of Phoenicia's distant voyages and colonization was followed by Greeks. Starting in the eighth century B.C., the Euboeans and Corinthians led the colonization movement. Classicist Richard A. Billows affirms this meant learning ship construction technology, navigation skills, and the east-west trade routes of the Phoenicians.⁴⁷

On mainland Italy, Phoenician contact is evident by the tenth century B.C., and regular exchange commenced in the ninth century.⁴⁸ Etruscan mariners learned from the Phoenicians how to navigate by the stars.⁴⁹ Moreover, the foregoing Phoenician weights and measures and financial innovations would be conveyed to Archaic Italy, then received by the Romans.

The strong Orientalizing tradition (750 to 580 B.C.) involved both goods and ideas. This period of economic growth, in fact, marks the beginning of Etruscan civilization.⁵⁰ Wine, a luxury product, was introduced to the Etruscans. They, in turn, shipped the beverage in Etruscan amphorae (imitation of Phoenician amphorae) and domesticated grapevines to southern France. Viniculture thence spread north into Europe, and eventually, the New World.⁵¹ Structurally, Orientalization is associated with the emergence of cities, urban planning, masonry houses with tile roofs,⁵² and wheeled vehicles. Moreover, urbanization coincides with the formation of Italian city-states.

⁴⁶ Michael Hudson, "Did the Phoenicians Introduce the Idea of Interest to Greece and Italy—And If So, When?," in *Greece between East and West*, 128, 134-141.

⁴⁷ Richard A. Billows, *Marathon* (New York: Overlook Duckworth, 2010), 61-62.

⁴⁸ Albert J. Nijboer, "Italy and the Levant during the Late Bronze and Iron Age (1200-750/700 BC)," in *Beyond the Homeland: Markers in Phoenician Chronology*, ed. Claudia Sagona (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 428-431, 426.

⁴⁹ Baldassarre Giardina, *Navigare Necessè Est* (London: Archeopress, 2010), 6.

⁵⁰ Maurizio Sannibale, "Orientalizing Etruria," in *The Etruscan World*, ed. Jean Macintosh Turfa (London: Routledge, 2013), 99.

⁵¹ Patrick E. McGovern, "Beginning of Viniculture in France," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 110 (2013): 10147-10151.

⁵² Sannibale, 99, 120-122.

The architectural traditions of Etruria, largely Phoenician and Greek, were later transferred to Rome. Etruscan Orientalizing (as in Spain) is characterized by aristocratic emulation, including the model of the Eastern courts' stately display. Phoenician imports or their imitation include the following: "early togas and the use of the colour purple",⁵³ ceremonial axe, sceptre, horse, chariot, throne, banqueting equipment, and seals. These symbols of political authority were passed on to the Romans.⁵⁴

Subsequently, there arrived Greek colonists and merchants. Spreading Hellenic culture, early in the eighth century B.C., they introduced Greco-Phoenician letters to form the Etruscan alphabet. In turn, it was transmitted to and adapted by the Romans as the basic Latin alphabet of western Europe.

By 800 B.C., the intercontinental mercantile network of Phoenicia took shape, embracing the far west. The analysis of Moore and Lewis shows that Tyre's monarchy and private merchants—a mixed economy with capitalistic features—by 650 B.C., "presided over the most impressive business organisation in antiquity...able to internationalise trade and production on an axis stretching from the Atlantic shores of Spain to the shores of the Babylon Euphrates."⁵⁵ Additionally, West Africa (gold, ivory) became a direct trading partner, and the British Isles (tin), an indirect, overland trading partner.⁵⁶

The new chronology suggests an Atlantic exploration period, during the tenth century B.C., followed by later ninth century colonization.⁵⁷ Gades (Cadiz) was founded west of the Strait. Southwest Iberia held the most abundant silver deposits known in the ancient world. While there existed protohistoric indigenous mining, the Phoenicians introduced iron tools—announcing the Iberian Iron Age—to replace stone tools, advanced smelting techniques and cupellation, and systematic operations, resulting in a boom of silver production.⁵⁸

⁵³ Nijboer, 443.

⁵⁴ Annette Rathje, "Tracking Down the Orientalizing," *Bolletino di Archeologia on line* I 2010 Volume special F/F2/2, 2010, Ministero per i Beni e le Attivita Culturali, accessed October 15, 2016, <http://www.archeologia.beniculturali.it/pages/pubblicazioni.html>.

⁵⁵ Karl Moore and David Lewis, "Multinational Enterprise in Ancient Phoenicia," *Business History* 42 (2000): 34.

⁵⁶ Moore and Lewis (1999), 128.

⁵⁷ Maria E. Aubet, "Political and Economic Implications of the New Phoenician Chronologies," in *Beyond the Homeland*, 247-249.

⁵⁸ Moore and Lewis (1999), 116-119.

There is consensus on the local Late Bronze Age culture; that is, before Phoenician colonization starting in the eighth century B.C. Iberia was proto-urban—displaying simple ground plans in some areas.⁵⁹ Likewise, its tribal groups were in a transitional phase toward early state formation. The socio-economic bases were already in place. Joan Sanmartí, therefore, employs a combined endogenist (internal) and exogenist (external) theoretical approach to change. He acknowledges that “foreign contact had an important role in the evolution of the indigenous societies.”⁶⁰ Phoenician activity is associated with the technological change, economic intensification, and increased social differentiation that ushered in Iberian Age centralized polities (states).⁶¹

Scholarship thus focuses on the Phoenician period as related to the formation of Iberian culture and its first cities, beginning around 600 B.C. The Iberian Orientalizing phase embraced the late eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Technological transfers were iron, metallurgical techniques, the potter’s wheel, and “carts and chariots are the oldest wheeled vehicles in Iberia.”⁶² Agriculturally, crop specialization, technologies, commercial cereal (surplus) and olive oil production, and viniculture were spread by the Phoenicians.⁶³ Commerce introduced, for example, banqueting; transport amphorae; and, standardized weights, measures, and seals.⁶⁴

Phoenicia proper colonization in Iberia faded with the fall of Tyre to Nebuchadnezzar in 573 B.C. Yet, Carthage gradually assumed leadership of the western Phoenician cities.

Punic Carthage: Further Contributions in the West

Carthage was founded on the fertile coast of central North Africa in the late ninth century B.C. After Tyre fell, the city-state became fully independent. From the sixth century B.C., Carthage incorporated and expanded the western Phoenician colonies, founded new colonies, and acquired the ports of Corsica. The peak of Carthage’s power was during the fourth century B.C. Its prosperity is validated by vast reserves of gold and silver.⁶⁵ Carthage was likely the richest city on earth: the view of the ancients.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Maria Carme Belarte, “Colonial Contacts and Protohistoric Indigenous Urbanism,” in *Colonial Encounters in Ancient Iberia*, ed. Michael Dietler and Carolina López (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009), 105-107.

⁶⁰ Joan Sanmartí, “Colonial Relations and Social Change in Iberia (Seventh to Third Century BC), in *Colonial Encounters*, 50-52.

⁶¹ Joan Sanmartí, “Colonial Activities and Iberian Origins,” in *Journal of Mediterranean Archeology* 21 (2008): 279-280.

⁶² Richard Harrison, *Spain at the Dawn of History* (London: Thames and Hudson: 1988), 34.

⁶³ Ramon Buxó, “Botanical and Archeological Dimensions of the Colonial Encounter,” in *Colonial Encounters*, 157-159, 162-165.

⁶⁴ Sanmartí (2008), 279-280.

⁶⁵ Markoe, 103.

⁶⁶ B. D. Hoyos, *The Carthaginians* (Milton Park, Abington, Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2010), 59.

Punic Carthage (550-146 B.C.) was a mercantile and political superpower in the West. The republic was on a level with the Eastern powers and Greece.⁶⁷ Over 250 years of peace with budding Rome involved four written treaties.⁶⁸ The Carthaginian agricultural revolution began during the fifth century B.C. Mago's authoritative, twenty-eight volume work on agricultural science and economy was translated by the Romans and Greeks.⁶⁹ Punic Spain and Italy received from Carthage advanced (Levantine) technology: *plostellum Punicum*, a mechanical threshing machine. Carthaginian nautical contributions include the aforementioned standardized ship construction, the dry dock,⁷⁰ and lighthouses.⁷¹

Eric S. Gruen notes that the Greeks held the Carthaginian constitution in high regard. Aristotle, in the *Politics*, delivers praise for the merit-based document. The classical philosopher compares it with the respected Spartan constitution (mentioned previously, Sparta's may be based upon a Phoenician prototype). How would the Roman Republic's constitution compare? For Hellenistic political thinkers, "Carthage, as is clear, supplied the principal criterion by which to measure success."⁷²

Conclusion: The Quickening of Western Civilization

Phoenicia's cultural interaction with the Occident spanned two millennia. Led by Bronze Age Byblos, the region originated the true sailing ship, navigation by the North Star, maritime law, and so forth. The voyages of the Phoenicians constitute the "first systematic use of the sea."⁷³ Flowing out of their commercial activity of the Bronze and Iron Ages are foundational contributions to the Western world.

As distilled by William H. Hallo, the basic qualities of civilization are cities, capital, and writing.⁷⁴ Part of the Fertile Crescent, Phoenicia with its city-states possessed all three elements in abundance. Peaceful, long-distance trade and exchange was undertaken. Its artisans, merchants, and agents promoted urban growth, made major capital investments, and spread literacy. All in all, the enduring Phoenician influence—representing the urbanized Near Eastern cultures—both stimulated and fostered Western civilization.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 57-58. Although Carthage lost the Punic Wars, the military tactics of Hannibal are studied by modern strategists.

⁶⁸ Markoe, 54, 102, 190.

⁶⁹ Serge Lancel, *Carthage: A History*, trans. Antonia Nevill (London: Blackwell, 1995), 278.

⁷⁰ Richard Miles, *Carthage Must Be Destroyed* (New York: Viking, 2010), 215.

⁷¹ Giardina, 5-6.

⁷² Eric S. Gruen, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 199-120.

⁷³ Braudel, 188.

⁷⁴ William H. Hallo, *Origins* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 1.

Bronze Age sea trade brought Phoenician merchants to Minoan Crete before and during its height (c. 1950-1450 B.C.). Consequently, embryonic Western civilization borrowed important Eastern concepts: monumental building techniques; luxury products of gold and ivory (later, glass); advanced sailing ships; monetary silver; weights and measures; and an administrative model, including clay tablets, seals, accounting methods, and syllabic (perhaps Old Phoenician) writing that became Linear A.

The Early Iron Age saw the expansion of Phoenician civilization in the West. Leadership of the city-states was assumed by Tyre. Tyre's monarchy (public) and merchants (private) comprised a mixed economy with capitalistic features. During the tenth century B.C., they began to create an intercontinental mercantile network. Colonies were first planted on Cyprus, then Carthage was founded in 814 B.C.; settlements also stretched to the Atlantic coasts of Africa and Europe, which they discovered. The Phoenicians bore the cultures of the core Mesopotamian and Egyptian civilizations. Handed on were manufactured goods (luxury and common), bulk products, technologies, and information, as well as cultural, architectural, and artistic patterns. This network laid the foundation for the Roman Empire's Mediterranean as a single economic, political, and cultural unit.

Well before classical Greece and Rome, there arose macro-trends associated with Phoenicia: globalization, capitalism, and multinational corporations. In *The Origins of Globalization*, Moore and Lewis observe that the achievement of Tyre (and Carthage) was to expand world trade and at the same time to shift the center of finance and high culture westward.⁷⁵ *The Cambridge History of Capitalism* is introduced by Larry Neal. He cites the primacy of Phoenicia's market-driven capitalism and long-distance trade reaching the Atlantic.⁷⁶ Moore and Lewis, in *Birth of the Multinational*, hold forth that the merchants of Tyre created the first multinational business organization on an intercontinental scale.⁷⁷ These trends originated in Mesopotamia, yet it was the commercial activities of the Phoenicians that laid the economic and cultural bases of the Western world.

Between the protohistoric and classical eras was the decisive transitional epoch known as the Orientalizing horizon (eighth and seventh centuries B.C.). Phoenician mercantilism, capital, and routes, along with cultural elements (i.e. alphabetical script) encouraged European state formation: first, in the eighth century B.C., Aegean, then in seventh century Italy and Spain.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Moore and Lewis (2009) 113, 111.

⁷⁶ Larry Neal, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge History of Capitalism*, vol. 1, *The Rise of Capitalism*, ed. Larry Neal and Jeffrey G. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 7.

⁷⁷ Moore and Lewis (1999), 69.

⁷⁸ Sherratt and Sherratt, 374-375.

Most important, classical historian Walter Burkert identifies the expansion of both maritime commerce and the alphabet (literacy) by Phoenicia as the determining factors that “caused the center of civilization to shift westward from the Near East to the Mediterranean.”⁷⁹ First arose the civilizations of Carthage and Greece, followed by Etruria, and finally, Rome.

Indeed, from the Phoenicians early Archaic Greece received alphabetical writing—and the book—forming the basis of the West’s (Latin and Cyrillic) alphabets; shipbuilding technology, navigation skills, the example of overseas colonization; and, commercial contracts (also in Italy). Brought to Greece, Italy, and Iberia were weights and measures, monumental art and architecture, and fine luxury goods as models that influenced early European art. The alphabet is considered the preeminent contribution of the Phoenicians for the establishment of Western civilization. Clearly, the Greek intellectual achievement would not have been possible, nor could it have been recorded for future generations of literate Europeans, without the egalitarian script.

Punic Carthage (550-146 B.C.) became a mercantile, political, and military superpower in the West. Among its introductions were large-scale agricultural methods and technologies, horticultural specialization, and new crops, as well as nautical innovations. The city-state also set a constitutional standard in the ancient world. The destruction of Tyre (Alexander the Great) and Carthage (Scipio) included the loss of their records, archives, and libraries. These collections could be substantially older than the Hellenistic library in Alexandria.⁸⁰

Afterwards, Roman Carthage became the focal point of emerging Latin Christianity. Above all, it produced the first outstanding—Tertullian—and the most influential—St. Augustine—Western Church theologians. The Protestant reformers, too, drew heavily upon Augustine’s conservative writings.

The last word is given to Hans G. Niemeyer, a Phoenician (Iron Age) specialist, who abstracts how this most ancient people, in effect, sparked Western civilization. First, the specific experience of Archaic Greece: the Phoenician transfusion of Eastern goods, technologies, and ideas that, in turn, became the foundations of Greco-Roman civilization. Secondly, the pan-Mediterranean influence: “The eminent role played by the Phoenician city-states in the dissemination of urban civilization, in the propagation of technical innovations, in the distribution of new [aristocratic] lifestyle paradigms and ‘modern’ economics.”⁸¹

⁷⁹ Walter Burkert, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 6.

⁸⁰ Lancel, 358-359.

⁸¹ Hans G. Niemeyer, “The Phoenicians and the Birth of a Multinational Mediterranean Society,” in *Commerce and Monetary Systems in the Ancient World*, ed. Robert Rollinger and Christoph Ulf (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004), 246, 250.

Today, the above contributions span Wilkinson's central civilization/world-system. Early modern European expansion, followed by Westernization—fittingly with large ships, capitalism, alphabetical writing, and colonization—spread the legacies of Phoenicia.

Does Belarusian-Ukrainian Civilization Belong to the Western or the Latin Civilization?

Piotra Murzionak

Abstract

The aim of this article is to further develop the idea of the existence of a distinct Belarusian-Ukrainian/Western-Ruthenian civilization, to define its place among Western sub-civilizations, as well as to argue against the designation of Belarus and Ukraine as belonging to the Eurasian civilization. Most of the provided evidence will be related to Belarus; however, it also applies to Ukraine, the country that has had much in common with Belarus in its historical and cultural inheritance since the 9th and 10th centuries.

Key words: designation, Belarus, Europe, civilization

Introduction

The designation of a modern country or group of countries to one or another civilization bears two aspects. If we keep in mind the example of Belarus, the first one means that such a definition built on a thorough analysis of the historical development of the Belarusian nation will contribute to the natural selection of the country's geopolitical position in the universe. On the other hand, Belarus' rich civilization heritage helps her to sort out the developmental trends of modern global civilization / cultures and harmoniously integrate them.

For a long time, namely from the 18th century, thanks to historical mythology compiled by Russian politicians and scientists promulgated around the world, Belarus, like Ukraine, has been viewed and considered as part of Russian / Eurasian / Orthodox civilization (hereafter the Eurasian civilization). Most Western scholars also take for granted such Russian historical myths as:

- a trinity of three Eastern Slavic peoples: Belarusian, Russian and Ukrainian;
- belonging and continuity of the historical heritage of Kievan Rus' to Russia; and
- the Slavic character of the Muscovy, the Russian state.

Obviously, these three main Russian myths preclude a vision of free and independent Belarusian and Ukrainian nations, and moreover, the existence of a unique Western-Ruthenian civilization that protected Belarusians and Ukrainians for centuries and continues to do so today. The notion of a Western-Ruthenian civilization, in our opinion, corresponds to the greatest extent to the historical memory and the content of this modern civilization.

Eastern Slavs form two civilizations – Western-Ruthenian and Eurasian

Detailed evidence to support the idea of the existence of the Belarusian-Ukrainian/Western-Ruthenian civilization can be found in recently published articles (P. Murzionak, 2013; 2015). Delineation of Eastern Slavs to form two civilizations began in the 9th century and was determined by various factors including the distinctive features of their tribes; the natural conditions of the East-European Plain and the Eurasian steppe; assimilation of the local tribes; internecine wars between the lands and principalities; the influence of the Mongol Empire and the advent of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL). GDL saved a substantial part of the Eastern Slavs who lived on the territory of modern Belarus and Ukraine from "strong Eurasian influence."

According to A. Shakhmatov (1919), Slavic tribes from the Elbe and Vistula regions moved from West to East in two groups. One group, gradually moving to the North, North-East and East, occupied the territory of modern Belarus and the regions of Pskov, Novgorod and Smolensk. The other group, moving to the South and South-East, populated in a gradual way the territory of modern Valyn, Ukraine and the Carpathians. Thus, the Slavs, more precisely the Eastern Slavs, occupied the territory which historians later called Kievan Rus.

Slowly but surely, a division arose between the Slavs who lived in what are now Ukraine and Belarus, and the Slavs who migrated to the North-Eastern lands (the territory of the future Muscovy). One reason for this division was the assimilation of the "Great Russian Slavs" with Finno-Ugric peoples living in the North-East (Mordvinians, Mari, Vepsians, Meshchera, and Murom) (the first wave of assimilation). The fact that the first principality in the North-East principality (Suzdal) emerged only in 1157, nearly two centuries after the emergence of Kiev and Polatsk principalities, points to a slow migration and assimilation of the Eastern Slavs with the local Finno-Ugric population. It is possible to assume that one of the reasons for this slow migration was a progressive feudal fragmentation of Kievan Rus. Slavs' migration and their assimilation with the Finno-Ugric and Turkic peoples is proved by a significant difference in the distribution of the genetic material and the presence of its gradient from North to South and from West to East in the North-East region, from which a modern Russia started to develop (B. Malyarchuk et al, 2004; O. Balanovsky et al, 2008).

But on the other hand, the collapse of Kievan Rus was the prerequisite of a further ethno-national division of the Eastern Slavs. It led to the development of two Eastern centers with their own specific features: the Principality of Polatsk (the precursor of the future Belarusian state) and the Valyn-Galich principality (the predecessor of the future Ukrainian state). The distinct character and independence of both principalities became even stronger.

One of the key factors dividing Eastern Slavs in two civilizations, Belarusian-Ukrainian (Western-Ruthenian) and Eurasian, was the Mongol-Tatar invasion. The dividing line between the two civilizations becomes evident if one considers the territory captured by the Mongol Empire. If the territory of Belarus and Ukraine remained mainly free from the invaders from the Eurasian steppe, the Muscovy State was captured by the Mongols and had a vassal status for over two centuries, from 1240 to 1480. During the rule of the Golden Horde in the 13th-15th centuries and later, during the period of expansion of Muscovy in the 16th-19th centuries, it was the second wave of assimilation of Muscovy Slavs with Turkic peoples that further distanced them from Belarus's and Ukraine's Slavs.

Belarusian and Ukrainian Slavs retained their identity and civilization in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL), which effectively united the Eastern Slavs in the 13th-15th centuries after the breakup of Kievan Rus. This kind of unifying role could not be performed by Muscovy for a good reason—at that time it was a vassal state of the Mongol Golden Horde. The GDL ceased "eurasiatation" of a large part of the Slavs, the future Belarusians and Ukrainians. Until the end of the 18th century the Belarusians made up a significant part of the GDL population and later of the Rzeczpospolita/the Commonwealth of Two Nations, and they did not belong to Muscovy or to the Russian Empire.

Evidence of Belarusians belonging to Western civilization and culture

A brief description of the reason for the creation of two civilizations by Eastern Slavs was given above. This part provides evidence that the Belarusian-Ukrainian civilization has many features of Western civilization and can be attributed to it.

Given that the Belarusian-Ukrainian civilization existed for eight centuries, starting from the 13th century, while Eurasian civilization was just taking its shape at this time, it can be assumed that it is nearly three centuries older than the Eurasian one. This difference can be explained by two reasons: 1) by slow migration of the Slavs in the lands of the North-East region—the future territory of the Muscovy tsardom, as evidenced by the much later formation of the Vladimir-Suzdal principality (1157) compared to the Polatsk (960) and Kiev (882) principalities; and 2) by the status of the principalities in the North-East region, which were vassals of the Golden Horde for nearly 240 years (1240-1480).

For centuries the population of Belarus and Ukraine, assimilated with Balts or Sarmatians, has lived in the same territory, and today is mainly ethnically homogeneous. In contrast to the Belarusians and Ukrainians, the North-Eastern Slavs assimilated with the Finno-Ugric tribes (the first wave of assimilation), and later with the Turkic peoples (the second wave of assimilation), and the area of their settlement, as a result of the capture of other nations, increased dozens of times to form the territory of modern Russia.

The main difference between the populations of the two civilizations in our time can be observed by calculating the ratio of the Slavs to other ethnic groups (30:1 and 24:1 for Belarus and Ukraine, and 4.8:1 for Russia) (P. Murzionak, 2015, p. 67). These data were supported in a recent study of the history of the exchange of genetic material between the nations of the world (G. Hellenthal et al., 2014). It was shown that among eight nations from the East European group, only the Eastern group, Russian and Chuvash, have similar types of genetic material exchange, and their predecessors came from two sources, from South-East Asia and from Europe. It is interesting that in the Russian and Chuvash group that exchange occurred twice, once in the period before 500 BCE, and the second time during the rule of the Golden Horde. Both exchanges are responsible for 10% of the DNA in Russians, and approximately for 35% in Chuvash's. For the rest of the countries surveyed (Belarusians, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Greeks, Lithuanians, Romanians) such an exchange took place once, and only about 2-4% of the DNA was derived from Asia (for Belarusians the figure was 3.6%, with the remaining genetic material originating from the North-European part—about 65%—and from the South—about 30%).

The geographical belonging of Belarusians to Europe during the GDL and Commonwealth time is not in doubt as the Eastern border of Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries was at the same time the Eastern border of the GDL, i.e., between the GDL and Muscovy. In the second half of the 18th century, Empress Catherine II inspired the creation of Russian historical myths, which were later used to justify the seizure and accession of the Belarusian and Ukrainian peoples to the Russian Empire. Attempts of Muscovy and the Russian Empire (the Eurasian civilization) to do it before had no critical success. Muscovy was attached to Europe geographically only in the early 19th century when Europe's borders were pushed back to the Ural Mountains (see the description of its boundaries by the French scientist M. Malte-Brun) (W.H. Parker, 1960).¹

¹ The idea of the eastern borders of Europe by the Ural Mountains belonged to the Swedish officer P.-J. von Stoltenberg, expressed in the 18th century (M. Bassin, 1991).

In the 15th - 17th centuries the GDL defended European values from Eurasian ones. Numerous wars provoked by Muscovy against the GDL under the guise of Orthodox population protection were not successful because people of the GDL defended various civilization values including religious tolerance. Since the end of the 15th century, as soon as the domination of the Golden Horde ended due to self-disintegration, and to the middle of 17th century, there were nine major wars between the GDL and Muscovy: the 1st Muscovy-Lithuanian War - 1492-1494, 2nd - 1500-1503, third - 1507-1508, 4th - 1512-1522, 5th - 1534-1537, the Livonian War - 1558-1583, the war of Muscovy with Rzeczpospolita - 1605-1618, the Smolensk war - 1632-1634, and the Northern war - 1654-1667. Thus, for the period from 1492 to 1667, i.e. for a period of 175 years, 80 years were the years of war, when Belarusians fought directly with the Muscovites. Indeed, it can be called a clash of civilizations. There were many victims. During the Northern war alone 1.5 million Belarusians were killed (G. Saganovich, 1995).

There is enough scientific evidence for the designation of Belarusian-Ukrainian civilization to Western civilization (N. Bekus 2011; Z. Kohut 2001; V. Kuplevich, 2013; R. Szporluk, 2001). For example, V. Kuplevich (2013) identifies 15 key factors which point to the European nature of Belarus, including the 1,000-year history of Belarus; the presence of European civilizational processes in Belarus (the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Counter-Reformation, the Union of Brest, the Enlightenment); the presence of European institutions (Parliament, the Sejm, the Magdeburg rights, town halls); and modern state-building processes, as well as the integration of Belarus into the European political, cultural and economic life. For example, the Magdeburg rights held sway in many Belarusian cities of the GDL: Brest (1390), Grodno (1391), Slutsk (1441), Polatsk (1498), Minsk (1499), Braslau (1500), Navahradak (1511), Mahilou (1577), Pinsk (1581), Vitebsk (1597), Druia (1618), Orsha (1620), and others. This is in contrast with Muscovy, where there was no such European institution.

The influence of European processes of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation on the religious life in the GDL in 16th - 18th centuries is reflected in numerous facts (A. Kotliarchuk, 2015). The Orthodox, Catholic and Greek-Catholic denominations coexisted in the GDL; however, their influence among the various sectors of society was unequal. Thus, during the second half of 18th century the majority of the Belarusian population (about 70%) joined the Uniate Church, while a considerable part of the Belarusian elite kept faith with Catholicism and a smaller part followed Orthodoxy.

Muscovy, and later the Russian Empire, constantly expanded and conducted a colonial policy towards its neighbors. The colonial mentality of the Russian elite and the public before and now grew up as a state policy, and in the past two centuries was glorified by Russian poets and writers, such as A. Pushkin ("Journey to Erzerum during the campaign in 1829", "Caucasian captive"), M. Lermontov ("A Hero of Our Time"), L. Tolstoy ("War and Peace"), A. Solzhenitsyn ("Cancer Ward"), V. Rasputin ("Siberia, Siberia"), and many other Russian writers largely of the Russophile environment (E. Thompson, 2000). This would impact the mentality of the enslaved peoples, in particular, Belarusians and Ukrainians in 19th and 20th centuries. The fruits of the colonial policy of russification, which continues today in the form of the "Russian world," are easy to see looking at the use of native languages and the spread of the Eurasian idea via media channels in Belarus and Ukraine, and, finally, by the open aggression of Russia against Ukraine.

200 years of Russian domination in Belarus have led to significant changes in the outlook of the Belarusian people. Comparing political and economic reforms which were carried out in 1991 in Latvia and Belarus, it was observed by D. Meadows (2012) that: "... Belarusians took a divergent view, as Belarusian political-cultural worldviews saw themselves as historically linked culturally to Russia, Eurasia and Orthodoxy."

At the same time, the author notes that

[t]his does not mean that Belarusians lacked a cohesive national identity, but instead that their historical political-cultural worldviews did not deem it necessary, nor expedient to move away or break off from Belarus's traditional cultural realm. Thus, what National Identity arguments miss is that Belarus has its own coherent and unique national identity, which simply contains different ideas, contrary to normative definitions constructed by many observers.

Agreeing with the author's latter statement, we think that some changes in the outlook of the Belarusians, encouraged by Russia, are not irreversible. Considering the process of development of the Belarusian and Ukrainian societies in space and time, from the Polatsk and Valyn principalities until the end of 18th century, one can argue that in terms of civilization, Belarusian-Ukrainian civilization is significantly different (ethnically, religiously, mentally) from Eurasian civilization, and in many ways should be referred to as a European or Western civilization. A temporary inclusion of the Belarusian and Ukrainian nations into the Russian Empire for two centuries and their contemporary struggle for a separate place in the world only underscores the fact that a civilization in a dynamic, cyclical development may experience periods of prosperity and decline. However, given the long duration of historical cycles, we'd like to think that the Belarusian-Ukrainian civilization gradually enters the phase of recovery today.

In the 20th century, Belarus and Ukraine have had twice the chance to become full-fledged independent countries, in both cases after the collapse of empires: the Russian empire in the beginning of the 20th century, and the Soviet Union at the end of 20th century. Though the first chance was not fully successful, as both countries remained Russian colonies, the second chance seems to be more real now, although emancipation is not such an easy task. In the situation with Ukraine, it involves a direct military confrontation with the Russian empire. As for Belarus, it seems that its leaders, especially recently, do not quite force or take decisive steps to distance the country from the formidable neighbor peacefully.

Determination of Belarus position among Western sub-civilizations

It seems that a number of features define civilization together— (language, ethnicity, religion, culture, and economy), and that civilizations develop in space and time. The Belarusian-Ukrainian civilization is no exception despite the very slow progress on the part of Western researchers in understanding the individual role of Belarus and Ukraine among Slavic nations. This view is changing very slowly, mainly due to researchers' geopolitical or religious preferences, conservatism and inaction in the revision of established Russian historical myths as well as a strong pro-Russian lobby.

According to S. Huntington (1993), there are eight civilizations: Western, Orthodox, Islamic, Chinese, Indian, Japanese, Latin, and African countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Many scientists adhere at most to the same classification, while A. Targowski (2009) introduces two modern developing civilizations with a hybrid, global culture.

However, many scholars, for reasons not completely understood, ascribe Belarus and Ukraine to the Eurasian civilization. For example, in Kuzyk's and Yakovets' monograph (2006) two countries, Belarus and Ukraine, can be seen on the maps of the future development of the Eurasian (Russian) civilization in 2050. The rationale for the inclusion of these countries in the Eurasian civilization, according to the old Russian tradition, is not given. The position of the Russian authors is rather clear as they adhere to the ideas of past and present Eurasists, with the colonial character of these ideas having distinct geopolitical overtones.

Classical Eurasist traditions, unfortunately, are very often accepted by Western researchers *a priori*, which is largely due to the ignorance of the ideas of Belarusian and Ukrainian researchers who had fairly limited access to the international arena in the Soviet times. Taking historical Russian myths at the face value, Western researchers follow them building on their foundation theories that do not take into account the existence of essentially three separate East Slavic nations, Belarus, Russia and Ukraine. All three East Slavic nations are generally assigned by them into Eurasian civilization.

It appears that the inclusion of Belarusians and Ukrainians into Eurasian civilization, in most cases, is carried out on religious preferences. Both S. Huntington and A. Targowski assign Belarus and Ukraine, along with Russia, Bulgaria and Moldova, to Eurasian civilization. Only a small portion of both Belarus and Ukraine enters into Western civilization as shown on S. Huntington's map, who sees the existence of just such a border between East and West over the last 500 years (cited from P. Eberhardt).² It seems that if the Europeanization process took place in 17th and 18th centuries simultaneously with the classification of civilizations, there is no doubt that Belarus and Ukraine would be adjoined to European or Western civilization. However, the division between East and West, Orthodoxy and Catholicism / Protestantism began to take shape scientifically in the 19th century thanks to both Russian and Western philosophers and politicians.

Discussing the new concept of the division of Europe between Latin and Byzantine civilizations, P. Eberhardt (2016) adds an even smaller part of Belarus and Ukraine to Latin civilization than those shown on the map of S. Huntington. This territorial division of Belarus and Ukraine on religious principles generates itself a possible conflict between the Orthodox and Catholics. Interestingly, according to P. Eberhardt the "latin" part of Belarus is almost the same as a fictional country of "Veyshnoryya", which was "a target country" during the recent Russia-Belarus military exercise "Zapad-2017" ("West-2017").

It seems that the designation of any country to a certain civilization, even if it was carried out on the basis of religious preference, would have to take place within a historical context. Here we need to provide more detailed evidence on the variety of religious situations in Belarus and in Ukraine between the 10th and 18th centuries. The introduction of Christianity to the Kievan Rus' by Prince Vladimir did not lead directly to the Christianization of the whole population. For example, in the late 14th century, a significant part of the GDL population (in present-day Lithuania and Belarus) still adhered to paganism. There was also the so-called *dual faith* (*dvuver'e*), a hybrid of Christianity and Paganism. Modern scholars believe that Gedymin (1275-1341) and Algerd (1295-1377), the Dukes of GDL, followed pagan beliefs (J. Muldoon, 1997). We may suggest that the Dukes' people might have the same religious preference.

² "The text says that the division "has been roughly in its current place for at least five hundred years," but one can hardly agree to this statement (P. Eberhardt, 2016, p.54).

The existence of the GDL in the very beginning saw its leaders balancing between various denominations in accordance with the political situation and their personal preferences. For example, Mindoug, the first Lithuanian king, followed pagan beliefs at first, then became Orthodox, later Catholic, and again pagan; Duke Vitaut was baptized three times (Catholic-Orthodox-Catholic); Duke Jagaila hesitated whom he should marry—Polish Princess Jadwiga (and become a Catholic) or Russian Princess Sophia, the daughter of Duke Dmitry Donskoy (and become Orthodox). Jagaila chose Jadwiga, and Catholicism began to spread over the GDL, although Orthodoxy remained a significant part among common people.

The beginning of the Reformation processes in Europe in the early 16th century certainly affected the GDL. This is evident by the publication of Protestant books in Belarusian language (Lutheran Catechism by Symon Budny in Njasvizh in 1562; the New Testament by Vasil Ciapinski in 1580); by the opening of Protestant parishes in the GDL (there were 229 Calvinist, 16 Arian and 12 Lutheran congregations in the GDL in 1600) (cited from A. Kotliarchuk, 2015); by the formation of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in the GDL (Brest, 1596); and by the counter-offensive of the Roman Catholic church as evidenced by the establishment of the Jesuit colleges in Belarusian cities: Polatsk (1585), Niasvizh (1586), Orsha (1616), Grodna (1625), Minsk (1625), Vitsebsk (1648).

This evidence shows that a non-alignment of Belarus and Ukraine to Western (Latin) civilization does not correspond to reality if it is justified by some researchers based only on evaluation of Orthodoxy in these countries. P. Eberhardt pointed out that the whole of Belarus and much of Ukraine belongs to Western civilization between the late 16th century and the end of the 18th century; this only underscores our thought.³

It is obvious that after the capture of Belarus and Ukraine by the Russian Empire there were a number of events dictated by the Orthodox Russian church in both countries. All Greek-Catholic churches visited by about 70% of the Belarusian population suddenly turned into Orthodox ones in 1839. Nevertheless, in spite of an almost 200-year colonial period, the religious spectrum of Belarusian-Ukrainian and Eurasian civilizations differs significantly. It was shown in a recent study (N. Sahgal, A. Cooperman, 2016) that Russia and Bulgaria, countries with a similar proportion of Orthodox population, had a significant part of Muslims (the Orthodox to Muslims ratio was 7:1 and 5:1, respectively), whereas in Belarus and Ukraine, Muslims constituted a small proportion of the population (the ratio was 150:1 and 50:1, respectively).

³ “It can be therefore assumed that between 1596 and 1772/1795 the boundary between Western and Eastern European civilization ran along the Dnieper river, with all of Belarus and a large part of Ukraine belonging to the Western civilization .” (P. Eberhardt, 2016, p.54).

At the same time, Russia and Bulgaria almost have no Catholics, while in Belarus and Ukraine the Orthodox to Catholics ratio is 6:1 and 8:1, respectively. Similar results were obtained with the assessment of the ratio Christians to Muslims in Russia - 7:1, in Bulgaria - 5:1, in Belarus - 90:1, in Ukraine - 27:1 (P. Murzionak, 2015, p. 67-68).

Thus, it is difficult to agree with the classification of civilization along religious lines, especially with regard to Belarus and Ukraine. We agree with the views of F. Koneczny who believed that "there is no distinct causal relation between race and civilization, nor between language and civilization" (cited from P. Eberhardt, 2016). We can only add that it is true in respect to the religious approach used to separate civilizations. For example, the religious approach excludes from Western or Latin civilization such countries as Greece and Romania; it would be hard to believe these countries would accept that. It seems the same conclusions can be applied to both Belarus and Ukraine. Civilization is an integral structure that has distinct ethnic, linguistic, religious, and mental signs multiplied by the historical experience, heritage and development of the society and people. It seems that in this sense, mathematical modeling could demonstrate more evidence of a difference between Belarus and Ukraine and Eurasian countries such as Bulgaria and Russia.

The title of S. Huntington's book is *The Clash of Civilizations* and its content follows the idea that cultural and religious differences might be a main source of world conflicts. P. Eberhardt (2016) did not rule out the possibility of various conflicts along the "religious" line between Latin and Byzantine civilizations. However, he does not comment on the war that goes on between Russia and Ukraine (Crimea, Donbass).⁴ This is not a religious war, but an inter-civilizational one.

At the same time, we share P. Eberhardt's opinion⁵ that the role of religion in the life of human communities will slowly diminish. Speaking about Belarus, 41.1% of the population today are non-believers. The role of the Orthodox Church in Belarus is deliberately exaggerated. According to various official polls, the Orthodox Church covers less than half of the Belarusian population (48.9%) and the number of active members is rather low (20-27%) (Gallup, 2007; Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Belarus, 2011; P. Murzionak, 2016).

The definition of the form and content of civilization is the subject of discussion so far. The simplest of terms defines civilization as "the type of culture and society that emerged in a particular country or region, or in a different era."

⁴ "Thus, Huntington's prophecy of unavoidable conflict along this boundary may in fact be fulfilled." (P. Eberhardt, 2016, p.66).

⁵ "The shrinking influence of religious motivations in many parts of the world shall alleviate potential religious differentials." (P. Eberhardt, 2016, p.65).

In a recent review by A. Targowski (2009) you can find dozens of early and contemporary definitions of civilization.⁶ In our opinion, Belarusian-Ukrainian/Western-Ruthenian civilization in many ways corresponds to the definition of civilization or rather sub-civilization if we bear in mind that some researchers have extended Western civilization to a civilization of a presumptively lower order. A. Targowski (2009) distinguishes Western-West, Western-Latin, Western-Jewish, and Western-Central sub-civilizations, while Kuzik and Yakovets (2006) define North American, Latin American and Oceanic, West European, and East European sub-civilizations of Western civilization. Based on the evidence presented, we can assume that Belarusian-Ukrainian civilization exists, it differs from Eurasian civilization, and should be classified as Western-Ruthenian sub-civilization of Western civilization.

It is clear that the development of civilization or its recovery requires a long time, but we hope that in the era of global changes in the world, Belarusian-Ukrainian or Western-Ruthenian civilization will take its rightful place through understanding and cooperation between Belarus and Ukraine, which have had a lot in common since the 9th century. As noted by A. Targowski (2009), “[t]he process of determining the nature of civilization is continuous and evolves with the development of civilization and our knowledge and wisdom in this matter.”

Conclusions

Designation of Belarus and Ukraine to Eurasian civilization in a few classifications was directed by old historical myths created by Russian politicians and scientists in the second half of 18th century. Those historical myths were propagated around the world and accepted by many scholars in the West. These main Russian myths include, in particular, a trinity of three Eastern Slavic nations, a continuity of the historical heritage of the Kievan Rus' to Russia, and the Slavic character of Muscovy and the Russian state.

Obviously, those main Russian myths preclude any idea about the existence of independent Belarusian and Ukrainian states. Although the situation in Europe has dramatically changed in the last 25 years, especially after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the ideas of the first and current Eurasists remain the same, despite the evidence of what could be termed a civilizational war between Ukraine and Russia.

⁶ The composite definition of civilization by A. Targowski is:

“Civilization is a large society living in an autonomous, blurry reification (invisible-visible) which is not a part of larger one and exists over an extended period of time. Labor is specialized and a civilization is differentiated from other civilizations by the development of its own advanced cultural system driven by communication, religion, wealth, power, and the sharing of the same knowledge system within complex urban, agricultural infrastructures, and other infrastructures such as industrial and information ones. It also progresses in a cycle of rising, growing, declining and falling.” (2009).

Belarus and Ukraine have a lot of commonalities in their historical and cultural development since the 9th century. We provide evidence that starting in 13th century Eastern Slavs formed two civilizations: Belarusian-Ukrainian or Western-Ruthenian and Eurasian (Russian). The delineation of Eastern Slavs has been determined by the distinct features of their tribes; natural conditions; the assimilation with different local tribes; internecine wars between the lands and principalities of Kievan Rus' and the North-East territory; the impact of the Golden Horde rule in Muscovy; and the creation of the GDL, the principality which united a substantial part of Eastern Slavs, current Belarusians and Ukrainians, and saved them from the strong Eurasian influence. Until the end of 18th century Belarusians and their territory had never belonged to Muscovy or the Russian Empire.

During the last two centuries, there were a number of changes in Belarus and Ukraine encouraged by Eurasian culture and politics; however, we believe they are not irreversible. Considering the development of Belarusian-Ukrainian civilization in space and time, one can observe that it differs substantially (ethnically, religiously, mentally) from Eurasian civilization. The people of Belarusian-Ukrainian civilization have a number of attributes which point to their European nature including a multi-centuries history; the presence of European civilizational processes and institutions (Renaissance, Reformation, Counter-Reformation, Uniate, Enlightenment, Parliament, Sejm, the Magdeburg rights); modern state-building processes; and integration into European life. Keeping in mind the long duration of historical cycles we believe that Belarusian-Ukrainian civilization now enters the phase of recovery and prosperity.

It is difficult to agree with the classification of civilizations in Europe based on religion and moreover the role of religion in the life of human communities is slowly but surely reduced. Civilization is an integral structure that has distinct ethnic, linguistic, religious, and mental signs multiplied by historical experience, heritage and the development of societies and peoples living there. We believe that Belarusian-Ukrainian/Western-Ruthenian civilization in many ways aligns with the definition of civilization. The presented evidence supports the idea that Belarusian-Ukrainian civilization exists, it differs from Eurasian civilization, and it should be classified as the Western-Ruthenian sub-civilization of Western civilization.

References

- Balanovsky O. et al. "Two sources of the Russian patrilineal heritage in their Eurasian context." *The American Journal of Human Genetics*. 82, (2008), 236-250.
- Bassin M. "Russia between Europe and Asia: The Ideological Construction of Geographical Space." *Slavic Review*. 50, No1 (1991), 1-17.
- Bekus N. "East, West or in Between? Three post-communist concepts of the Belarusian Nation." In: *The East-West discourse: symbolic geography and its consequences*. by A. Maxwell. New York, Peter Lang, 2011. 191-211.
- Gallup poll, "What Alabamians and Iranians Have in Common." 2007-2008. <http://www.gallup.com/poll/114211/Alabamians-Iranians-Common.aspx>
- Hellenthal G., Busby G.B.J., Band G. et al. "A Genetic Atlas of Human Admixture History." *Science*, vol. 343 (2014). 747-751.
- Huntington S. "The clash of civilizations." *Foreign Affairs*, v.72, No. 3 (1993).
- Kohut Z. E. "The Question of Russo-Ukrainian Unity and Ukrainian Distinctiveness in Early Modern Ukrainian thought and culture." Kennan Institute Occasional Papers, 2001. <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/ACF2C9.pdf>
- Kotliarchuk A. "The Orthodoxy in the grand Duchy of Lithuania and Protestants in Belarus." 2015. http://belreform.org/eng/katlarchuk_prat_i_pravasl_eng.php
- Kuplevich V. (Куплевіч В.) "Civilization of Europe" (Цывілізацыя Еўропы). Ч.5, 2013. <http://belarus.kulichki.net>
- Kuzyk B.N., Yakovets Yu.V. *Civilizations: Theory, History, Dialogue and the Future*, v. II, Moscow, Institute for Economic Strategies, 2006.
- Malyarchuk B. et al. "Differentiation of mitochondrial DNA and Y-chromosomes in Russian populations." *Human Biology*, v.76, no.6 (2004). 877-900.
- Meadows D. J. *The Effect of Political Culture on Different Sides of the Post-Soviet Political and Economical Reforms: Comparison of the experience of Latvia and Belarus since 1991*. Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, Dalhousie, 2012. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Belarus. "Religion and Denominations in the Republic of Belarus." 2011. http://mfa.gov.by/upload/pdf/religion_eng.pdf
- Muldoon J. *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*. 1977 Gainesville:University Press of Florida.
- Murzionak P. (Мурзёнак П.) "Whether Rurik was in Polotsk? History of Modern Belarus and Ukraine as a Result of Conflict between East Slavic and Eurasian Civilizations." *Sakavik*, issue 2, June 2013, 3-43 (*in Belarusian*). Ці быў Рурык у Полацаку? Гісторыя сучаснай Беларусі і Украіны як вынік сутыкнення ўсходнеславянскай і еўразійскай цывілізацый. Часопіс "САКАВІК", №2, чэрвень 2013, с.3-43.
- . "Church and Nation." In: *The Paths to the Belarusian Nation*. Minsk, Kniazbor, 2016, 236-246 (*in Belarusian*). Царква і нацыя. У кнізе: Шляхі да беларускай нацыі. Мінск, "Кнігазбор", 2016, с. 236-246.
- . "Evidence for Belarusian-Ukrainian Eastern Slavic Civilization." *Comparative Civilizations Review*. No 73: Fall, 2015, 51-76.

- Parker W.H. "Europe: How Far?" *The Geographical Journal*. Vol. 126, No3. (1960). 278-297.
- Saganovich G. *Unknown war: 1654-1667*. (Сагановіч Г.) Невядомая вайна: 1654-1667. Мінск, «Навука і тэхніка», 1995 (*in Belarusian*).
- Sahgal N., Cooperman A. *Religious Belief and National Belonging in Central and Eastern Europe*. Pew Research Center, May 10, 2017.
- Shakhmatov A. A. (Шахматов А. А.) Древнейшие судьбы русского племени. Петроград, Русский исторический журнал. 1919, 64с. (*in Russian*)
- Szporluk R. "The Making of Modern Ukraine: The Western Dimension." *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*. XXV (1/2), 2001: 57–90.
- Targowski A. "Towards a composite definition and classification of civilization." *Comparative Civilizations Review*, No 60 (2009). 79-98.
- Thompson E. *Imperial Knowledge: Russian Literature and Colonialism*. Westport, Connecticut - London, Greenwood Press, 2000.

Essays***Letter from Germany and Russia***

Vlad Alalykin-Izvekov

During September and October 2017 I traveled to Europe and Russia, where I conducted comparative sociocultural and world-historic research in the ancient city of Trier in Germany, as well as in the cities of Moscow, Saint Petersburg, and Veliky Novgorod in Russia, all renowned for their historic and cultural heritage.

As a part of this quest, I also attended a scholarly congress entitled “Globalistics - 2017” at Moscow State University on behalf of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations. The congresses were organized and hosted by Lomonosov Moscow State University under the auspices of UNESCO, as they have been since 2009.



Trier – the city of many ages: a view from the ancient Roman city gates *Porta Nigra* – the oldest fortified structure in Germany. (Photo by the Author)

With friendly help from a local colleague, Dr. Natalya Dere, I began by exploring Trier, which traces its origins to the 4th century BCE. Considered to be the oldest city in Germany, it was known in the beginning as Augusta Treverorum. Trier was one of four capitals of the Roman Empire during the time of the Tetrarchy in the 3rd century CE.

Boasting both rich ancient and medieval background, it was also the birthplace of Karl Marx - creator of a tremendously influential, however one-sided, philosophy of history. Nothing fuels a social scholar's imagination more than visiting historic lands and regions, and therefore time dedicated to researching Trier's multiple landmarks and museums always makes one's visit to this ancient city a truly remarkable experience.

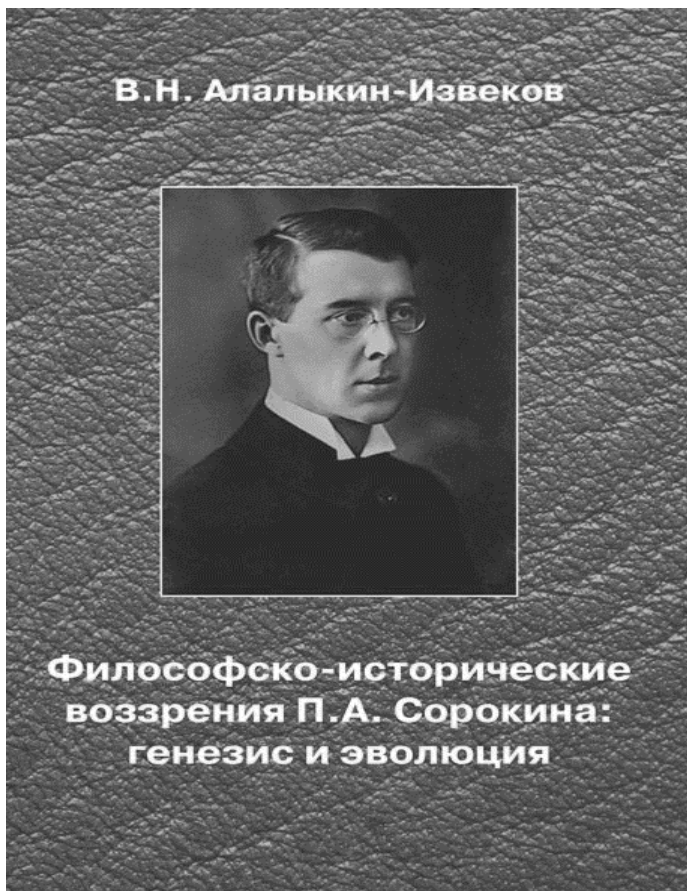


Vlad as a participant of the “Globalistics – 2017” conference, held at the Lomonosov Moscow State University. (Photo by the Author).

In Moscow, I participated in a congress entitled “Globalistics-2017,” which ran from September 25 to September 28. I made three presentations on the scholarly legacy of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations. Two of my presentations were made within the framework of the co-extensive XIIth Civilizational Forum. The first presentation highlighted the history and scholarly activities of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations and the second one was on the ISCSA’s cooperation with other scholarly bodies.

I described to the attentive Forum participants a project which was recently accomplished in conjunction with the Pitirim A. Sorokin Foundation in Boston, Massachusetts. This project has resulted in a database of research on Pitirim A. Sorokin and his scholarly legacy, and it consists of scholarly portfolios of experts from all over the world, including scholars from Canada, Germany, Italy, Japan, Kyrgyzstan, Netherlands, Poland, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Ukraine, United Kingdom, and the United States.

My third presentation was given within the framework of a symposium entitled “Big History and Global Evolution.” It was dedicated to the fundamental word-historic paradigm of Pitirim A. Sorokin. Between 1937 and the early 40s, the scholar introduced a new, fluctuational paradigm of the philosophy of history which combined the advantages of both linear and cyclical approaches. The genesis and evolution of this novel approach took decades to develop and perfect. Both arduous and lengthy, however incredibly enlightening and insightful, Sorokin’s mental process has been described in my recently published monograph *Philosophical and Historical Views of P.A. Sorokin: Genesis and Evolution* (Алалыкин-Извеков: 2017).



The cover of Dr. Alalykin-Izvekov’s recent work “Philosophical and Historical Views of Pitirim A. Sorokin: Genesis and Evolution” (2017). The work highlights the world-historic views of one of the founders of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations.

The first chapter of the book highlights the genesis of the scholar's historiography through the prism of his "sociology of mental life," while in the second one I follow its evolution. I use materials from multiple works, published both in Russian and in English, to trace Sorokin's unique semi-centennial career in science, as well as to propose an original chronology of the evolution of the scholar's world-historic views. The audience at the symposium rewarded my presentation with a double round of applause and referred to it positively in discourses that followed.

During the congress I also had a chance to exchange views with several prominent scholars, including Prof. David Christian (US), Prof. Yuri Yakovets (Russia), Prof. Andrey Korotayev (Russia), and Dr. Alexander Dolgov (Russia), among others. Prof. David Christian is one of the founders of the new field of "Big History." This multidisciplinary paradigm frames human history in terms of cosmic, geological, and biological evolution. Prof. Yuri Yakovets is the patriarch of the scholarly school of "Russian Cyclicism." I have described the main premises of this field at some length in previous publications. (Alalykin-Izvekov: 2014).

Prof. Andrey Korotayev is known for his contributions to anthropology, comparative politics, sociology, cross-cultural studies, world-systems theory, economic history, Big History, and other fields. He is also one of the founders of the Russian "School of Globalistics." Scholars of this line of thought are prolific authors, men and women who actively publish scholarly texts and textbooks on the topic. (Зинькина: 2016; Зинькина: 2017). In their 2012 Encyclopedic Reference Book "Globalistics" (Глобалистика: 2012) the authors Ilya V. Ilyin, Ivan I. Mazur, and Alexander N. Chumakov list among predecessors of Globalistics the comparative civilizationalist Arnold Toynbee. Surprisingly, however, they somewhat unexpectedly have omitted Pitirim A. Sorokin.

Dr. Alexander Dolgov is a Senior Scientific Associate at the Department of Sociology and Social Psychology of the Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow. In 2015, Dr. Dolgov defended his dissertation on the topic "The Theory of Creative Altruism of Pitirim Sorokin: Genesis and Methodological Problems."

As a part of my program of scholarly research I also visited the city of Saint Petersburg. In the venerable Saint Petersburg University, I paid a call on the Department of Theory and History of Sociology, where I met and exchanged ideas with two local experts on Pitirim A. Sorokin's scholarly legacy, Prof. Asalkhan Boronoev and Dr. Marina Lomonosova. A talented and prolific researcher, Dr. Lomonosova defended her dissertation, entitled "Sociology of Revolution of P.A. Sorokin," in 2006. She is also the author of multiple scholarly publications on the history of sociology, archival research, gender studies, as well as the ethics of scientific research. At the kind suggestion of these two colleagues, I gave a presentation to graduate students

specializing in sociology. My talk covered a wide range of issues pertaining to the scholarly legacy and life of Pitirim A. Sorokin, as well as his contemporaries. In response, the students eagerly peppered me with inquisitive questions about their great compatriot.



Vlad and Dr. Marina Lomonosova in Saint Petersburg with the historic SmolnyInstitute in the background. (Photo by the Author).

I also conducted research on Pitirim A. Sorokin’s scholarly works at the Saint Petersburg University’s library, located inside of the historic building known as “Twelve Collegia.” Originally, the complex housed the Russian government, which at the time of Peter the Great was divided into twelve branches, or “colleges.” The library is connected with the rest of the building by an astoundingly long corridor, which is decorated with images of famous scholars, and it contains antique books in tall glassed bookcases.



The venerable “Twelve Collegia” complex (built between from 1722 to 1744) is the main structure of the Saint Petersburg State University (founded in 1819). (Photo by the Author).



The legendary 400-meter-long corridor of the Saint Petersburg University’s main building is thought to be the longest of its kind. (Photo by the Author).

It is a relatively well-known fact that Pitirim A. Sorokin donated signed copies of his most important scholarly works to the library of his *alma mater* - Saint Petersburg State University. What had the scholar, who was expelled from the Soviet Russia in 1922, said in those written dedications? After some initial hesitation librarians help me to get through the *byzantine* procedures of the Spetskhran (Special Storage Section) to obtain these precious volumes.

Soon I was opening a pristine-looking copy of a book based on the scholar's lectures at Harvard University, the classic work known as "Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics, A System of General Sociology." Imagine my surprise to see on the title page a quotation in the Russian language from Alexander S. Pushkin: "Not in vain hath God appointed me for many years a witness, teaching me the art of letters."

My next destination was the fair city of Veliky Novgorod, which has always played an important role in the history of Russia. Not only did it serve as a cradle of Russian statehood around the ninth century CE, but it subsequently, between the 12th and 15th centuries, became the center of the Novgorod Republic, which featured an early form of East Slav democratic government.

I have visited this ancient and historic town three times over recent years, taking part in several scholarly events at the university and carrying out scientific research in libraries and museums. Quite naturally, Veliky Novgorod is a germination ground for a number of local and world-renowned scholars, thinkers, and authors. One such is Dr. Konstantin Khroutski, whom society members had a chance to meet during the ISCSC Conference at Monmouth University in 2014. Konstantin is one of the leaders of the Biocosmological Association, the editor of the electronic journal "Biocosmology – neo-Aristotelianism," as well as a Docent at the Yaroslav-the-Wise Novgorod State University.



Vlad and Dr. Konstantin Khroutski with the "Millennium of Russia" bronze monument (1862) and the Cathedral of St. Sophia (built between 1045 and 1050) golden cupola in the background. (Photo by the Author).

Dr. Victor G. Smirnov is a well-known historic author who recently launched his own website dedicated to the Civilization of Novgorod. The scholar persuasively argues that in the 12th to 15th centuries CE this land was a basis for a unique civilization featuring republican government, an internationally-connected market economy, and well-developed educational, legal, as well as credit and monetary systems, corporations, rich and flourishing culture, language, traditions, beliefs, and family relationships.



From left to right: Dr. Konstantin Khroutski, Librarian Larisa Pustnaya, Dr. Victor Smirnov, and Vlad inside of the ancient walls of the Kremlin (a citadel) in Veliky Novgorod.
(Photo by the Author).

In conclusion, I would like to express my deep appreciation and gratitude to all colleagues and friends who helped to make this scholarly program a success.



From left to right: Vlad, Author Lyudmila A. Sekretar, and Prof. Nikolay N. Maksimyuk, following a scholarly discussion at the Novgorod Regional Universal Scholarly Library. In the background are historical structures of the Kremlin in Veliky Novgorod.

(Photo by the Author)

References

Alalykin-Izvekov, Vladimir. *Civilizational Theory in Russia – Past, Present, and Future*. Biocosmology-Neo-Aristotelianism. Vol. 4, No. 4, Autumn 2014.

Алалыкин-Извеков, В. Н. (2017). *Философско-исторические воззрения П.А. Сорокина: Генезис и эволюция*. Томск: Томский ЦНТИ. – 166 с.

Глобалистика. Персоналии, организации, издания: энциклопедический справочник; гл. ред., сост. И.В. Ильин, И.И. Мазур, А.Н. Чумаков. – М.: Альфа-М, 2012. – 432 с.

Зинькина, Ю.В. и др. *Историческая глобалистика*. Том 1. – М.: Московская редакция издательства “Учитель”; Издательство Московского университета, 2016. – 415 с.

Зинькина, Ю.В. и др. *Историческая глобалистика*. Том 2. XIX век. – М.: Московская редакция издательства “Учитель”; Издательство Московского университета, 2017. – 392 с.

Quo Vadis Pax Americana?
The Continuing Battle for Dewey's Democracy
 Michael H. Parsons

The Past as Prologue?

Two hundred and seventy-five years ago, Thomas Jefferson was born. As an American president who has been characterized as an idealist, Jefferson recognized that the newly emerging nation could not stand alone in the world. In December of 1802 he warned Congress: “it is our duty and our interest to cultivate with all nations . . . a spirit of justice and friendly accommodation” (Sorenson, 2007). In varying degrees, that principle of tolerance is the essence that arises from the study of comparative civilizations and it has guided the United States in its conduct of international relations. The presidential election of 2016 indicates that the principle might be undergoing a change.

S. Rosenberg, writing in the *U.S. News and World Report* (2017), suggested that President Trump may be dismantling a long-standing principle while providing no alternative. After the first year in office, the president pointed with pride to the specific steps that he had taken in advancing his goal. Rosenberg specified the types of change that have occurred: “a retreat to nationalism, protectionism, racism, and xenophobia” – changes that can cause disruption in interaction among nations. It is worthwhile to examine some examples of how this backward-looking approach has appeared before, was resisted then, and eventually disappeared (Dong, 2017). Further, it is possible to add a series of strategies that have proven successful in resisting the change.

Isolationism in Historical Perspective

In 1938, the world was at war. Germany had initiated its conquests of Eastern Europe. Japan continued its attempt to conquer China. The United States struggled valiantly to remain neutral. Neutrality raised significant social discord. A good example of how the issue should be engaged emerged from a presentation made by one of America's premier philosopher-educators, Professor John Dewey of Columbia University. He was selected to deliver the 10th annual *Kappa Delta Pi Lecture Series*. He entitled his remarks “Experience and Education.” In the second of the eight lectures, he presented his conceptual framework for engaging change:

A primary responsibility of educators is that they not only be aware of the general principle of the shaping of actual experience by environing conditions, but that they also recognize in the concrete what surroundings are conducive to having experiences that lead to growth. Above all, they should know how to utilize the surroundings, physical and social, that exist so as to extract from them all that they have to contribute to the building up experiences that are worthwhile. (Dewey, 1938)

The continuing utility of this insight has been reinforced by E.S. Glaude, Jr. He wrote that “Experience for Dewey is prospective; it is as much about projection and anticipation as it is about recollection and memory” (2007). Glaude considers Dewey’s use of experience as the primary base for critical intelligence. Sadly, what could have been learned by applying Dewey’s insight regarding German and Japanese aggression didn’t occur and World War II was the outcome. However, the reality of Dewey’s insights contributed in part to the birth of the United Nations and to the Marshall Plan. D. Snelgrove suggests that Dewey would have rejected the “rise of the great-power politics and the cold war” [because] they “limited the effectiveness of American Charity” (2008).

Another example of lessons drawn from Dewey may be taken from the following decade. The 1960s emerged as a turbulent era. Many nationalistic movements pointed toward the possibility of international conflict. An American political scientist, Chalmers Johnson, synthesized the results experienced by several successful nations under the rubric of “revolutionary change.” From the concept he extracted the following recommendation.

I think the Japanese discovered as a result of their disastrous midcentury experiences that regardless of the cultural or nationalistic norms that may prevail . . . both [political and economic] entities need each other. This is what American political scientists have yet to discover. The concept of “developmental state” means that each side *uses* the other in a mutually beneficial relationship to achieve developmental goals and enterprise viability. (Johnson, 1999)

Further, from the late Fifties until the mid-Seventies, American politicians and academicians disregarded applying the lesson in Vietnam. Only after the conflict ended did it become obvious that collaboration across civilizations supported by external agencies not dominated by them leads to multi-faceted development. Boot (2018) makes a strong case for this, as captured by his title: *The Road Not Taken: Edward Lansdale and the American Tragedy in VietNam*.

However, an additional example resulted in a more successful outcome. At the mid-point of the first decade of the 21st century, the United States suffered from failure to learn from the Vietnam experience. Conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan and poor economic planning generally led to a condition called the Great Recession. To respond to the situation, and using the pragmatic designs identified by Dewey and Johnson, the Kettering Foundation collaborated with a variety of citizen groups and educational institutions to create networks that focused on community building and civic education. Over 50 centers identified specific challenges suitable for citizen group and educational institution engagement.

The services provided by these entities were described by the Foundation's president as "assistance in building indigenous civic capacity, which is the ability of people with different convictions and interests to join forces in combating common problems" (Mathews, 2010). Over the last seven years, other authors have reinforced the utility of citizen engagement. These include McAfee, et.al. (2017), Britt (2017), Boyte (2017), Kingston (2017), and Barber (2017).

What general skill set emerged from the Kettering grass roots initiative? The monograph that synthesized the activities was entitled *Doing Democracy*. It presents a series of five specific dimensions. They are:

1. Creating New Avenues for Civic Participation. The goal is to initiate widespread and robust citizen participation. The outcome was to aid participants in finding a voice in diverse community issues.
2. Deepening Public Awareness and Understanding of Issues. The goal is to lend coherence to the profusion of context-free information and public issues. The outcome was to establish centers that could provide "critical sources of high-quality, well-framed impartial information about a range of approaches [to engage] complex problems."
3. Strengthening Community Networks. The goal is to expand a community's stock of social capital. The outcome was to create "virtuous circles" that value individual involvement.
4. Spanning Social, Political, and Economic Boundaries. The goal is to strengthen social bonds . . . to build bridges and heal divisions within communities. The outcome was to allow citizens to assist in framing issues, examining ranges of choice and participating in initiating change.
5. Narrowing the Gap Between Citizens and Officials. The goal is to make public policy responsive to citizen needs. The outcome was to produce a deeper and more nuanced understanding of issues while increasing a sense of inter-group trust. (London, 2010)

London, the compiler of *Doing Democracy*, provides a useful closing summary of these ideas of civic engagement: “If the centers . . . make a compelling case for their work, both individually and as a network, they are likely to have a significant and deepening influence in the years ahead – one that can enrich our public discourse, strengthen our social fabric, and shore up our capacity to govern ourselves as democratic citizens” (London, 2010). The Kettering Foundation considers the initiative as still being productive. Further, their design contributed to the lessening of the Great Recession during the Obama presidential administration.

Riding the Tiger

The election of Donald Trump in 2016 is resulting in an administration that is seeking to turn away from the collaborative comparative civilizations practice of democracy advanced by Dewey and Johnson and is embracing a more individualistic, ethnocentric one. The prominent public scholar from McMaster University, Henry Giroux, describes the Trump administration as an extreme example of a centralized state practicing a style of authoritarianism, ultra-nationalism, militarism and an economic model that can be described as a “corporate state” (Giroux, 2017). What strategies have been able to assist the body politic in remaining more centrist in belief and action?

The need for re-focusing American citizenry on the core principle of logical analysis using egalitarian justice is essential to contrast with President Trump’s ethnocentric stance. A good example is President Trump’s use of the “America First” slogan. K. Calamar in the *Atlantic Monthly* reports that the phrase appeared first in March of 2016. Trump rejected being labeled as an isolationist but stated “I am America First.” Since his initial use of the phrase, it became almost a mantra, appearing in most of his public pronouncements. The President seems to lack understanding of the historical antecedents this phrase carries. From 1940 until 1942, it represented an isolationist, anti-Semitic, pro-Nazi position. Three days after Pearl Harbor the group disbanded (Calamar, 2017). The President has never clarified how his use of the term differs from some of the tenets of the original America First committee. The need to prepare American citizens to understand more completely the role of American democracy in a world of civilizations at conflict is at a high point.

Steps in the Consciousness-Raising Process

President Mathews of the Kettering Foundation provides a concise rationale for why the traditional standing of the United States in the world needs reinforcement. Accepting that all humans have intrinsic worth until they prove otherwise has been described as “civility.” Mathews suggests: “Lack of *civility* is often a result of ideological polarization. This can be reduced by deliberations in which people weigh possible solutions against what is valuable to them, what they hold most dear” (Mathews, 2017).

There are five strategies advocated by the Kettering Foundation that can contribute to the needed consciousness raising. Two of them are organizational, three are individual.

The first organizational strategy is attributable to a former Assistant U.S. Secretary of State and senior staff member of the National Security Council. Saunders, in his role as President of the International Institute for Sustained Dialogue, prepared groups for problem engagement through the application of five steps that are useful in all civilizations and societies:

1. List the resources available for tackling the problem.
2. List the obstacles to moving in the [preferred] direction; include not just physical ones but deep-rooted human resistance.
3. List steps for removing . . . obstacles; they may include psychological moves to change relationships as well as concrete actions to remove material barriers.
4. Identify] the actors who can [act]; the purpose . . . is to involve multiple actors [to] generate momentum.
5. Try to create connections among actions so that they become mutually reinforcing and encourage cooperation among actors as one . . . responds to another and stimulates yet another to join the process. (Saunders, 2011)

The planning process involves all stakeholders and engages America's consensus-seeking process.

The second Kettering strategy asks organizations to validate their mission. McClenney states that any organization seeking to function effectively in any setting must answer – including, by extension, in any civilization – six questions:

1. Who are you going to serve?
2. What are your priorities?
3. What outcomes are you seeking?
4. To whom and to what missions, programs, or services will you say “NO” or “Sorry, but not any longer.”
5. How will you reallocate limited resources to bring effective practices to scale?
6. How will you ensure equity in all outcomes?

The answers will help organizational members to clarify and if necessary re-focus the organization's mission. (McClenney, 2013)

Organizations are composed of individuals. The outcomes of the preceding strategies work only if the individuals align themselves with the organization's mission. The first individual strategy outlines five steps that each participant must be prepared to take:

ADAPT: be alert that something has changed which requires rethinking the approach to the issue;

ADDRESS: be ready to decide on actions that need to be taken to deal with a growing problem;

CLARIFY: be ready to work to deconstruct the nature of an issue, its purpose and its relationship to the organization's vision;

DECIDE: keep long term effects in mind and be more future-oriented than present oriented;

PIVOT: be ready to consider a large shift in the direction or type of solutions being proposed to address a long-term issue; and

PREVENT: be ready to act wisely now to decide on actions that avoid or minimize future problems. (Britt, 2017)

The steps develop cadres of stakeholders who are dedicated to the implementation of the organization's mission.

The third individual Kettering strategy prepares stakeholders to engage the diverse clientele that is present in virtually any civilization operating in the 21st century. Awareness of cross-cultural intelligence is essential for keeping unintended conflict to a minimum.

1. Pay attention to how the other party acts and reacts to you in several situations – this serves as the foundation for evaluating whether your behavior has achieved the desired goal.
2. Reflect on successful as well as unsuccessful intercultural interactions and write down the knowledge and skills used during the interactions. Consider the outcome and decide what would you do differently in a similar context.
3. Develop an awareness of the various cultural knowledge and skills required for successful interaction with internal and external stakeholders. The key concepts are cultural relativity and empathy. (Liao, 2015)

Cross-civilizational sensitivity is essential in a world where diversity is the common denominator and uniqueness is commonplace.

The last individual strategy advocated by Kettering is language-based. Behavior is only a part of the human interaction equation. Often, a single poorly chosen word will negate numerous acceptable actions. Again, a careful study of language meanings will reduce unanticipated problems. Be observant of the following items:

1. Express interest in colleagues' culture. Pay careful attention to the use of words; they provide insight into the meaning behind many behaviors. Finally, take time to master the pronunciation of names, it improves first impressions.
2. Function as a collaborator or facilitator. Didactic behavior can be viewed as "social injustice," thereby slowing the development of trust.
3. Be sensitive to non-native speakers of the dominant language. Outward correcting within the group can embarrass the individual thus reducing performance. Informal correction in private is preferred.
4. When praising or blaming, don't "overdue" either. Also, privacy is of constant value in maintaining the individual's sense of worth.
5. Training is a requirement in any organization given the rapidity of change in any society. Where possible, create a mentor – protégé relationship. The latter will be grateful and will develop into a productive employee and, often an effective mentor. (Lynch, 2015)

Each of the strategies has the potential to humanize the administration of our current president. Now it is time to synthesize why it is important for Americans to strive to change our current image across world civilizations. Glaude (2007) reminds us that Dewey was most concerned with what kind of people we are to become. In so doing, many of the goals that made these strategies essential can be re-integrated into 21st century United States culture.

Conclusion

My assessment of the Trump presidency begins by endeavoring to establish a contextual base for the decisions that the President has made. John Dewey has a useful insight into the process. In his *The Public and Its Problems*, democracy is described as a process that broadens public participation (Dewey, 1927). President Trump on the other hand makes decisions that limit access, especially by reducing the franchise. Further, his resistance to broadening immigration limits diversity in America. Both changes are inconsistent with the values that provided growth in citizenry for the nation. (Giroux, 2017)

Second, sociologists agree in general that humans are members of a variety of groups. The observation is accurate across all civilizations. A successful society is one that draws sustenance from the differences found in these groups. McAfee suggests that group membership allows individuals to determine which societal norms are unrealizable (McAfee, 2017). Thus, change becomes a manageable process rather than one that cripples a society. Trump's desire to limit the groups that have input to social change produces an elitist and static society. Across a majority of civilizations, this emphasis on elitism is disappearing.

Finally, Boyte (2017) re-defines the citizen as one who deliberates, collaborates and, even co-creates. Trump perceives the citizen as a follower whose only right is to applaud the actions of the leader without evaluating them. The right to think critically is reserved for the elite.

Authoritarian societies seek to operate in this manner.

The foregoing comparisons of the view of democracy and citizenship held by social scientists and by the President indicate why attention must be given to preparing citizens to re-claim their right to participate in governance. Dewey synthesized the challenge clearly:

The formation of [democratic] purpose is, then, a rather complex intellectual operation. It involves (1) observation of surrounding conditions; (2) knowledge of what has happened in similar situations in the past, a knowledge obtained partly by recollection and partly from the information, advice, and warning of those who have had a wider experience; and (3) judgment which puts together what is observed and what is recalled to see what they signify. A purpose differs from an original impulse and desire through its translation into a plan and method of action based upon foresight of the consequences of acting under given observed condition in a certain way. (Dewey, 1938)

The formation performed using the strategies provided above have the potential to energize this society and others, including other extant civilizations, for maximum good.

References

- Barber, B. R. (2017, Fall) Political Institutions Old and New: Cities Not Nation States. In McAfee, N. and Felts, N. (Eds.) *The Kettering Review* (pp. 44-48) New York: The Kettering Foundation
- Boyte, H.C. (2017). Shaping Our Future: The Public Purpose of Higher Education. In D. Barker and D.W. Brown (Eds.), *Higher Education Exchange* (pp. 53-60) New York: The Kettering Foundation.
- Britt, L.L. (2017). National issues Forums Guides: Eliciting and Habituating Public Judgment. In D. Barker and D.W. Brown (Eds.) *Higher Education Exchange* (pp. 39-48) New York: The Kettering Foundation.
- Calamar, K. (2017, January 21) A Short History of ‘America first’. In *the Atlantic Monthly, Politics*. January 21, 2017. (pp.1-5)
- Dewey, J. (1929) *The Public and Its’ Problems*. New York: Henry Holt and Co.
- _____. (1938) *Experience and Education*. New York: Kappa Delta Pi, Inc.

- Dong, J. *et. al.* On Organizing: An Interview with James G. March. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1186/s1469-017-0024-z>
- Glaude, E.S. Jr. (2007) *In A Shade of Blue: Pragmatism and the Politics of Black America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Giroux, H. (2017, May 16) Dancing with The Devil: Trump's Politics of Fascist Collaboration. In *Truth.Org*. Wednesday, 14 February 2017. (pp. 11-13)
- Johnson, C. (1999) The Developmental State: Odyssey of a Concept. In M. Woo-Cummings (Ed.) *The Development State* (pp. 32-60) Cornell, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Kingston, R.J. (2017) SHARED Experience and Collective Understanding. . .the Outcomes of Public Deliberation
- Liao, E.Y. (2015, May 24) Why You Need Cultural Intelligence (And How to Develop It.) Retrieved from: <https://www.forbes.com/. . ./why-you-need-cultural-intelligence-and-how-to-get-it/>
- London, S. (Ed.) (2010) *Doing Democracy*. New York: The Kettering Foundation.
- Lynch, M. (2015) 6 Ways Teachers Can Foster Cultural Awareness in the Classroom. Retrieved from: www.theedadvocate.org/6-ways-teachers-can-foster-cultural-awareness-in-the-classroom/
- Mathews, D. (2010) *Preface*. In S. London (Ed.), *Doing Democracy*. New York: The Kettering Foundation. (pp. i-v)
- _____ (2017) . . .*afterthoughts*. In McAfee, *et.al.* (Eds.) *Kettering Review*, Vol.34, #1 (Fall) (pp. 49-56)
- McAfee, N. *et.al.* (2017) Beyond the "Informed" Citizenry: The Role of Public Judgment in a Deliberative Democracy (An Interview) In D. Barker and D. W. Brown (Eds.) *Higher Education Exchange*. New York: *The Kettering Review*. (pp. 29-38)
- McClenney, K. (2013) Community Colleges: Choosing Change. In *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning*. Vol. 45, # 4 (July/August)
- Rosenberg, S. (2017, January 26) The End of Pax Americana? In *U.S. News & World Report*. (pp.1-2)
- Saunders, H. (2011) Sustained Dialogue retrieved from: <https://auburn.campuslabs.com/engage/organization/dialog/>
- Snelgrove, D. (2008) Society, Education and War: John Dewey and His Student Randolph Bourne. Retrieved from: www.jonathanbfisher.net/wp-content/uploads/. . ./snelgrove-2008-dewey-bourne.pdf.
- Sorenson, A.T. (2006) Global Progress Report. In *Current History*. Vol. 105, #695 (December 2006) (pp. 403-14)

Contentious Cloud Chatter: A Comparative Analysis of Aggressive Speech

Clea Patrick

Leah Hollis

Abstract

This essay argues that while harassment and aggression are continually present in the postmodern cyberspace age, such behaviors have been present within humanity throughout both modern and postmodern periods. During modernity, a privileged few controlled expression and aggression. However, the postmodern period's fractured state, which often sidesteps empathy and human frailty, has unleashed largely unfettered aggression *en masse* on the Internet. In short, many, not a privileged few, express aggression. This essay will consider some historical examples of controlled aggression in the modern period. Then the essay will compare how postmodern aggression is more prolific, as the public must witness and participate in aggressive, constant self-expression.

Communication controls civilization, its rules and structures. Gurevitch and Blumler (1990) remarked that communication was structured by a few media outlets and manipulated by a web of powerful political and economic influences. Consequently, communication, regardless of its modality, has a significant influence on the governance of society, contemporary activities, and the socialization of its citizens. Historically, those in power shape the style, tone, and mode of communication. The evidence of the power and privilege in controlling communication is best shown in the grand scale of communication through national broadcasts, newspaper editors, and other traditional gatekeepers of news and entertainment.

Thinkers such as Locke, Rousseau, and Hobbes considered the rights of the individual straining within the aggression of sovereign or presumably divine power structures (Dubas, Dubas, & Mehta, 2014; Hicks, 2004). In modernity, the general population sought intellectual advice, empowering and recognizing those with presumed intellectual superiority, like lords, bishops, and even chiefs and medicine men in some cultures. Some people turned to the church for centralized authority, and others turned to the individual who had amassed the most wealth, often accumulated through the taxation of lower classes. Rousseau and Voltaire used reason to ponder political and philosophical problems. Modernism championed scientific and technological advances, which were structured and centered with specific reason and process; postmodern thinking welcomed that which was out of bounds, steeped in anarchy, and amorously decentered (Powell, 2007). Hence, the right to free speech, the pursuit of happiness and other individual rights burgeoned forth against modernity's formal structures of sovereignty.

Modernity

Modern ideology waned at the beginning of the nineteenth century. One of the more salient markers of the shift in ideology came following the First World War with Yeats' 1919 poem, *The Second Coming*. Yeats wrote that "Things fall apart, the center cannot hold," (Yeats, 2003, p. 10), signaling a decentering or erosion of society and civilization (Dean, 1995; Harrison, 1995). Postmodern scholars such as Foucault (1988) and Derrida (1994) noted this fragmentation and forecast a center-less society, one no longer totally managed by the church or other formal structures. The center of authority and power had shifted, or perhaps disintegrated. Privileges were no longer centralized among a favored few. Instead, power and authority flourished among the citizens of most civilizations, emerging from a social structure and the cultural expectations of the many (Heizman & Olsson, 2015).

Arguably, when comparing modern and postmodern communications, one might consider the focus on the individual -- that is, individualism -- as the new center of this center-less postmodernism. Such individualism would lead to more aggression, harassment, and violence. Self-centered ideologies presumably would serve self, not the greater community. In the absence of structure and with the emergence of self, all people could engage in their once suppressed aggression. As postmodernism yielded to the decentralized and individualized, it also yielded to the aggression and dissatisfaction within such individuals. The sovereign who once cultivated the tempered control and structure that harnessed aggression for a powerful few instead became the expression and dissemination of a powerful many. The communication structures, once guided by dominant culture, aristocracy, and the church, were part of a modern concept in which the structures typically silenced and squashed the common man. If such uprising occurred for the common man, modern times would have to thwart the common expression and regain control for those privileged classes who managed the production and dissemination of communication.

Those with Permission

Given this modern frame, we consider those who were permitted to speak without cultural censoring. The historical figures outside of aristocratic bloodline who were permitted expression in Western and other civilizations were politically astute jesters, griots, and social commentators who had tacit permission from a powerful structured establishment. Society allowed such anomalies.

One of those age-old answers from wishful celebrities and rising beauty queens is to bring about world peace, to end aggression and violence. Modernizations and technology were to bring a more peaceful and convenient world. A more hopeful world dawned with the end of the Cold War when the Berlin Wall crashed down; it was a symbol along with a reality for Eastern Europe that everyone could have access to freedom and peace (Shkliarevsky, 2015). The dream for peace was fractured by the shocking violence of September 11, 2001 and the rise of a decentralized and shifting terrorism network. The violence and aggression apparently ever-present arose in another form (Shkliarevsky, 2015).

Whether politics, philosophy, or cultural communication were structured and governed by the church, sovereign despots, or even the chief of a tribe, controlled communication. Civilizations have built and rebuilt structures to control the population's action, thought, social mores, and eventually finances. Though working within such discourse, artists, politicians, and the privileged still operated with these structures. Patterson wrote that "many authors of the seventeenth century, such as Thomas Carew, John Donne, William Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson, used a "highly sophisticated system of oblique communication whereby writers could communicate with readers or audience ... without producing a direct confrontation"(Patterson, 1984, p.45).

An example from the political spheres is the use of fools and jesters in medieval periods who were used to bring levity and political commentary to an otherwise ominous court. One famous court jester, Will Somers, fool for Queen Elizabeth, was praised for capturing the imagination far better than any of his contemporaries or even those who followed. Somers, like other fools, could be "plain" and "tell the truth of purpose" (Welsford, 1935). In addition, this fool apparently could even venture to be facetious, yet he was still accepted into "the companies of all men." Somers was loved by all and summarized as the following:

He was no carry-tale, nor whisperer, nor flattering insinuator, to breed discord and dissension, but an honest plain, down-right, that would speak home without halting, and tell the truth of purpose to pain the devil, so that his plainness mixed with a kind of facetiousness and tartness with pleasantness made him very acceptable into the companies of all men (Welsford, 1935, p. 170).

Somers, within this presumed latitude, was still oppressed within Queen Elizabeth's permission and space. In addition, this fool apparently had been given enough expressive latitude that he could even venture to be facetious, yet he was still accepted into "the companies of all men." These figures of the court were often showered with gifts, money, and the power of unabashed expression. In one instance, a noble threatened a court jester, Archy, with hanging. With a bold confidence, Archy simply replied, "No one has ever heard of a fool being hanged for talking, but many dukes have been beheaded for the insolence" (Welsford, 1935, p.174).

These accounts of Archy align with other scholars who deemed the jester as a subversive character; “They stand at or wholly outside the margin of any organized system while challenging those within to see things differently” (Rosen, 2012, p. 311). In a world where free speech was not an inalienable right, the court jester or fool could speak the truth and be dismissed as an idiot or nonsensical character. He was an entertainer; yet with his foppish wardrobe and ridiculous banter, he had the opportunity to speak the truth (Rosen, 2012).

In *Volpone*, Ben Jonson (1988) utilized these elements and created powerful “fool” characters that signaled the aggression from the masses in a period where the aristocratic were enhancing power. As a part of his household, like a royal court, *Volpone* had three deformed fools. They were Nano the dwarf, Castrone the eunuch, and Androgyno the Hermaphrodite. As characters who are historically able to speak the truth, the three were representative of the man's deformity and aggression. They could speak in a civilization that censored dissenting views.

Dissenting view and disagreement, when couched in comedy and foolishness, was an expression reserved for the court jester. Those within the margins, within the formal structure dare not speak against said structure. Such communications, thoughts, and mores were governed by monarchies. Though the structures squelched and subverted communication, the court jester and fool signified dissenting views that existed under the guise of tomfoolery. The advent of the fool being the unwitting one in the room to talk has continued into postmodern communication.

Not that these figures are truly foolish; to the contrary; they use the guise of being underestimated to say the things that cannot be said or offer the wish and actions that are unheard.

Culture of Communication in Modern Structures

Various cultures also used structures to govern social mores and cultural expectations. The gypsies, descendants of India roaming the European continent, were storytellers and the begging classes. Though poorly treated, often whipped or hanged, they were permitted to engage in palm reading. Other fortunetellers, Moors and Bohemians, transmitted stories and information (Voss, 2011).

African American griots and storytellers also functioned within a structure that quashed direct and transparent communication. Like the aforementioned examples, griots used the fool and trickster image to convey morals and values in a situation that overtly limited open communication.

Slave masters took pain-staking precautions to prevent communication amongst slaves. For example, African people, even of different languages and dialects, could communicate across miles via the “talking drums” that were used to announce harvest time, worship, weddings, funerals, and to call warriors to battle. Hence, once Africans arrived in America, slave masters, to control the slaves, outlawed their use of drums. These slave masters realized the significance of the drum and the potential danger inherent in the ability to communicate (Harding, 1983, p. 27). Operating quietly within the controlling hegemonic culture, griots or storytellers remained as centralized communication figures operating with a restricted space.

Whether through the playwrights, dwarfs, gypsies, Bohemians, the court jesters, or griots, these forms of communication and entertainment were bound by a structure. A dominant expectation continued regardless of the culture operating within the centralized dominant structure. Both the Enlightenment, which sought to eradicate myths with reason and the subsequent modernity, which relied upon the creation and building of a new structure to replace a mythical one, needed structure. Nonetheless, lurking beneath both Enlightenment and Modernity structures were the aggressions of the commoners. Revolution, spawned by the aggression of underclasses, was an attempt to equalize access and resources reserved for privileged classes. Revolutionaries were active in striving past group oppression, imposed by monarchies, and formalized structures.

Controlling the Narrative

An example of controlled speech and suppressed aggression of the masses is woven into the United States industrialized development that simultaneously oppressed scores of disenfranchised people. Whether it was the government taking Native Americans’ land through a trail of tears, abuse of Chinese immigrants, or the Jim Crow south, the United States historically ignored the individual civil liberties for people without means or upward mobility. Women also toiled in sweatshops with unsafe conditions, working long hours with meager wages (Takaki, 2001). Those being removed, imprisoned, or impoverished seldom had a voice to resist, even as they sought to build mechanisms that would facilitate such.

However, in contrast, in this same historical era, the national leadership offered a controlled narrative of the universal nature of the United States, erasing the differences that underpinned disenfranchised experiences. Thus, Franklin Delano Roosevelt wrote in his 1920 campaign speech in Seattle Washington:

There is, after all, very little difference between us Americans, no matter from which state we come. It is something for us to be very thankful for that we have not merely a common language, but that we have also the same general standards in life and the same ideals of thought. It makes very little difference whether one is in the manufacturing districts of the Middle West, or in the grain fields of the Dakotas, or in the mining camps of Montana, or in extraordinary rich valleys of your own State... in all of these parts, we find the same type of rugged forward-thinking Americans... (Roosevelt, 1920, p. B).

While Roosevelt was beloved as one of the great American presidents, his speech truly ignored the racial and socioeconomic diversity facing America at that time. At no time was America homogenously comprised of “the same type of rugged forward-thinking Americans.” For example, the 1919 race riots in East St. Louis were sparked by racism and labor conflict, when white factory workers were angry with black factory workers migrating north for jobs (McLaughlin, 2007).

Further, immigrant women were crammed into deplorable sweatshops with horrible work conditions. “We are so crowded together that there is not an inch of space...The machines are so close together, there is no way to escape in case of immergansie [sic]” (Glenn, 1981, p. 138-139). In March of 1911, a tragic emergency occurred at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company, trapping over 800 women. One hundred and forty-six died, mostly Jewish and Italian immigrants (Takaki, 1993). In a third example, in 1934, President Roosevelt signed the Indian Reorganization Act, which the Navaho tribe met with opposition. Even though the Indian Reorganization Act presumably returned tribal authority to the Indian people, 172 tribes voted for the act, and 73 tribes such as the Navajos voted against it (Takaki, 1993). The Navajos, for example, wanted to control their own decisions regarding livestock and their way of life. These voices outside the dominant culture are just a few examples of the diversity of Americans who were obscured by national expansion and industrialization. Those in leadership, with privilege and resources, controlled communication and what was acceptable in the relocation and reallocation of the human experience.

Those disenfranchised in modern society were without voice or access to readily express their opinions. Now, in a postmodern society, they do have unprecedented opportunity to wield once concealed aggression through cyberspace. The postmodern public has access to the same acts and speech and verbal aggression formerly reserved in the public spaces for dukes and knights. Previously, aggression had been managed; aggressions that would strive to maintain structures of power were permitted. Not only has the center eroded, but the formal structure is gone as well. Equal opportunity to express and achieve is considered a right (Hollis, 1998). Anyone can write – publish, tweet, ‘friend,’ or post; the postmodern modes of communication are not controlled, but instead are available for everyone’s participation, good or bad.

Postmodern Aggression

In postmodern civilization, the individual is freer, with more access to communicate and express malcontent; hence, aggression, bullying, badgering and harassment that were once curtailed and reserved for those in power instead now are free and more readily available for public consumption. The postmodern application is the individual striving against various establishments. This presents a fractured decentralized cacophony of voices on the Internet.

The Internet, Snapchat, email, blogs, Facebook, and Twitter give an unrestricted voice to civilians in this postmodern civilization, voices that were once silenced in modern structures. Blumler and Kavanaugh (1999) commented that communication is less structured, more accessible, and turbulent; it is more difficult to control. A revised discussion on aggressive communication and analysis shows the fragmented shift of postmodernism. Communication has become uncentered and defragmented, allowing aggression to emerge from all people, not just the aristocrats. Centuries of silence have not made civilization less aggressive.

Kurth (2013) wrote of the historical decline in faith, a decline foretold by modern scholars such as Weber and Freud. Specifically, Nietzsche announced that “God is dead,” an idea forecasting how science and pursuit of knowledge would change the center. Mankind’s secular pursuits lead to what Wilson (1999) denotes as God’s funeral. Secular thinking eroded faith. To Eberstadt (2013) the erosion of faith harms the patriarchal family unit and the decline of the faith is connected to the decline in the family (Kurth, 2013, p. 481).

Breaking from modernist philosophies, which relied on the church and formal structures at the center of thinking, postmodern thinkers such as Foucault, Derrida, Fish, and Lacan advanced the concept that civilization and its structures have been exploded and disintegrated (Hicks, 2004). The individual prevailed without power structures and conventions. As Fish wrote, this thought “Relieves me of the obligation to be right... and demands only that I be interesting” (Fish, 1980, p. 192). These postmodern philosophers and contemporary thinkers have a general suspicion of reason and an acute sensitivity to ideologies gaining political power. Such postmodern ideas have challenged the scientific revolution of the 16th and 17th centuries that were on the wane in the twentieth century. Postmodern thinking did not align well with previous conventions of reasoned knowledge, religion, and science. Instead, the church, monarchies and other formal conventions lost footing in civilization through independent human beings telling society how to think, instead of powerful aristocratic society telling individuals how to think.

This fracturing advanced the notion that the ideas such as truth, justice, reason, and equality were merely facades built on myth. “Truth is a myth; Reason a white male Eurocentric construct, equality is a mask of oppression” (Hicks, 2004, p. 20). Postmodern discussions on peace and progress are instead reflections of the power structures that oppressed individual ideas (Hicks, 2004).

Postmodernism is absent of community and continuity; instead, it is about the individual self (McCarthy, 2003). Perhaps society has moved from the adage of “all for one and one for all” to instead considering every man for himself. O’Dea (2015) reflected on the nebulous postmodern period in civilization which allows for people to experience and witness violence with more intensity and frequency. Unlike in the Enlightenment period and modernist period, the average person in this postmodern civilization has more access and opportunity for free speech, and more access to the opportunity to express aggression and dissent.

Within the postmodern rupture of the religious and ideological center, individuals flooding the public discourse undermine and eroded civilization’s formal scaffolding. People are apparently not governed by a sense of the social mores, commonly held values, or expectations for decorum. Further, within this milieu of mixed sensibilities, anyone can write, publish; tweet, or post, because the postmodern civilization is the dawn of *en masse* yet individualized engagement, regardless of one’s pedigree or political affiliation.

Resentment Theory

Society has experienced strain, with a growing population seeking safety and security amidst constantly changing environments. Economic change and the recent recession have challenged civilization with higher rates of unemployment, soaring debt, and more poverty. During such periods, the survival of the fittest becomes more acute (Hollis, 2017). Humans become more aggressive, seeking to protect their individual space in the world. Upon reflection, West in many ways was prophetic in his thought about postmodern society. In 1993 he pointed to postmodernism as a crisis; humanity in this period is decentralized, broken up. His foreshowing remarks from the early 1990s told of the impact of automation, one that fragments the human experience. Many industries, whether education, corporate, or medical, have shifted to being more sensitive to market strengths and failures, instead of making humanity the central focus (Elias, 2016; Hollis, 2015; Whittington, 2014).

Close to 25 years later, humanity is indeed more decentralized, with smartphones, emails, and texts, which while convenient, have enabled interpersonal connections and experiences to crumble. The lightning speed in which we can work and produce also can be applied to the lightning speed by which we can torment each other.

With diminished interpersonal connections, it is easier to forget the pain which comes with hastily sending an obnoxious message to a group email or online bulletin board. Regarding this postmodern civilization, Hicks stated, “if you hate someone and want to hurt him, then hit him where it counts” (Hicks, 2004, p. 199). The splintered nature of our postmodern community allows for anonymity and dehumanization; it allows for less accountability because we do not see firsthand the impact of nasty words and insults on our fellows. Instead, the postmodern modalities allow and encourage verbal daggers to be released from behind the sterile computer screen or smartphone.

The scrim of civility and sophistication that was once offered by those wealthy, genteel classes has been eaten away in cyber-bytes on Internet, Snapchat, and Instagram. The proverbial man behind the curtain is gone, the one who used to sanitize or prop up the aggression as necessary evils to save the world. However, behind that same curtain is the fact that aggression is ever present. These high-tech and ever ready electronic structures have a shattered continuum of the frank and transparent for everyday people. The gatekeepers, otherwise known as producers and publishers, no longer block such access to communication.

The Internet: Postmodern Communication Paradigm

Using a Foucaultian lens, power is co-produced in our society, not through multiple and officially elected leaders but through the voice most people have through social media. Social media’s loose organizational structures permit the public to come and go, enter at will, and speak without abandon. Instead of being endorsed by a list of official rules and bylaws, the free flow of membership and social expectations undergird the online culture, not a king banishing those who speak out of turn. This cyber-network built of individuals is empowered by the mass. Power is shared repeatedly when the network retweets and reposts messages. Foucault commented that power and knowledge are extended through the historical and cultural context (Heizmann & Olsson, 2015). The online context empowers everyone.

We would move further to say that aggression is also accepted and extended through the postmodern historical context online. The many, not the privileged few, set the terms of acceptability, civility, and the inappropriate.

Consequently, aggression is not wrapped in the cloak of national security or some rationale that it supports a greater good. Instead, aggression from the public is unadulterated, raw, and even anonymous. Nonetheless, as the examples in this essay contend, aggression has been there all along; the Internet is just a release valve from which aggressive steam and *angst* emerge. Regarding aggression and bullying, such behavior is more pervasive in the postmodern Internet given this free play of contentious chatter in the cloud.

Postmodern Internet activity has led to the transparent participation of anyone with a smartphone, laptop, or tablet. In turn, the Internet is now a tool for protest, aggression, and bullying. Cyber-aggression and bullying include the unauthorized use of people's images and likeness, revenge pornography, the release of private information, and even false online accounts (Gumbus & Meglich, 2013).

Given wider access for all ages, even younger people are subject to human aggression online. "The Internet poses many risks to children and teens but perhaps the greatest challenge is the ability to be anonymous online. Studies have found that between 8% of teenagers and 18% of middle school children have been victimized by cyberbullies" (Gumbus & Meglich, 2013; Wagner, 2008; Winchester, 2009). Jones (2013) also noted that cyberbullying and aggression bring a new elusive element that was not present with traditional bullying. "Physical bullies got suspended; bathroom walls were cleaned, and offensive material removed. Harassing phone calls could be reported to the police; perpetrator phone numbers could be blocked... [with] cyberbullying the game has changed into one that is not so easily controlled" (Jones, 2013, p. 1).

In contrast, these decentralized voices of the public online can be used for social change (Earl, 2006). Several researchers have noted that the Internet gives voice to the people to bring change, whether it is dealing with social unrest in Asia (Wong, 2001), or advocating for Mexican rain forests (Garrido & Halavais, 2003; Kreimer, 2001; Martinez-Torres, 2001), the decentralized voice of the people can be harnessed through website and cyberspace to create petitions and spark boycotts (Earl, 2006). Open access is a double-edged sword, allowing both for advocacy and aggression.

Currently, church structures have a much-diminished influence. The same applies to remaining monarchy structures and family storytellers. The Internet is now the fractured structure, the storyteller, the powerful tool for the public to use and abuse. The Internet is the conveyor and transmitter. The Internet is the storyteller with critical elements distilled to sound bites or tweets of 140 characters or less. It is a vehicle granting more access. Yet, such brevity on the Internet still allows for an unadulterated expression. These trends of self-expression, aggression, and harassment are evolving so quickly that laws and legislation cannot keep up with the latest transgressions in flaming, harassment, trolling or revenge pornography (Hollis, 2016). In short, aggression, bullying, and harassment have been with civilization all along; however, society is still learning how to manage uncontrolled freedom of expression. Beyond stating this obvious point, we argue that it is the postmodern expurgation of structure, whether it was good, bad or indifferent, that allows more citizens in various civilizations to regularly voice malcontent.

In the postmodern age of self, the aggression that has been simmering below the surface and structure has minimal constraints. Postmodern society has very little empathy, the capacity to get in touch with the anxieties and frustrations of others (West, 1993, p. 5).

The disconnectedness of the Internet and other cyber modalities separates humans from other humans. Bullying, harassment, and aggression blossom when individuals, although members of a society, are often disconnected from humanity.

References

- Blumler, J. G., & Kavanagh, D. (1999). The third age of political communication: Influences and features. *Political communication*, 16(3), 209-230.
- Derrida, J. (1994). Spectres of Marx. *New Left Review*, (205), 31.
- Deane, P. D. (1995). Metaphors of center and periphery in Yeats' The Second Coming. *Journal of pragmatics*, 24(6), 627-642.
- Dubas, K. M., Dubas, S. M., & Mehta, R. (2014). Theories of justice and moral behavior. *Journal of Legal, Ethical and Regulatory Issues*, 17(2), 17.
- Earl, J. (2006). Pursuing social change online: The use of four protest tactics on the Internet. *Social Science Computer Review*, 24(3), 362-377.
- Eberstadt, M. (2013). *How the West really lost god: A new theory of secularization*. Templeton Foundation Press.
- Elias, R. (2016). The relationship between the protestant work ethic, empathy and business students' distrust of corporations. *Southern Journal of Business and Ethics*, 8, 109.
- Foucault, M. (1988). Truth, power, self: An interview. In *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*. London: Tavistock.
- Fish, S. E. (1980). *Is there a text in this class? The authority of interpretive communities*. Harvard University Press.
- Garrido, M., & Halavais, A. (2003). Mapping networks of support for the Zapatista Movement. In M. McCaughey & M. D. Ayers (Eds.), *Cyberactivism* (pp. 165-184). New York: Routledge.
- Glenn, S. A. (1991). *Daughters of the shtetl: Life and labor in the immigrant generation*. Cornell University Press.
- Gumbus, A., & Meglich, P. (2013). Abusive online conduct: Discrimination and harassment in cyberspace. *Journal of Management Policy and Practice*, 14(5), 47.
- Gurevitch, M., & Blumler, J. G. (1990). Political communication systems and democratic values. *Democracy and the mass media*, 269-289.
- Heizmann, H. & Olsson, M. (2015). Power matters: the importance of Foucault's power/knowledge as a conceptual lens in KM research and practice. *Journal of Knowledge Management*, 19 (4), pp.756-769.
- Harding, V. (1983). *There is a River*. Vintage Books: New York.
- Harrison, J. R. (1995). What rough beast? Yeats, Nietzsche and historical rhetoric in 'The Second Coming'. *Papers on Language & Literature*, 31(4), 362.
- Hicks, S. R. (2004). Explaining postmodernism. *Skepticism and socialism from Rousseau to Foucault*. Tempe, Arizona: Scholargy.

- Hollis, L. P. (1998). *Equal opportunity for student-athletes: Factors influencing student-athlete graduation rates in higher education* (Doctoral dissertation, Boston University).
- Hollis, L. (2015). The significance of declining full-time faculty status for community college student retention and graduation: A correlational study with a Keynesian perspective. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 5(3), 1-7.
- Hollis, L. P. (2016). Cybershaming—Technology, Cyberbullying, and the Application to People of Color. In *the Coercive Community College: Bullying and its Costly Impact on the Mission to Serve Underrepresented Populations* (pp. 125-135). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Hollis, L. (2017). Evasive Actions: The gendered cycle of stress and coping for those enduring workplace bullying in American higher education. *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal*, 4(7).
- Jones, I. (2013). Cyberbullying: Need for global response. *Law Technology*, 46(3), 1.
- Jonson, B. (1988). Volpone. *Ben Jonson: Three Comedies*. ed. Michael Jamieson. Penguin Books.
- Kurth, J. (2013). A tale of two collapses: The twin declines of the Christian faith and the traditional family. *Harvard Theological Review*, 106(4), 479-489.
- Martinez-Torres, M. E. (2001). Civil society, the Internet, and the Zapatistas. *Peace Review*, 13, 347-355.
- McLaughlin, M. (2007). Women in the Crowd: Gender and the East St. Louis Race Riot of 1917. *Studies in The Literary Imagination*, 40(2), 49-73.
- McCarthy, P. (2003). Bullying at work: A postmodern experience. In S. Einarsen, H. Hoel, D. Zapf, & C. Cooper (Eds.), *Bullying and emotional abuse in the workplace: International perspectives in research and practice*. London, England: Taylor & Francis.
- O'Dea, J. (2015). Media and Violence: Does McLuhan Provide a Connection? *Educational Theory*, 65(4), 405-421. doi:10.1111/edth.12124
- Patterson, A. (1984). *Censorship and Interpretation*. The University of Wisconsin Press: Madison, Wisconsin.
- Powell, J. (2007) *Postmodernism for beginners* Red Wheel. Weiser/ Weiser.
- Roberts, J. W. (1989) *From Trickster to Badman*. University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia.
- Roosevelt, F. (1920). "The Great Communicator" the Master Speech Files 1898, 1901—1945. Series 1. File No. 144. Seattle, WA Campaign Speech. Retrieved from http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/_resources/images/msf/msf00147
- Rosen, D. (2012). A jester's guide to creative seeking across disciplines. *American Journal of Play*, 4(3), 310-326,390.
- Shkliarevsky, G. (2015). Overcoming modernity and violence. *Cosmos and History: The Journal of Natural and Social Philosophy*, 11(1), 299-314.
- Takaki, R. (1993). *A different mirror: A history of multi-cultural American*. Brown and Company. New York, NY.

- Voss, T. (2011). The stranger as story-teller: Gypsies and Others. *Shakespeare in Southern Africa*, 23, 31-42,94.
- Wagner, C. (2008). Beating the Cyberbullies. *The Futurist*, 42, (5), 14-15.
- Welsford, E. (1935). *The Fool*. Faber and Faber: London.
- West, C. (1993). Prophetic thought in postmodern times: Beyond eurocentrism and multiculturalism (Vol. 1). *Monroe. ME: Common Courage*.
- Whittington, R. (2014). *Corporate Strategies in Recession and Recovery (Routledge Revivals): Social Structure and Strategic Choice*. Routledge.
- Wilson, A. N. (2000). *God's funeral: A biography of faith and doubt in western civilization*. Ballantine Books.
- Winchester, D. (2009). Cyberbullying on the Rise. *St. Petersburg Times*, March 3.
- Wong, L. (2001). The Internet and social change in Asia. *Peace Review*, 13, 381-387.
- Yeats, W. B. (2003). *Michael Robartes and the dancer*. Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing. Press. Retrieved from <http://public-library.uk/ebooks/109/37.pdf>

Special Feature

Odessa 1919

Ron French

The Khodinka beaker

This beaker, often called the blood cup because of the many deaths its distribution caused, was issued as a free souvenir at the coronation of Nicholas II in 1896. Huge crowds gathered at the Khodinscoe Fields outside St Petrograd to receive the enamelled beaker together with free food, a scarf and other gifts. In the excitement the crowds became unmanageable and many were pushed by others into the deep dykes that crossed the flat land. Over a thousand died. The tragedy was interpreted by many as a bad omen for the coming reign of the Tsar.

Prologue

In the 1914-18 War the Central Powers of Germany, Austro-Hungary and Turkey faced the Allies comprising Britain, France and Russia and from 1917 also America. At the start of the war Tsar Nicholas II of Russia announced the confiscation of the large German colonist owned farm estates, even those of families who had been in Russia for many generations and had Russian citizenship. Many estates dated back to the 18th century when Catherine the Great had encouraged German settlers to introduce sheep farming to the country. The confiscation process was never completed, being overtaken by the chaos of the Russian revolution in 1917 during which year the Red Bolsheviks conquered the White armies of the Tsar and took control of St Petersburg and Moscow, in the north. The situation in south, present day Ukraine, was further complicated as in 1918 the region was overrun by the German army following a peace agreement between Germany and the Bolsheviks. Lenin wished to concentrate his troops on eliminating the remnants of the White army. It took the Bolsheviks till spring 1919 to overrun Odessa on the Black Sea in the south. Even this occupation was not permanent, the Whites temporarily retaking the city in the summer of the same year. Life in Odessa had remained surprisingly normal with the Bourgeoisie hoping and assuming that the Whites would still win the conflict. When the Reds finally assumed control they brought with them the “Red Terror” in which Lenin’s commissars simply set about eliminating all with status, wealth or learning, as enemies of the state. This is the story of how, in 1919, one of the thousands of Russian-German families, the family of Paul Vaatz, became refugees fleeing for their lives from the Red Terror.

Chapter 1 – The Terror starts

Car lights swept the bedroom ceiling from below, a screech of tires, heavy boots on the marble apartment steps, orders shouted, a banging, two gun shots and the crashing-in of the door of the flat below, a desperate scream, again the sound of heavy boots in the hallway, getting fainter, the banging of car doors, again the screech of tires, then a horrid, frightening silence. Paul and Sophia lay silent. Were they safe for tonight at least? But might they be the next?

‘God, the CHEKA! They must have dragged out poor Dychenko.’

Sophia shuddered and Paul hugged her closer. Both realised, then, that they must desert their Odessa house and find refuge outside town. The Bolsheviks had overrun Odessa less than a month before, following the vacuum left in Spring 1919 by the departure of both German and Allied troops at the end of the Great War. Red activists were now ruthlessly scouring the city for the prominent and wealthy. These they dragged to the newly established CHEKA (secret police) headquarters in the Shadanov building in Katarina Place for interrogation, torture and incarceration or execution. The fate of the victims would be announced in the Bolshevik gazette, *The Fight*, and the reason for execution typically, simply and coldly given as *counter revolutionary and informer*. In their hunt for victims the CHEKA were hearing from informers and systematically working through the records in the city hall. So, while Paul was not an official of the city, he would be exposed as a rich landowner and business man as soon as the Red commissars uncovered the relevant files. The threat was real and imminent.

After their frightening night Paul and Sophia got up later than usual. Paul went to the bedroom balcony as he always did to take in the view. He used to think how lucky the family was to own this modern, luxury flat at Marazlevskaya, 14 overlooking Alexander Park and the Odessa harbour beyond. This morning his feelings were very mixed; still pleasure at the beautiful view but fear as to what was to become of his family.

He was surprised to see a small group of his neighbours gesticulating and talking animatedly below him at the edge of the park. He also noticed a large military rabble streaming from the city, through the park, towards the harbour and boarding the warships moored there. Sophia urged Paul to go and find out what the excitement was about while she called on Mrs. Dychenko to see how best she might help her and the children. As he crossed over to the park Paul noticed that his friends were no longer dressed as workers. Something must have changed if they were confident they could so without being arrested as counter revolutionaries.

‘Fantastic news Paul. The Bolshies are running scared. General Denikin and his army are marching into town. We’ll soon all be free again.’ This from his neighbour, Vadim, the Russian Lawyer.

The other three gave him enthusiastic two-handed shakes and hugged him close. Alexander pumped his silver topped stick in the air, holding it at the bottom like the leader of a marching band. All were equally excited and jumping and cheering. Their enthusiasm infected Paul, his spirits rose and he joined in with their celebrations. Grown men laughing and dancing around together, arm-in-arm, like happy school-boys in a playground.

Suddenly from behind came a sneering, threatening voice,

‘Cheer and jeer while you can, you Bourgeois scum! Our great Red Army is simply making a strategic retreat. It will be back and when it does we shall shoot the lot of you and hang you by your legs from these trees, like the dogs you are.’ A broad shouldered, tall young man with red hair emerged, wearing a scruffy, long army great-coat with the regimental and rank markings torn off - a sure sign to the friends of either a revolutionary or deserter. He carried a large, brass-bound telescope which he waved at them in a threatening way. All five stared at him in a stunned silence but then Paul, realising that the initiative was now on their side, turned to this intruder on their celebrations. He slowly took a clean white handkerchief from an inside pocket, shook it open, removed his glasses and while squinting sideways at the red-head, carefully polished them. As he replaced them he demanded,

‘Where the devil did you manage to steal that expensive telescope?’

The Bolshevik took a step back, hugged the telescope close to his chest, patted it lovingly and replied in an offended but proud tone,

‘This is not stolen, but requisitioned for the use of the people.’ Paul’s short and portly friend the Russian lawyer, then had a go. He made the intruder jump, stabbing two stretched fingers into his stomach.

‘You take great care what you say young man. I can have you arrested, tried and almost certainly shot for words like that.’ The Bolshevik’s look showed he was shocked and frightened by the threat. But, that look did not last. It turned slowly into a cruel smile as he stared, at first questioningly then excitedly, beyond their little group. He barged suddenly through them, in the direction of the road that edged the park, towards a small troop carrier holding half a dozen Red militia that had just appeared. He yelled as he ran, pointing backwards towards the group.

‘Comrades, quick, come. Come shoot these blood sucking, bastard Bourgeoisie.’ The militia tumbled untidily out of the back of their open truck with their weapons awry, trying understand what it was the Bolshevik wanted. The friends, in a panic shouted to each other to run and hide.

Paul saw that Alexander Michaelovitch, was just standing there, walking stick in his right hand planted firmly on the ground, staring, rigid with fear. He grabbed him by the arm and dragged him into hiding. Vadim, instead of running further into the park with them, took the suicidal decision to run left at an angle towards his house, further along the same road from which the militia were shooting. All were terrified he would be killed as they watched the bullets hit the ground behind him.

Some how, perhaps because of the confused shelter caused by the park trees or the marksmen's lack of training and skill, the bullets missed their target and the friends were relieved to see the lawyer's small round figure, with his black red-lined cloak flying behind, dive through his front door to safety. The remaining four stayed crouched behind a large fallen log screened by bushes. The gun-fire, from at least four guns, urged on by the loud shouts of the Bolshevik, was then re-directed at them.

Chapter 2 - Easter

Many shots came frighteningly close, hitting the log behind which they were sheltering. However, the aim was somewhat random for in trying to murder the lawyer the militia had not seen exactly where the friends had concealed themselves. The lawyer, not on purpose, by risking his life, had probably saved theirs.

Quite unexpectedly there was silence. They peered out to see the militia hurriedly scrambling back into their transport, even as it started to move. Later they concluded that the gunmen had got frightened that the ships in the harbour would leave without them and that they would then be at the mercy of Denikin's advancing White Army. Relieved but supporting each other and shaking from shock, they crept out from behind the bushes. Paul's family came hurrying out of the house, his nine year old daughter Isa running ahead with arms held wide, Sophia and Isa's twelve year old sister, Tamara, half walking, half running hand-in-hand and Mlle. Voutaz, the governess, following hands held together, uncertainly, behind.

'Paul, Paul, we saw everything from the balcony. It was terrible, awful. Thank God you are all safe.' They returned to the flat, relieved, happy and exhausted. Sophia then reminded them that with the Bolsheviks taking power at the start of April they had quite forgotten to celebrate Easter. This happy, important day in Russia had been entirely ignored amidst the terror and death of this terrible civil war. Easter was the biggest festival in Orthodox Russia. How could the Red Bolsheviks have achieved such a transformation among the strongly religious Russian people? Sophia did not have the ingredients to bake the traditional Paska. But she made some black tea and they shared two precious eggs between the four of them in celebration of Easter, the entry of the White troops into Odessa and of better times to come.

Only a year ago, Sophia reminded Paul, they had still managed to hold open house at Easter, following the Russian custom that the Vaatz family so enjoyed emulating. Russian neighbours and friends and German relatives all came. That last year, however, the atmosphere had been a little strange and strained, as the German army was in control of Odessa having edged out the Bolsheviks, following the peace agreement between Germany and the Bolshevik Reds. But the Vaatz's friendship with their long-standing Russian friends was stronger than both the nationalistic rivalry between their two countries and the political rivalry within Russia. All guests had been happy that there was at least peace and order and hope for a better future.

Isa - Easter 1915

Tamara and I loved Easter. In Russia it is even more important than Christmas. We would walk to Sobornaya Ploshad (Cathedral Square) and sneak into the Cathedral of the Holy Assumption for the Easter morning service. In the dark height gold sparkled everywhere reflecting the lighted candelabra above us. I wondered at the two candles by the altar, taller than I and thicker than my arm. Gold framed icons of the saints covered the altar screen, St Peter in red with his keys to heaven and Saint Mary in blue and white, praying with eyes looking to heaven. The larger than life paintings round the wall, telling the story of Jesus and the passion, were a bit frightening and made me sad. Little bells rang as the priest and servers, dressed in gold and white came chanting down the aisle with the server swinging his smoking censer to left and right. We tasted the strange sweet smell. The chanting was in an old Russian we could not understand and the singing of the male choir made my spine tingle. All stood. Only the very old leant on pull-down half-seats fitted to the walls. The rich ladies showed off their furs and the men held silk top hats to their front. (I naughtily thought it looked as if they wished to pee in them.) The peasants and workers stood heads bowed, women in headscarves, men holding their cloth caps. Then there were other Russian-Germans and foreigners and we nodded and smiled to those we knew. Although we found it all fascinating we never managed to stay the length of the full service.

Two days before Easter, the Paskas were baked. The kitchen had to be kept super-warm with no drafts to spoil the rise of the sweet yeast-dough containing nuts and candied fruit. Oma, Mama's mother, who lived with us was in charge of the kitchen. She would be shouting at the two maids and everyone else to keep the doors shut. She dressed all in black and when she went out she wore a black kerchief. Sometimes we were a little embarrassed, in front of our more snooty friends, that she looked like a village woman and it was true that she still owned her house in Großliebental. In the kitchen she covered herself with a large pure white frilly edged apron.

The Ukrainian Paska is tall like a top hat. It is covered with a soft lemon and sugar icing that runs down the sides like snow. This is decorated with a double barred Orthodox cross, or with the Chi-Ro symbol of Christ. We coloured hard-boiled eggs using onion-skin to get red and brown and got other colours using powder-packets from Germany. We would shrug off the anxious supervision trying to protect us from dirtying our dresses or scolding ourselves. We polished the painted eggs with fat to make them shine and argued how best to arrange them around the Paska on the large sideboard in the dining room.

After morning church, Papa and Mama welcomed visitors. Many came and they spread between the dining room and lounge and also the balconies if we were lucky with the spring weather. We served Paska and other small bites and tea from the large samovar steaming in the corner - although some guests preferred Vodka. Strong tea would be poured into glasses, held in embossed silver holders, from the blue and white teapot, kept on top of the samovar. These were topped-up with boiling water from the samovar itself. Guests helped themselves to lemon slices stacked in the bowl beside the samovar together with sugar, as most liked their tea very sweet. Papa cut the Paska horizontally, in to disc shaped pieces sliced into halves. The top was replaced to preserve the remaining cake and was the last piece to be shared out. Luckily this usually happened a day or two later as it was our favourite because of the icing.

Our visitors were Russian and German friends and neighbours including the occasional consular official who, would want to test our French. We were happy to oblige as we considered our French to be quite good. All were dressed in their best, including two army officers who arrived in full dress uniform. One even brought his sword that he stood in the hall umbrella stand. Although there was a maid in a white cap and apron, we also helped to serve the Paska. There was much shaking of hands and kissing. Three kisses, from one cheek to the other and back, and the greeting, 'Christ has risen.' responded to with, 'Indeed he has risen.' There were uncles and friends and young men (still much too old for us) but some that we little girls quite liked kissing and others that we preferred not to. But once we were in sight there was no saying, 'No.' The room quickly filled with smoke as cigarettes, cigars and pipes with long stems were all popular. I proudly offered cigars from a silver cigar box engraved to look like wood.

All took part in Chuck-chuck with the hard-boiled egg that each had picked from the colourful display. The first round was knocking the narrow ends of the eggs together, to see who had the strongest. Then our guests competed with their flat ends in the same way. Finally, the winning narrow-ender and flat-ender went in to battle to find the overall winner. There was much cheering and laughing, claims of cheating and some disappointment. No prize except yet another egg, or a drink.

Visitors would not stay long but move on to visit other friends. After all had left we used to whisper between ourselves who was the worst person we had to kiss. Tamara hated beards but I quite liked them. I thought they were manly. I particularly liked Uncle Volodia's, whose was warm and smooth and not spiky like a brush.

Isa – School

When I was five I joined Tamara at the Ballen de Balon Russian school. It was only a 10 minutes walk away. We learnt more French, especially cursive writing. I made myself unpopular with our Russian French teacher by saying that her pronunciation was not as good as Mlle. Voutaz's. When I started school, because I was young, I was allowed to draw pictures in my story writing classes. I loved this as I got high marks and was disappointed when this was no longer allowed in the higher class.

Sometimes on our way home we would peep in the window of the Mercedes show-room at 3 Jekaterininskaja, as it was on our way, to see if Papa was in. He was not always there as he was part owner of the agency and not an employee. If he was in and in a good mood he might treat us for tea and cake down the street. If not, Herr Etin the manager would greet us. He was very friendly and from Germany and although he spoke some Russian our German was better so we were happy to show off a little.

In 1917 when I was seven, Mama and Papa got the bad news of the revolution in St. Petersburg but we continued to go to school. In February 1918 the German Army took control of Odessa from both the Bolsheviks and the Tsar's army and we had peace and again went to school. But because we were we Germans in a Russian school under German occupation the atmosphere was a bit uncomfortable. Neither we nor our Russian friends knew exactly how to behave. The German soldiers started to leave already in November and were replaced by a varying mixture of Allied troops including the French, Greeks and British. These left in Spring 1919 and soon after we could hear shooting but still went to school. One day, however, we had to dodge from door to door to avoid bullets on the way home and Mama decided it was no longer safe. Then we had lessons only from our governess. She always spoke in French and as she had done this for as long as we could remember and our French was good we were happy to reply. She read to us and had us read from Bibliotek Rose which was a popular series of children's books in France. She also taught us French songs that we enjoyed. By April the Bolsheviks had overtaken Odessa and again there was no shooting but Mama said we still had to stay indoors and have lessons only from Mlle. Voutaz.

We could tell Mama and Papa were worried. Papa was stricter than usual and then he was sorry and was ever so nice. Mama sometimes looked as if she had been crying. When it got scary I used to get into bed with Tamara . We cheered ourselves up by saying Papa was clever and would know what to do.

We had heard him tell Mama that because we were German-Russians and the German army had made peace with the Bolsheviks, they would not dare to do anything nasty to us.

Chapter 3 - In the CHEKA

A few days after the nasty life-threatening altercation with the red-haired Bolshevik, Paul's lawyer friend caught up with him in the street. He hooked his arm into Paul's explaining he needed his help to track down the Bolshevik and expose him to the authorities, as he was very dangerous. Paul agreed that what he said was true but apologised and explained that his priority had to be to get his precious family out of Odessa and into safety.

The lawyer did not manage to hunt down the Bolshevik before the Red Army was back, exactly as he had threatened. Only two months after the Alexander Park shooting incident Paul and Sophia had heard shooting and commotion in the night and next morning, from his favourite balcony view point, he could see that Marazlievskaya and even some trees in their beautiful Alexander Park were already hung with red banners. He broke the terrible news to Sophia who gasped and clasped her hands to her face in horror.

Following that day the whole of the 'good' population, that is not the Reds, again lived in fear. They knew that the plundering, nightly arrests, and mass murder in the CHEKA headquarters would start again. The first action of the Bolsheviks when occupying a town was to free all the criminals and murderers who would storm in from the prison in the south of the city. These were recruited as allies in the robbing and assassination of the Bourgeoisie. When the Bolshevik victors of Moscow and Petrograd arrived in Odessa they declared the celebration of *Paradise on Earth*. For this a well-known thief and murderer was promoted as a hero in the Grand Odessa Opera House. His chains were severed on stage with large bolt croppers, as an allegory of the freeing of the people from the slavery of the Tsar, to the cheers the watching rabble. These then swarmed out the Opera and ransacked the richer areas of town stealing and destroying as they went.

Paul and Sophia were again awakened in the middle of the night, or rather, very early morning, by loud banging. This time on their own door. Their first thoughts and fears were that this was the CHEKA coming for Paul and they got up, stood behind the front door hesitating to open up. But they then realised it was a woman's voice shouting and crying. Paul cautiously eased the door open to find a sobbing, almost hysterical Mathilde, Sophia's older sister and wife of Paul's oldest brother, Albert. He had been abducted and carted away without any explanation other than murmurings of 'Bourgeois collaborator.'

Paul and Sophia tried to reassure Mathilde that it would be all right and that a way would be found to obtain Albert's release. This in spite of the fact that neither had any idea of how. Brother Karl, older than Paul but younger than Albert, arrived having heard the awful news and they discussed intently and urgently what could be done. It was urgent because many had been abducted one day and simply shot the next. Others, they knew, could spend months and potentially years under interrogation and torture.

Karl, however did have a proposal. He had learned that Herr Finkel, one of the Jewish maklers, who had acted for many years as broker for the Vaatz brothers in the selling of wool, animals and corn from their estates to overseas customers, had reached a high position in the local Party. Karl had always found him to be honest and straight. In fact he could not understand why Finkel was supporting the Bolsheviks. It had to be worth trying to contact him and to find out whether he could help. Mathilde agreed they must try and that she, herself, must go and persuade Finkel to use his influence to release her husband. She set off as soon as it was agreed that this was the only option. She trembled as she approached the dreaded CHEKA building but she would do anything and everything she could to achieve Albert's release. The black leather uniformed CHEKA guard was not at all welcoming or cooperative. She had to control herself to be as humble and polite as possible with, 'Comrade this and comrade that,' and 'please and thank you.' After examining the tattered bundle of sheets attached to his clip-board, the guard gruffly gave her a floor and a room number but did not offer to help or accompany her. She explored through the building, climbing stairs and searching the corridors and feeling very exposed and vulnerable. She clearly did not belong. Most gave her questioning, hostile stares but luckily no one stopped her with questions. She found the door with 'Comrade Commissar Finkel', handwritten on a piece of card roughly inserted in to a holder on the door. This obviously covered an earlier name and Mathilde pessimistically wondered whether the previous occupier was still alive. She knocked as resolutely as she could and entered when invited.

She recognised Herr Finkel immediately and he her. She had spoken to him quite often on the estate, not on business, that was Albert's or the estate-manager's role but informally and politely when meeting him on his way to his overnight lodgings or perhaps going to a meal that had been arranged for the many traders that visited in the season. He spoke both fluent German and Russian and in the discussion that followed each used both languages as seemed the most natural to emphasise their meaning. Mathilde had brought with her a small bag of a dozen solid silver desert spoons to use as barter as she assumed that Finkel would not want cash, as this was becoming more devalued each day.

He examined the spoons and agreed they were valuable but then asked her politely to remove the glove on her right hand. He was interested to see the large ring that it clearly covered. It had a big central aquamarine surrounded by small diamonds.

‘I will arrange to have your husband released in return for this ring.’

‘But it is a wedding anniversary ring from my husband.’

‘That makes it a particularly appropriate exchange.’

‘So why won’t you be shot if you are found with my ring?’

‘I will cut it and sell it in pieces. But you are right I will be arrested and shot if I am exposed for, as you know, it is illegal to trade. But I am careful and deal only with those I can trust. I will manage.’

‘But it does not come off in any case.’ Herr Finkel took her hand as politely as he could and checked whether this was true. She submitted without objecting to this rather embarrassing, intimate action.

‘Not a problem. We will cut it off. As I said, I will need to break up the ring in any case. I am doing you a kind of favour. If you yourself do not want to be arrested, like your husband, you must never wear a ring like this again. You should not even wear gloves, unless it is very cold and then wear practical gloves not fancy, fashionable ones like these. You need to take off that big expensive hat now. Throw it in the corner there. I’ll get rid of it for you. Best wear a head-scarf or simple cap. Please wait a minute’

‘Do I have a choice?’ She thought as he left the room. He returned with a pair of small but sturdy clippers, probably intended for cutting tough toe-nails. Removing the ring was a little tricky because of its tight fit but, although he nipped the skin, he managed without drawing any blood.

‘We have a counter revolutionary tribunal at three this afternoon. I am chairman and we do not have too many prisoners to consider,’ he said as he wrapped her precious ring in a wrinkled spotted red handkerchief and placed it in the centre drawer of his desk.

‘I think I can guarantee to arrange for your husband to be released. I will make the case that he treats his workers fairly and has shown an understanding and sympathy for the Party’s cause. He also has skills that can help the Party in its vital food production programme. Further, I will argue that we can keep an eye on him here in Odessa and that he should not be allowed to leave the city without permission.’ He looked out of the window with her.

‘Stand at that corner over there on the other side of the street, this afternoon, so you can see the entrance to this building, any time after 3:30. If he does not come out by 4:30, or 5:30 at the very latest, you will know that I have failed.’

I then guarantee to return your ring. You will know from the past that I am an honest makler.’ It was a perverse bargain but she believed him. She returned to their lodgings and had a miserable few hours both worrying and at the same time trying to be as positive and optimistic as possible. She made herself some soup but then could hardly swallow. *Why bother?* Time dragged and then, in the end, seemed to rush. She dressed down appropriately, as advised, and hurried to the allocated spot only just in time. Then again this terrible, terrible waiting. 3:30 went. It would have been a miracle had he emerged so soon. Then 4:00, then 4:30. Then 5:00! Tears started to come to her eyes. Had she really lost him – for ever?

Chapter 4 – Eviction

At five past five a bedraggled hunched figure emerged from the CHEKA, tentatively, as if lost. Mathilda rushed across the road, pulled him away from the entrance and round the nearby corner. They hugged and cried together. Paul and Sophie were so happy and relieved to hear of Albert’s release but the experience was strong evidence that things were getting very dangerous for them all. Somehow they needed to find a way to escape from Odessa.

Only two days later the timing of the Paul’s departure from the city was brutally decided for him. He returned home to Marazlevskaya 14 from a frustrating shopping trip in town, where there was in any case almost nothing to buy, to find the block, in which their flat was located, now guarded by the Red Army militia and all the flat owners milling around outside. Mr. Naum, the distraught Armenian block owner, rushed towards Paul and grabbed his elbows with two hands,

‘Awful, terrible news, Mr Vaatz, the Red Army has requisitioned my whole block and plan to use it as the Headquarters of Red Army Number 1. See the sign is already up. Owners are not allowed to remove anything, nothing at all. All the property is requisitioned by the Bolshevik state. What can we do?’ Paul was genuinely sorry that he could think of nothing helpful to suggest to the pleading man. Nevertheless, his own position was slightly different, and he was determined, if at all possible, to get his effects released. He decided to work on a theory he had shared with Sophia. He complained vehemently to the Red commissar that he had no right to confiscate his belongings.

‘As a good Bolshevik you will know that a peace treaty has been signed between the German and Red armies. It’s therefore obvious you must allow me, as a German, to remove my effects.’ He could tell that the commissar was disconcerted by this logic, and could not risk disapproval from his senior Bolshevik officials by refusing. But it was also clear he was not at all keen to allow Paul to remove his belongings. Paul suspected the commissar had already set his mind on certain items that he could requisition for the state (and himself.)

So after thinking for a while, he set Paul the condition that must provide, firstly, a formal German Protest Certificate from the Swedish consulate (which was representing German interests) and, secondly, an official pass for his effects from the newly established Bolshevik Accommodation Authority. The commissar hoped he had set Paul an impossible task, particularly in the chaotic administrative state that Odessa was in. Paul, however, was reasonably optimistic as the Swedish Consul General was a personal friend and he calculated that Bolshevik officials at the Accommodation Authority were also likely to be sensitive to the peace treaty recently signed by their revered leader, Lenin.

He quickly borrowed some of the servants' clothes, dressed himself as a worker and hurried to the nearby Swedish consulate at 22 Kanata Street. His consular friend, Oscar Osberg, whom he knew through the Odessa Hunting Club, welcomed him warmly but at the same time lamented how terrible the situation was. It was peaceful and normal in his office compared to the chaos outside. Paul admired the pair of trophy antlers that he remembered his friend had bagged on a club-shoot together. They reminisced about other good shoots and toasted to a better future with a quick Swedish Akvavit. The necessary German Protest Certificate was prepared and the Consul wished Paul good luck as he handed it over. It was very tempting to stay and reminisce longer but there was urgent business to complete and he regretfully said 'Good bye' and directed himself towards his next challenge.

As he hurried through the once smart streets of his beloved city he despaired how it had been destroyed. All symbols of the Tsar had been pulled down or defaced. If any sign contained the two-headed eagle it was torn from the wall and smashed. If this was not possible it was simply daubed in red paint. Looted shops with broken windows were everywhere. He passed the corner of the prestigious Deribaskovskaya arcade where the Fabergé shop was located and where he had, on very special occasions bought small items. He recalled how his father had presented Sophie and him, for his marriage, with a fabulous, solid-silver fish-serving set with not only the obligatory famous hall-mark but also with 'Fabergé' written in large cursive letters along the blade of the serving knife.

Many of the 19th century buildings that he passed in the centre of town were adorned with naked, writhing, over-life-sized, male Herculean stone figures. These were apparently clinging to the walls and parapets and supporting the ornate balconies. They were escorted by stone maidens of almost equal proportions, also quite capable of supporting a balcony or architrave. Other maidens carried bountiful cornucopias of fruit and sheaves of ripened wheat and were often accompanied by chubby winged cherubs. These figures, being well above head level, had survived the looting, defacing and destruction and to Paul seemed to be viewing the chaos below with a stony sadness.

Paul arrived at Bolshevik Accommodations Authority in Prokhoroya Square, where the Reds had requisitioned an office block for their work and was appalled, again, to find a confused, milling crowd and a long disorganised queue of people fighting and shouting to get into the building. It was obvious that if he queued he would not be seen that day. He determined to find another way in. After some searching he located the back, or 'black' tradesmen's, entrance. Here, he was stopped, as he had expected, by a sturdy porter with the red band of a revolutionary on his left arm. He made it clear that Paul must enter by the main entrance. Paul was very polite and flattering. He explained that his business was very urgent and offered a silver Rouble. The porter allowed him through on the strict promise that he told no one.

'Otherwise,' he said in a frightened voice, 'It will be me for the CHEKA rather than you. Go to the far side of the yard and through that little door down two steps on the left.' Paul followed his instructions and, on easing the door open, found himself among a busy, heaving crowd of excited Bolshevik officials running around with papers and boxes in their hands and earnestly debating with one another. The room stank of wet leather, sweat and garlic. '*Filthy, smelling, robbing, murdering Bolsheviks,*' he thought. Paul selected one who was walking the floor with an air of authority and explained his business. He was escorted to a bare kitchen table, in the centre of the room, at which was seated a self-important looking commissar.

Chapter 5 - Marazlievskaya

Paul was not intimidated by the stern look of the seated commissar and didn't wait to be questioned but angrily slammed his German army demob papers and recently acquired German Protest Certificate, down on the table and barked,

'This is a disgrace, here am I a simple hard working demobbed soldier of the German Army and your ignorant Red Army official is threatening to steal my belongings. Are you so stupid that you forget that a peace has been signed between our two great armies? I demand that you immediately issue me with the necessary document authorising me to remove my effects to a place of safety.' The two officials were clearly shocked and embarrassed by this outburst and, after only a short pause, the one standing behind Paul said meekly to the other,

'I think we had better give this comrade soldier the property pass that he requires.' Paul was quietly triumphant. '*These stupid Bolsheviks,*' he thought, '*They should have known that my address on Alexander Park was in one of the most expensive streets in Odessa, that I am well known by all town officials as a large land owner and business man. They're probably peasants from the North who can hardly even read.*' On the way out Paul gave the worried porter another tip and hoped sincerely he would not suffer for letting him through.

Paul – Graudenz

I was very lucky to have those Deutsches Herr (German Army) demob papers, showing me as a simple soldier, to present to the commissars. I was issued these when the German Army overran Odessa and two of my cousins and I decided it would be a good move to enrol in the occupying army and offer our services as interpreters. We were accepted but only with the rank of musketeer or simple private soldier. In retrospect the low rank was a big advantage when presenting the papers to the Bolshevik commissars. Later, when it was clear that the German army had to leave Odessa, we requested our release to allow us to remain with our families in Russia in the hope that the Whites would still win the civil war. However to receive our official demob papers we had to travel west all the way to the regimental headquarters in Graudenz, Romania.

Paul hurried back to his flat with the precious documents and presented them to the commissar who was still angrily fending off the pleas and questions of the other poor flat owners. He was not at all pleased to see Paul, even less his papers but he could tell they were authentic. He at once set another challenging hurdle.

'Alright, I see this authorises you to take your stuff but you must be out by mid-day tomorrow and what you have not removed by then will remain the property of the people.' He smirked as he spoke for, this time he thought, he had set an impossible task. Paul had to empty his expensively furnished eight-room luxury flat on the third floor in under six hours.

However, Paul's mood and energy were now high. He was determined to achieve this task within the time given and managed to get a promise of two low-loaders for the next morning at six. All through the night the family and the servants packed and prepared. Next morning, as the horse drawn low-loaders stationed themselves below the windows of his flat, he noticed the Red Guards giving them meaningful looks and muttering to each other. He suspected that this was because the Red Army had requisitioned almost all horses and wagons and guards were wondering from where and how he had managed to obtain them. Paul had only acquired them through heavy bribery. Yet more silver Rubles encouraged the removers to work quickly. Soft goods such as duvets, linen and clothes were simply thrown over the balconies directly on to the wagons. Even the heavy furniture was removed, including book cases, a large buffet and the mahogany grand piano. These had to be man-handled down the stairs. There were boxes and boxes of his beloved books. China and glass had been packed overnight and was brought down by the new, modern electric lift.

The removal of the family's effects was complicated by pleas from fellow flat dwellers for Paul to smuggle precious items out for them. This was both difficult and dangerous for, if discovered, it would certainly have led to him being shot. The attitude of the commissar and his Red Guards was openly hostile and they would have welcomed any excuse to sabotage the evacuation. Nevertheless Paul did manage to perform a few, even if too few, favours for his suffering friends. The family incurred a further risk with a subterfuge devised to bring out the jewellery, silver and other small valuables, as they had noticed that the armed Red Guards were not beyond inspecting what was being removed and demanding for themselves any odd bits and pieces they fancied, even though there was official approval for their removal. It was not easy to argue with a menacing, heavily armed guard.

The jewellery and silver were therefore lowered, by a shopping basket attached to a washing-line, from the kitchen window into the back yard, where Paul kept a Mercedes demonstration car for his business. These valuables were then ferried from the back yard, past the guards to the wagons, by the children under the doll-covers of their pram and loaded together with the children's toys. This was an important ploy as Paul and Sophia were aware it was very likely that, in the following weeks and months, the sale of some of that jewellery might help to keep the family alive. The car, he knew wouldn't be his for much longer and, in any case, it would not be much use as petrol was now completely unavailable to the ordinary person. The massive evacuation was completed just in time, even though they had to leave behind some less essential items that included many of the children's toys. This was somewhat ironic as it was the doll's pram that had enabled them to bring out their most valuable items. The pram itself was left behind, standing forlornly at the kerbside, to be only then curiously inspected by the Red guards. It would probably remain there unclaimed as no guard would wish to be found in possession of such an obviously bourgeois item.

Paul agreed to meet Sophia and the children at a Mrs. Van Dych's, a Dutch lady, where they had managed to find a room in the Northern outskirts of Odessa. He then told the family to go ahead and that he would follow them once he had made sure all the goods were firmly stowed and nothing would fall off. So shortly after, his wife and two daughters had left they were followed by the two heavily laden wagons.

Paul was soon ready to follow Sophia and shouted for a droshky that was passing. The few droshkies that remained in Odessa, and had not been destroyed as images of the Bourgeoisie, were no longer being driven by their regular registered drivers. They had typically been requisitioned by enterprising revolutionaries. In other cases regular drivers would have stolen their droshkies from their former masters, more often than not after murdering them as Bourgeois collaborators. Other revolutionaries would be given free passage and they would then race around the city shouting slogans and firing their guns, mostly in the air but sometimes carelessly killing an innocent passer-by.

Real customers such as Paul would be charged at an exorbitant rate. He found it perverse that such so-called Communists were finding independent ways of earning and exhorting money from others. Just as Paul was about to step into such a droshky, having agreed a fare, he was tapped on the shoulder from behind and heard,

‘Do you remember who I am?’ As he slowly turned, he saw a strong young man of about 25, a Bolshevik in revolutionary uniform with red bands across his chest and around his left arm, with a five-pointed red (what he saw as a) Jewish star on his cap and holding a large pistol in his fist. He knew immediately who he was facing and shivered violently inside. It was the red-haired Bolshevik who had tried to have him and his friends shot like vermin only two months ago. His new uniform with its red flashes showed he had risen in the Red hierarchy and was anxious to show his power. Paul was shattered, after everything having gone so well. He decided to say nothing, he showed surprise and pretended not to recognise his questioner.

‘Then I will tell you,’ the red-head continued, ‘I am the one who told you that we Bolsheviks would return and hang you up like dogs. Now we have the power again and we will sweep you away. You were the one I saw run into this door and at whom my comrades shot but missed. We can remedy that error now. Stand against the wall! I will order the guards to shoot you as a Bourgeois collaborator!’ Paul saw that only three or four doors away there was a lorry carrying CHEKA militiamen who were preparing to enter a house to plunder and murder its owners. These could quickly be summoned to execute him. He stood as if in a dream. The shock overwhelmed him. For a moment he felt nothing, heard nothing and nothing was important anymore, as if in a trance. He felt that he was beyond rescue as, those who know the Bolsheviks are aware, these beasts in human form show no mercy, sympathy, fairness or conscience, in fact any human feeling. As Paul heard the Bolshevik’s words he silently waved good-bye to this world.

He thought of his dear, loyal wife, who had innocently just left and who would be waiting at Mrs. Van Dych’s, quietly but impatiently. He imagined her repeatedly looking at the small gold enamelled watch he had given her for her last birthday. He saw in his mind his two girls playing with their dolls or perhaps taking lessons with their governess, which they should have been doing at this time of day. Never again would he see them and hug them. He thought what a sorry world this was, how transitory, stupid, merciless and pointless everything was.

‘*Will this wretched, sad mankind really continue with its endless mutual murdering and tearing limb from limb, even as the innocent heaven watches over it and the beautiful sun continues to shine for ever?*’ He opened his eyes and looked at the blue sky. He recalled how happy the sun had made him as a little boy on the farm in Schastlivka where he had been born.

He remembered how he had lain on his back in the long grass, beside the field in which the peasants were working. He had plucked a blade of grass and sucked at the sweetness at its base. He had shaded his eyes and watched the skylarks rising and singing and tried to judge whether it was really true that the higher they flew, the higher their note. He heard the peasants singing and remembered how kind and friendly they always were. *'How is it that these honest, kind, religious people have turned to barbarism?'* He thought as he waited to hear the voice of the Bolshevik calling the militia.

Chapter 6 - Deadly sailors

'To hell with the Bolsheviks! They had turned these innocent people into savages.' His anger gave him strength. He was a proud German and he had to save his family. He would not submit quietly to being shot. And then he had the thought that saved him. He would use his intelligence, and flatter this bullying, ignorant upstart peasant, to set him free.

'There is plenty of time to die so just listen carefully to what this beast has to say. Perhaps the opportunity will present itself to use revolutionary arguments and to play on the beast's wish to be seen as a hero. Perhaps I can engage him in a long political debate.' What Paul feared most was that the Bolshevik would recognise him as the one who had asked where he had stolen the telescope, as nothing offended these revolutionary heroes more than accusing them of what they actually were, that is thieves and murderers. For in the name of the Revolution and of right and equality they stole property to share among the Russian people. He realised then that the Bolshevik had confused him with his dear friend, the lawyer, who had run away from the gunmen. This reassured him somewhat and gave him hope there might be a way out. He lowered his gaze from the sky, looked the Bolshevik straight in the eyes, placed a right hand firmly on the other's shoulder, smiled, and said in a somewhat theatrical voice,

'Comrade, I can see that you are a true leader of the Revolutionary Guard and I assume that you support justice. You would not wish the revolutionary principles of freedom, equality and brotherliness to be compromised by murdering an innocent foreigner. I must tell you I am not the man you think I am and that I am not involved in your internal war as I am a German citizen, and have papers to prove it. You will know of the peace that has been agreed between our two great governments and you would not wish it to be said that you had broken that agreement. Finally, I am definitely not the man who ran from you that day in March.' The Bolshevik shuffled awkwardly and smiled at the flattery. He stood there, self-conscious, happily serious and good-natured. His angry frown vanished and his expression changed from that of the beast it had been seconds before, to that of a sturdy, friendly round faced Russian peasant from the country, which is what he would have been before this terrible civil war started.

‘We Bolsheviks are the people’s revolutionaries and no murderers. We are preparing the Russian people for a true paradise on Earth. Our dear, precious Mother Russia will soon be the happiest and freest land in the World. I fought in the Great War, I was a prisoner of war in Germany, I had to work deep underground and I have also seen wonderful things. But how can you prove that you were not the person at whom my comrades were shooting? I saw you jump into the house that is just behind you.’ While Paul was worrying and wondering how he could possibly answer this question he realised that Dymtrus, their Ukrainian house caretaker, was standing close by and must have heard the whole conversation. So, somewhat in desperation, he asked whether the caretaker had seen the shooting two months ago and whether he was the man who was running away. Without any prompting the caretaker answered convincingly,

‘Yes, yes I saw everything and no, it cannot possibly have been you. That man was much shorter and in any case it was not this door but a door a little further up the street that he ran into.’ At this the Bolshevik at once relaxed and somewhat grandly waved Paul away with a sweep of his arm,

‘All right, I believe you. I do not wish to burden my conscience with the murder of an innocent man. In addition you are a foreigner. You can go.’

Paul rushed off to get to his family in the outskirts of the city. Sophia kissed and hugged him tight as he told her of his near-death experience. She shuddered and did not dare to consider what she would have done had he not returned. When they recovered and checked their belongings that had been transported from Marazlievskaya, they were relieved to find that their furniture and boxes had all been safely stored in spite there being so much. Paul was sorry and somewhat angry that his prize Frankott hunting rifle had been stolen but it was a small sacrifice considering that the family was now at least safe for the present. Holland, like Sweden and Switzerland, was neutral and the Red revolutionaries were not yet seriously harassing its citizens. However, his latest experience had persuaded him that this indulgence probably would not last and that they should quickly escape further away to one of the many long established German villages located in the countryside surrounding Odessa. He and Sophia decided to aim for Großliebental where Oma, Sophia’s mother, owned a house.

It was here at the Dutch lady’s house that Mlle. Voutaz decided that she must leave the family and try to return to Switzerland and her home in Lausanne before it was too late. The story of Paul’s second life-threatening encounter with the Bolshevik made her realise that her own safety was no longer guaranteed. At present someone carrying the papers of a neutral country like Switzerland would probably be safe. But for how long would this last? All had noticed how the Reds were getting less and less bothered as to whom they harassed, arrested and even murdered. Paul and Sophia also realised it would not be fair to try and persuade Mlle. to come with them to the German villages, further away from Odessa.

So she dressed herself modestly and, of course, in a head-scarf rather than a hat and expected to be safe on the easy downhill walk back to the harbour. There she had good chance of getting passage to another Black Sea port that would allow her to go on to Switzerland. The Reds of course would monitor and question anyone trying to leave but her papers showing her as a teacher from Switzerland should create no difficulties. Paul gave her six months pay and Sophia and the girls wished her good luck. They were all very sorry to see her leave and there were held-back tears as kisses and polite but very genuine goodbyes were exchanged in French.

The family still needed to find a cart to get to the colony of Grossliebenthal almost 30km from Odessa and needed to stay on with Mrs. Van Dych until arrangements could be made. She kindly gave them a large bedroom. The Bolsheviks had requisitioned most horses and wagons both in the towns and the country and those they had not, had been stolen by the mobs. The normal means of hiring or buying these things were no longer available and they simply had to wait for the right opportunity.

One evening as Paul returned to their temporary lodgings he noticed two sailors in their blue uniforms sitting outside the house. Their flat sailor hats were lying beside them on the bench with their rifles casually stacked against the side of the house and they were sitting in the sun, eating sunflower seeds in the customary Russian peasant way. They would stuff a handful of whole seeds in their mouth, skillfully de-husk them using just tongue and teeth and then one by one spit out the husks in a little pile on the ground. Each sailor already had his own mound building up nicely beside the leg on his side of the bench. They looked relaxed and harmless. But Paul was immediately suspicious, as sailors were some of the most active and extreme revolutionaries and had committed atrocious crimes against their officers. In Odessa harbour, after they mutinied, they pushed their officers into the ship's boiler fires, tied their hands and feet and threw them in the water or locked them in animal cages and starved, teased and taunted them. More is almost too gruesome to tell. When a diver was sent down to work early in 1918 no sooner was he at the bottom than he was signalling to be taken up again. He surfaced frightened and shivering, acting like a mad man and stuttered that he had been encircled by standing dead men. It appears that these were officers who had had weights tied to their feet before being pushed overboard and that the gases in their bodies had made them stand upright and the current made them move eerily in the water. It was the sailors of in the famous gunship 'Almaz,' moored in Odessa harbour, who had perpetrated these gruesome atrocities. The sailors therefore made Paul very uncomfortable and he had to decide whether to enter the door or not.

However, he really had no option, as his family was inside. So he walked in as nonchalantly as he could giving them a short but polite greeting. The sailors did not look up, replied to his greeting with a grunt and did not try to stop him. Once in he asked their new Dutch friend why the sailors were stationed outside. She answered that they were caught as in a mousetrap.

The sailors were letting every one in but nobody out. Everyone in the house, that held several people, was worried. Many tenants had lived there for 15 to 20 years and not only knew but were friends with both other tenants and the owner. They came together and discussed what action was planned by the Bolsheviks. It was obvious that if no one was being let out that some sort of interrogation was planned, or that someone would be arrested and sent to the CHEKA. And no one comes out of the CHEKA again alive. Everyone got tired late into the night and tried to sleep but were restless and could not. At 1:00 am the house owner knocked gently on Paul's room door and advised the family to get dressed quickly as a troop of armed CHEKA military had arrived and were interrogating one of the oldest tenants. As it was likely they would also carry out further interrogations it would be best to be dressed.

In the room next to the Vaatz family Mrs. Van Dych had also given room to a young officer of Denikin's White army. He was busy burning incriminating papers and evidence including his officer rank shoulder markings. He was in great danger as an active officer of the Denikin army. The Bolsheviks made a practice of literally taking the skin from the living body of their victims and cutting the Tsarist epaulette markings into the skin on their shoulders. Paul felt desperately sorry for the man, and knocked softly on his room door to try and help. He was very young, only about 23, a strong blond boy with bright blue eyes and with a snow-white serious face. It was obvious at first glance that he was a true Russian of noble blood. His movements were soft, his features were fine but most noticeable were his hands. They were more like that of a girl than that of a Russian officer.

'I wish I could help you.' Paul offered. 'Do you have many more things to destroy? You must be quick. The CHEKA can come any minute'

'And then?' He replied. 'I will let them politely into my room and if they find anything incriminating I will shoot the beasts. I will not be taken to the CHEKA. One dies one way or another. Better this way.' And he pulled a Browning pistol out of his pocket. Paul suggested that if the CHEKA came into the house that he should go out by the kitchen 'black' door into the dark yard and try and hide till the Reds had gone.

'If you are discovered in the yard which is very unlikely then you can still have the pleasure of shooting down the Reds.'

'It is not as simple as you suggest.' He answered. 'I know that when the Reds visit a building they guard the back door just like the front. I would rather stay in the comfort of my room and wait than to be lonely in the yard.' Paul stayed a while longer, talking. Sophia also came and sat and they waited with fast beating hearts for the CHEKA announcement.

Chapter 7 - Guard post

Mrs. Van Dych knocked and came quietly into the room and informed them that it was now safe. The CHEKA had gone. But by her sad face they could tell that there was also bad news. This was that, after a long painful interview, her oldest resident had been hauled away to the CHEKA. The crime of this unlucky man was simply that he was an official of the government in Odessa and that was enough to class him as a counter-revolutionary. A consolation was that the young White Army officer was safe for now. Thus ended a miserable and upsetting night and the household went to bed for the second time at three in the morning.

The next day Paul and Sophia got news that there was a 'big surprise' back in Odessa. It was declared the 'Day of the Poor.' This authorised every proletarian, every beggar, every boulder and anyone who thought they had the right to go from the street into any rich or other house and take any items they wished that they considered indispensable to them. This was to Paul a new Bolshevik trick that he listed as:

- to legitimise the stealing from the rich and wealthy by the poorer and lower levels of society;
- to win the support of the proletariat to the Red cause;
- to set the two classes on a life and death war against each other;
- to arouse in the poorer masses (90% of the population) the vision of paradise on Earth and of Mother Russia.

The most gruesome and shameful acts occurred in the best and richest quarters of the city but the crazed mob did not limit themselves to these and many middle class homes were also looted. The houses were ransacked and the contents of chamber pots thrown out of the windows. It was hell, a lunatic asylum and the Vaatz family had no option but escape to the country, to the German colonies. They realised they had been very lucky that the Bolsheviks had allowed them to take their belongings from their beautiful flat in Marazlievskaya two days earlier. They could hardly have done them a greater favour.

After a long search Paul at last managed to find a small two-seater wagon with just sufficient room for Sophia and the two girls. There was no room for him. It was therefore arranged that, after arriving in Grossliebenthal, Sophia would organise for a two-axle cart with its owner, one of Sophia's cousins, to collect Paul and the most essential luggage and transport it, from the present lodging with Mrs. Van Dych over the 30 km distance to Großliebenthal. The streets leading in and out of the town were controlled by sentry posts and all those travelling out of the town had their papers checked.

Any bourgeois, that is any of the moneyed classes, were not allowed to leave. They would be arrested and sent to the CHEKA as undesirable refugees or counter-revolutionaries. The guards would not bother with women and children so Sophia and the children should get through without difficulty. Wilhelm arrived next day, as arranged, with the promised farmer's cart. Wilhelm confirmed that he had seen several armed guard-posts at the city borders.

Paul was very worried as to what should he do. He had his German citizen pass but it contained damning words such as landowner and business-man. He was thus cursed three times as: bloodsucker, White sympathiser and counter-revolutionary. He still had his military papers, from when he was demobbed in Graudenz, showing him as a simple soldier. This had served him well at the Accommodation Authority but he was not at all certain that this small piece of paper would be enough at the guard-posts as it had no photo. Wilhelm reassured him he would leave the city by a back road where there was unlikely to be a guard post. So the cart was loaded with the essential items needed for Großliebental. Paul thanked and said good bye to Mrs. Van Dych, and they set off. It was sensible that the wagon was not a smart Phaeton or Droschky, but a simple unsprung farmer's cart, as this indicated that Paul and Wilhelm were not bourgeois but either simple farmers or small German colonists taking goods back to their village. They were also appropriately clothed. What should have given them away, though, were the two fine raven-black horses, that were straining forward like lions that Wilhelm had somehow managed to hang on to. The ride through the town's outskirts went without incident and they were soon in an area where they could expect a guard post to be located. And, as expected, as they reached the top of a rise they saw that the road plunged steeply down towards a guard-post. Paul was very nervous. Wilhelm, however, said not to worry. He had a plan but did not explain it. This made Paul worry even more.

Chapter 8 - Großliebental

Wilhelm halted the cart at the top of the slope in full sight of the guards, got down and Paul watched him busying himself with the horses as if he was adjusting the horse tackle. Having spent a few minutes at this, he shouted down to the guards,

'Have you got a leather strap or some rope? Our horse trappings are torn and I worry the cart might not be able to stop on this steep hill.' The guard shouted back that he was sorry but he could not help. Wilhelm then climbed back up and said to Paul,

'Hold tight we're going down as fast as we can, as if we had no brakes. You *pretend* to pull the break as hard.' He then urged the horses downwards, faster and faster, while acting as if he was doing just the opposite. Horses and cart galloped down-hill, gathering speed, straight towards the post.

‘Sorry comrades, I can’t stop the horses,’ Wilhelm yelled as they charged passed the startled guards. It was not clear who was more surprised, the guards or Paul.

Paul, holding tight on to the brake lever but not actually pulling at all, just had time to think, ‘*So long as they do not shoot*’. But the two guards jumped back making room, watching open mouthed, wide eyed and with arms stretched sideways, holding their weapons out of the way. Wilhelm had managed that beautifully and Paul was impressed at how quickly he had found a solution to their dangerous situation. Still in sight of the guard-post but far enough away to feel safe Wilhelm stopped, acted as if to readjust the horses tackle and shouted apologies back at the guards. They waved back friendly and wished the two a good journey.

‘Yes,’ thought Paul, ‘*Our German colonists can also be clever and work out how to fool the Bolshevik rabble.*’ With the latest danger behind them they trotted happily towards Grossliebenthal where they would be safe.

The tenants living in Sophia’s mother’s house in Steinbuckel Strasse were welcoming but apologised that because of their own big family they could only offer a bed for her and Paul. However only two doors along the road lived one of Sophia’s more distant relatives, Anya Naumov, who readily agreed to take in the two girls. Tamara and Isa were at first very unhappy with this proposal. However, Anya was warm and friendly and found some dolls from her now grown-up daughter and the girls were soon happily calling her ‘aunty.’

Next morning Sophia took the girls to the cemetery, just one Verst (1km) from the village. This was not so much to inspect the graves, although she did show them some early head-stones belonging to her family, the Kunderts, who were founder members of the colony in 1805. Her real reason for the diversion was to re-live a happy childhood memory, to pass through the avenue of mulberry trees that led to the cemetery and through the hedge of willows that surround it and then climb the small hillock at its centre to show the girls the view she used to enjoy when young.

The bays of the Black Sea stretched along the horizon. Close by was the small catholic village of Kleinliebenthal with its light house, situated on an estuary. Further along the coast in the distance they could see the church towers of the Odessa from which they were fleeing. With the Black Sea now behind, they could make out the Greek village of Alexandrovka and before turning full circle back to the Black Sea, the battlements of the old fort of Akkerman stood out on the horizon on the other side of the wide estuary of the River Dniester.

Sophia explained this had been built by the Turks when they ruled this Black Sea coast. She hugged her girls close as they stood on the little mound together. She did her best to smile and to present this journey as an adventure. The two were not really fooled. They knew that things were not as they should be, although they did not understand exactly why. Nevertheless they were brave, also played the game and tried to smile and be cheerful.

In early June 1919 there was not yet a commissar in the village. The Bolsheviks were still busy plundering the cities and rooting out the Bourgeoisie in the towns using *Paradise on Earth* and the *Day of the Poor* to encourage the people to participate. So far they had taken no interest in the villages where there was less to steal. No commissar had dared to enter the village without the support of canons and machine guns. The German colonies in the Ukraine were large, rich, numerous and politically strong and due to their concentrated numbers a significant force. Grossliebenthal had about 4,000 inhabitants and in the Kherson district alone there were some 20 colonies each with 2,000 – 5,000 inhabitants.

But soon, very soon, the German colonists, starting with Sophia's own dear Grossliebenthal, would also be subjected to plundering and murder in their uneven fight against the Bolsheviks. Overwhelming Bolshevik force would soon result in unlimited sacrifices being extracted from the prosperous German farming community, together with many neighbouring Russian villages, resulting in blood, fire, murder and destruction. After less than four weeks the Bolsheviks started to visit and demand money, hay, grain and horses. As the demands grew so did the resentment and anger in Großliebenthal and the surrounding villages and they agreed, next time there was a demand, to take joint action. The crisis came soon. A requisitioning team of ten Bolsheviks arrived from Odessa, including the German Sailor, Schmitt and the Austrian soldier, Syrik, as translators. Both were *Spartakists*, that is German Communists. They demanded a huge contribution of 1 million paper Rubels, many horses and cattle plus, for the first time, 40 young men from the village to enrol in the Red Army.

In response, as agreed, the villagers rang the church bells to call in their neighbours. They surrounded and murdered the whole deputation. Two officers from the White army also assisted in the lynching. These had been hidden and looked after by the villagers. Paul and Sophie had ushered their daughters inside so they would not see the killings but out of curiosity they emerged in the street to see the blood and carnage and dead bodies lying in the street. It was a particularly gory sight as most of the killings were not undertaken with military weapons but with farming tools including shot guns, hayforks, butchers' cleavers and axes.

Tamara - Murder

Commotion. An open truck of men in black leather with lots of guns drove in to the village. Isa and I were quickly hustled inside. Other mothers were doing the same. The village men did the opposite. They came out. The women came out again and stood watching by their house doors whispering in little groups. We peeped between the shutters although we had been told to go to the back and hide. The church bells rang louder and faster. More men appeared from the fields and buildings with their farm tools. We could not understand. The bad men stood circling their truck, pointing guns out at the crowd. The commissar got angry and stood-up in the truck, shaking his sabre overhead with his right hand and slowly waving his pistol backwards and forwards in the faces of the surrounding farmers, with his other. The growing crowd too got angry and noisy and pressed on the men, thrusting their pitchforks and other sharp implements towards them. There was a shot. I think one of the black-leather men got frightened.

Then chaos. More shots. The crowd pushed in, hacking spades and axes, stabbing with hayforks, Shouts, oaths and cries. Two white officers, who the village had been hiding, appeared, slicing with their sabres. The village dogs, adding to the noise and commotion, were barking and running in circles round the melee.

It became quiet. The dogs barked only now and again. The crowd backed off, some shocked at what they had done, others triumphant. The dead militia lay huddled round their car, cut-up and bloodied, a pitchfork stuck deep into the chest of one facing us. The commissar was hanging out of the car backwards with blood flowing from a smashed face. One was moving slowly and moaning. A village girl knelt and lifted his head on her lap. A White officer edged her aside and shot him through the temple with his pistol.

Two dead villagers were gently carried away. Others were standing, talking excitedly but quietly. Most had blood on them and on their farm-yard weapons. Some were limping or holding wounds. A cockerel crowed and was answered from further away.

We crept out of the door to see better and got close to the dead men. I'd never seen anyone dead before. Why do dead people keep their eyes and mouths open and stare? We were noticed and pushed inside. The dead men were loaded on to their truck like sacks. We sneaked out again and hid between two houses. Everyone was too busy to notice. Then people started picking up the pieces left behind, hats, weapons and bits of clothing - also bits of people. Isa and I decided to help and together carried a big black bloody boot to the truck. I had to walk backwards to drag a big sabre with its point scratching a wavy line in the bloody dirt and could hardly lift it up to the truck.

I heard a squeak behind me, turned to see Isa looking with her hand to her mouth at a severed ear lying there. But she picked it up and held it in two open hands, palms up, just as she had done the toad in the Karlovka garden, and reached up to present it to the farmer in the truck. He took it with a finger and thumb, said,

'Bless you sweetheart.' But dropped it carelessly into a corner of the truck. After all scraps had been collected the truck drove off slowly. Six or seven men followed on foot carrying spades. The women did their best to clean the yard with buckets of water, rakes and stiff brooms. After their efforts the village square, with its parallel rake markings in the dust, was almost too clean and tidy to be real. Mama had been busy with the wounded villagers and was shocked to see the blood on our clothes. She led Isa by the hand and took us together to the village pump to wash them out. We were not the only ones washing out blood and all round the pump were pools of red stained water. We walked back bare foot in our knickers and vests, carrying our wet bundles, not at all embarrassed and with nobody giving us strange looks. I whispered to Isa,

'Mlle. Voutaz would never let us walk like this in Alexander Park.'

Chapter 9 - Franzfeld

Paul and Sophie realised it would not be safe to stay in Großliebental as there would be reprisals. There were no horses so a group of about 20, pushing one large and three smaller carts set off on foot towards Kleinliebental. There were other family members in the group: Paul's oldest brother Albert and his wife Mathilda (Tilla), Paul's sister Nelly and her husband, another Albert (Buba) Linke, with their two boys and a girl, with whom Paul's daughters used to play when they were all together on brother Albert's estate in the summer. This was a journey of around ten kilometres. The fleeing refugees could hear guns and the louder canon fire and a stray shell would sometimes fall too close and explode. At times they felt the battle was getting closer so they marched faster. The children, dressed like the adults as peasants, were bare-footed and soon they were crying as the stubble bit into the soles of their feet. They were given turns on the carts but this only made it more difficult for those already tired from pushing or pulling. When the party arrived at Kleinliebental late in the evening they were relieved and happy to be so warmly welcomed even though their hosts were risking their lives. The following morning the body of one of the villager's son was brought in from Großliebental. The Bolsheviks had been quick to take early revenge.

Inevitably, very soon after, a properly organised, heavily armed, punitive Bolshevik expedition was sent from Odessa. The villagers resisted and fought a bloody battle in which Grossliebenthal allied itself with Kleinliebental, Alexanderhilf, Lustdorf on the coast and other farming villages, both German and Ukranian.

In response a whole Bolshevik army appeared with cannons and tanks. The villagers contributed to a front established by the White Army stretching from the Black Sea sixty kilometres inland. Paul fought hard in a mixed troop of farmers and White army soldiers and together they managed to overrun two cannon positions. But they could not build on their success because of a shortage of munitions created, it was said, because Romania refused to sell them any. When they could no longer hold out they were ordered by the White commander to scatter. Before doing so Paul helped to bury the canons and various machine guns to keep them from the Bolsheviks.

Paul returned to his family and to his role as a fleeing refugee. In Kleinliebental they could still hear sounds of battle and the girls were now crying with fear. Paul and Sophia decided they must flee further west and decided to aim for the Catholic village of Franzfeld on the River Dniester that formed the boundary with Romania. The aim would be to cross the river to Romania and then travel by whatever means was available to Germany. Paul retrieved his knapsack, holding their important papers and valuables, from its hiding place and they joined another party of twenty, or so, and worried how their daughters would survive the hardships of the much longer thirty kilometre journey. The party included the same family members as before and also other friends such as, Aksel the Swiss Vice-consul in Odessa. Although his was a German name he also spoke perfect French and reasonable Russian. It was a sign of the hardening of the Bolshevik attitude that a Swiss foreigner could no longer feel sure that his neutrality would keep him safe. The cruel strategy of the Reds of shooting whole communities if they found that bourgeois refugees were being sheltered meant they could never be certain how they would be welcomed in their westward trek. It was not an easy journey, always within the sounds of fighting. If they saw anyone in the distance they would lie down or hide behind hay-ricks. Under these desperate conditions and with uncertainty in their minds the little group arrived late one evening at Franzfeld. It was much smaller than Grossliebental with less than 700 inhabitants. Despite the threat that their party posed, and the fact that the visitors were Lutheran rather than Catholics, the villagers still made them welcome. Tamara made a face at the hot potato soup without salt that they were given but knew not to complain.

Paul's family was housed with the village cobbler. Paul agreed that they would tell the Bolsheviks that he was a hostler (stableman), so as to be as certain as possible not to be recognised as a refugee from both Odessa and Grossliebental, and thus a double sinner. So every time any Reds entered the village he had to dash and grab a broom and start mucking out the stables. Brother Albert, who was staying with a farmer, also became a flat-cap-headed hostler.

Paul quickly made enquires where and how they might find a boat to take them over the river but soon discovered that even with the offer of large sums of money no one was able to help.

Apparently it was not a lack of willingness but because the Bolsheviks had destroyed all the boats they could find and that anyone they saw on the river they simply shot. A nasty side-effect of this policy was that the villagers could no longer fish properly and thus lost an important source of both food and income.

Paul's family members each adjusted differently to a village life that they had formerly only experienced as employers and patrons. Paul himself became morose and moody, worrying and planning for a way out of their nightmare but getting nowhere. Sophia did her best to be positive and cheerful and not to let the girls feel the danger they were in and was quite successful in making an adventure of their hardships. The girls understood the Bolsheviks were bad and that they had to run away. However, provided they got some food, they adapted surprisingly well. Their bare feet became hardened and they played cheerfully with the village children. Tamara being older sensed the danger more. She found it difficult to forget that she was of land-owning stock and tended to use her authority to organise the children's games. She usually got away with this as, at nearly thirteen, she was one of the older children in the village. Isa in many ways adjusted better and when there was no immediate danger played happily with the village children as equals.

Things became quieter for a while but the Reds were always around and, although the Red militia were not as extreme and vicious as the CHEKA, they were dangerous enough. Mathilda, had managed to obtain a small bag of flour and was walking alone back to their lodgings, dressed as a farmer's wife, when she was stopped and questioned by a suspicious and somewhat drunken Bolshevik sailor. He discovered her bag of flour and loudly accused her of *speculating*. Speculation being a crime in Bolshevik eyes, punishable by death. She explained it was not for sale but for her husband. As soon as she said this, she realised she had put Albert's life at risk as well as her own, for around her neck was a small bag of jewellery. This included Albert's ruby and diamond Farbergé cufflinks he had received for his 21st birthday. Although she had bartered her own earrings she had managed to avoid bartering the cufflinks for food during their trek through the German colonies. If her accuser found the bag, both would be shot. The sailor ordered her to follow him to the Red guard-post for interrogation. When he was not looking she somehow managed to get the little bag out and throw it into the hedge. The sailor noticed the movement and angrily demanded to know what she was doing. She apologised that she had tripped. He was not convinced and inspected her hands, patted her down and examined the sleeves of her coat, gave a suspicious grunt and then placed her in front, pushing her roughly on the shoulders, every now and again, towards the guard post. Albert was hauled in and both were aggressively questioned and searched.

Chapter 10 - Red visitation

Tilla started when they found Albert's identity pass. Any entry indicating he was a land owner or that he had any status at all would be his death warrant. But when she saw Albert's relaxed face she remembered that he had told her that at the last renewal his occupation was entered as *farm-worker* rather than *farm-owner*. This had been done on the advice of a friendly Tsarist police officer when things had started to become difficult. At the time Albert had tried to reject this friendly advice, proud to keep his status, but luckily he had been persuaded as this false-genuine pass, with all its proper stamps and signatures, saved both their lives. With many tovarich this and tovarich that, they left the guard post locked arm in arm and still with the precious little bag of flour.

Having got over the shock, Mathilda was desperate to get her jewellery back but too frightened to return to the same place. However, two days later, when the Red pressure seemed to be less, the host's fifteen year old son volunteered to search for her precious bag. He returned triumphant having found it stuck in the low branches of a bush exactly where she had said. He was somewhat embarrassed to be so warmly hugged and kissed by Paul's grateful sister-in-law.

Just as Paul was resting in the teacher's house, trying to relax after their life-threatening experiences, and thinking '*Are the Reds getting closer? How long will our luck last?*' The owner rushed in urging him to leave.

'Now!' Paul was too much of a risk. A band of Reds was coming and would be staying in the house. He did not know for how long. Paul's wife and children could stay. If the Reds found Paul, the teacher was frightened that both he and Paul would be shot. Paul quickly changed into old, worn trousers and flat hat and grabbed a hoe. He had only just finished when the visitors drove noisily into the yard at the front. He sneaked out the back and started to hoe near the house. To add to his disguise he took off his glasses and rolled and smoked a cheap Peoples' cigarette. Gradually he hoed closer to the edge of the garden and closer to the rushes by the river. When he thought no one was looking he jumped into the reeds and hid. After a while he raised his head and peeped out and other heads popped up and hid quickly again too. So he was not alone. All were very nervous because close-by Red soldiers were watering their horses in the river and singing their threatening revolutionary songs. After squatting uncomfortably on the damp ground for well over an hour Paul noticed a fat grey snake sliding silently through the reeds towards his feet. He had a strong phobia against snakes and could not stop himself from giving a loud yelp and jumping up out of the reed-bed without thinking of Bolsheviks or anything else. Shocked, both by his experience with the snake and the risk of being discovered by the Reds he stood still, crouched down and listening. Lucky for him there was no one near and the horse-watering duties had finished.

He assumed it was not yet safe to return to the house and decided to wander cautiously along the river-bank to the edge of the colony that they had recently left, as he knew his way to the house where his friend, Aksel, the Swiss vice-consul was hiding. He found him sitting dejectedly on a straw bale. Both were pleased to see each other and prepared to overnight together. Paul thought it safer as he did not know when the Reds would be leaving the teacher's house. He could not let Sophia know as Reds were everywhere - in nearly every house. As the pair tried to sleep the mice and the rats ran over and around them but Paul did not care so long as there were no snakes.

The next morning Paul checked that the Reds had now gone and returned quickly to Sophia. But he found her seriously ill. She had worried because he had not returned as soon as the Reds left and spent all night walking backwards and forwards along the river bank shouting his name. She was convinced he had been discovered and shot. She caught a serious chill and suffered Angina from which she almost died. Paul begged a cart and took some ten kilometres up river some to the small Russian town of Majoki to find a doctor. This was very risky as it was full of Revolutionaries and Paul worried the doctor might himself be a Red. He discovered later that he was Jewish, although not obviously so, and Paul didn't realise it at the time, or he would have been more nervous. The fact was that he took great care of Mathilda and she quickly recovered. Paul had to concede to himself that there were also good Jews.

In this way the little party of refugees spent their time dressed as poor farmers and always at risk of being discovered and shot. Paul had hidden all his incriminating and precious items under straw bales in the farmer's house and they stayed there during the whole of their stay in Franzfeld. *'The Bolshevik swine must not discover them,'* he thought. He had no concern about being exposed by the Franzfeld villagers even though his family were strangers to them and they were at great risk. All the Germans held together and as for the rest he trusted on *'the will and bounty of the Almighty.'* At the cobblers all four slept on the straw-covered lime floor. Beetles and other insects crawled everywhere but luckily there were no fleas or lice to torment them. They lived for several weeks in this way among the villagers, hiding from the Reds, between life and death.

Chapter 11 - The Wood pile

Frightening news arrived that a CHEKA search party was scouring the surrounding villages searching for, among others, the Vaatz family who they had been informed were in the area. So now Paul knew the CHEKA were hunting specifically for him not just any Bourgeois. This came as a chilling shock. It must also have worried the villagers as their risk was also increased. There were murmurs,

'Why should we get ourselves shot for hiding rich strangers who we hardly know?' But the head of the village was firm.

'We have a duty to save our countrymen,' he said and created a hiding place in his own house. It was a small store-room. He had two men help him move a large heavy cupboard so it could be quickly be pushed into place to hide the door. He asked others increase the height the fire-wood pile stacked against the outside wall so as to conceal the small window of the room. This was done very quickly. Food and water and rugs to sleep on and keep them warm were put inside. There was also a bucket. Look-outs were sent out to warn of the approach of the CHEKA search party. That warning came disturbingly soon, in the middle of the day, and the refugees were hustled into the cramped hiding place. It became totally dark as the door was shut. They heard the cupboard being dragged in to place. There was Paul's own family, his brother and wife and the Linke family. Tamara and Isa were not at all happy. The young boy cousins made a good show of being brave. Each family settled in a corner. The grown ups sitting with their backs to the wall their feet touching in the centre. The smaller children sat on laps. Brother Albert lit a candle to help them see and organise. Sophia started to tell a story to cheer the children but they were hardly listening. They realised they were *living* a story - a nightmare. They waited a long, long time and as their eyes got accustomed to the dark they could see small splashes of daylight that filtered through the woodpile onto the high little widow. All they could hear were the normal sounds of a village, dogs barking, cockerels crowing, wood being chopped, children playing but then it became ominously silent. Then orders were barked.

A party of ten heavily armed CHEKA militia arrived in a small open truck and drew up in the village square right outside the village headman's house. They jumped out in their evil looking black leather uniforms, brandishing rifles, pistols and sabres. The commissar in charge ordered the headman to summon all villagers into the square. He then asked,

'Have you seen the Vaatz brothers and their families? Those in hiding were horrified to hear the Headman say,

'Yes.' There was a shocked drawing in of breath from the hiding adults as it seemed that the headman was about to expose them. They breathed again when he went on to explain that the villagers would not let the refugees stay as they knew they were not allowed to harbour refugees. He said they gone off down river saying they would look for a way to get across and escape to Romania. The commissar refused to believe this story and ordered his men to ransack the village and make a thorough search. Those in hiding heard the militia stomping noisily through the village and through the house itself, knocking over furniture, crashing open doors, breaking china and windows and shooting into the air. All to frighten the villagers. When the searchers slammed open the door of the cupboard that hid their room all jumped and hugged closer as it felt as if the searchers were entering their hiding place. Sophia held her hand softly over Isa's mouth to make sure she did not cry out. But Isa could not breathe and pulled the hand slowly away, stretched up to her mother's ear and promised in a whisper that she would

not cry. When nothing was found the commissar became angry and desperate. He still held everyone in the square and then threatened,

'I will order my men to shoot you all one by one, starting with the children and then the women and then the rest until you tell me where you have hidden those filthy Bourgeoisie.' Those inside heard this clearly and were sure they would be exposed. The commissar went further. He ordered three of his men to raise their guns and to aim them at a little girl standing at the front of the group of villagers. The girl shrunk in fear and clasped her arms round her mother's legs. The mother let out a muffled scream and bent down to protect her. There was a frightened silence both inside the little store-room and outside. Who could stand up to such an awful threat? The silence was only broken by the scrape of the commissar's boot as he impatiently tapped it against the ground, deciding when to give the order.

Chapter 12 – Odessa

A young farmer, not the headman, moved out of the group of villagers and nudging his little girl in front of him with his hands on her shoulders and ignoring the commissar, took a step directly towards the three gun-men

'Go on then, shoot us if you must,' His little girl looked back and up at him in fear and disbelief, as he went on, 'but do not call yourselves our comrade revolutionaries and the makers of a new Russia. You are no comrades of ours if you do this terrible thing. You are no revolutionaries if you murder your own kind. Our masters may have underpaid and overworked us, or worse, but even they would never have shot us.'

The three men became confused and looked questioningly at each other and at their comrades. They slowly lowered their weapons and looked sheepishly to the commissar for guidance. He was raging inside but dared not give an order that would very probably be disobeyed. After a pause said to the headman, while pointedly ignoring the brave young farmer,

'Alright, we will go and search in the direction you have indicated but if we don't find them and come back to discover you are sheltering these enemies of the state we will burn the whole village and shoot the lot of you.' The CHEKA search party clambered into their vehicle and drove off, the commissioner in a very angry temper. The little group of refugees had come through once again.

But sitting on the floor in that small dark store-room with his family around him Paul had really lost heart. He felt the noose closing. Till now, in their flight, the danger had seemed general. They were just one among many sad, frightened members of the bourgeoisie that the Reds were hunting.

But now the CHEKA was directly searching for the Vaatzs and they knew they were somewhere close. How long before someone, either by mistake, or intentionally and naturally to save their own skin, revealed where they were?

While the CHEKA remained close in the area, over the next five days, the men were made to stay in hiding during the day and only to come out when it was dark. The women and children posed less of a risk and were allowed out. This further depressed Paul's mood.

One night they heard shooting and a lot of shouting. Next morning they were told that a family of four had somehow managed to get hold of a crude raft and had tried to cross. They were discovered by the Bolshevik guards and shot at and then also targeted by the Romanians who had a policy of not accepting refugees. It appeared that more than one of the family were hit. They were last seen drifting down the river toward the sea in the dark. This resigned Paul and Sophia to the fact that an attempt of escape via Romania was too dangerous to be feasible. The CHEKA party did not return to the village and Paul wondered whether they had assumed that it was the Vaatz family, they were hunting, who had perished on the river that night. Nevertheless all the routes for escape had vanished. North and east were the Reds, west was the impassable River Dniester and south the empty sea. They were trapped and in the awful position of having no plan of escape.

When Paul was worrying and planning at home he would sit at his desk and thread his fingers backwards through his hair. He would emerge from his study with hair standing on end as if blown by the wind. Sophia had learned that if she tried to smooth it down in a fussy motherly fashion he would get annoyed and brush her aside. However, if she approached him lovingly from the side and put her arm round him she could get away with smoothing down his hair in the same movement. She did this to him now as he emerged from the cobbler's house having sat, thinking, not at a desk but on a farm chair in front of an unlit fire with elbows on knees and head in hands.

Chapter 13 - Escape

Amidst this total despair, rumours started, good positive rumours but Paul's experience had convinced him that they were silly and unbelievable, the result of wishful thinking. He discounted them and got angry with frustration when they were circulated. But then came confirmation from someone he could believe and even this he did not believe until he had spoken to the witness directly. He was a farmer who had been allowed by the Reds to farm the land towards Odessa. The Bolsheviks were bright enough to realise that if they wanted to eat they had to allow the farmers to continue farming.

He told Paul how he had wondered further south than usual to gather-in two cows that had strayed. He unexpectedly came across a new White guard post only a few kilometres away. He had confirmation from that guard that Denikin had definitely again driven the Reds out of Odessa and that the villages between Odessa and Franzfeld had also been freed. This fantastic news simply served to heighten Paul's frustration as the Reds still held strong in Franzfeld itself, close to the Romanian border and it appeared there was no way to get out past the Red guard posts.

However, a surprisingly simple - if frighteningly dangerous - way was proposed. Paul's host told him that he had noticed that the Red guards were so confident of their hold on Franzfeld that they routinely left their guard-posts at lunchtime, came back to the village to eat and then drank heavily. Most were asleep by early afternoon. Paul had a long discussion with Sophia, Albert and Mathilde and also the Linkes and they agreed they had to take the risk as the risk of remaining was even greater. They could be exposed at any time.

Their host offered to hire them a horse and wagon. Next day, at three in the afternoon, one of the cobbler's older sons drove the family slowly out of the village as quietly as he could. He kept to the grass where possible, to lessen the sound of the horses hooves and iron-clad cart wheels. Albert and Mathilde joined Paul's family. The Linkes planned to follow next day provided all went well. The village was, indeed, as if dead. While the hard working German farmers were out in the fields the Reds were sleeping and snoring like the pigs Paul thought them to be. Three of the feared sailors were lounging on a bench under a window. One, smoking a long pipe watched them with half open eyes, presumably assuming they were farmers returning to their fields. Paul nervously returned the stare out of the corner of his own eyes and worried that their party had not planned their disguise more carefully and at least carried rake or two and other farm tools. He would suggest this to the son for the next planned journey by the Linke family. But no effort was made to stop them.

Once outside the village they breathed more easily. However, they remained nervous as they approached the Red guard-box, for until reaching it they could not be sure whether there was anyone inside. There was not. Just an empty stool with the Bolshevik newspaper *The Fight*, held down by a stone. They relaxed further but saved their celebrations until they were a mile further on and out of sight of the post. Sophia and Mathilde hugged and sobbed and the girls cried with them. The cobbler's son dropped the party off soon after to return to Franzfeld. They still had to walk for almost an hour before reaching a Denikin Army guard post. They were greeted with suspicion at first but this soon turned to astonishment at their story and a warm welcome. They were treated to tea from a small samovar that was bubbling gently away at the back of the room. One soldier even managed to find some sweets for the girls. The Linkes also escaped Franzfeld next day, exactly as planned.

Franzfeld had been spared by the Bolsheviks as it had not resisted their advance. The Bolsheviks just requisitioned anything they fancied and drank the villagers' wine and spirits. The bedraggled and tired party passed from Franzfeld through Alexanderhilf to Grossliebenthal where they had a terrible shock, for it and, as they discovered soon after, the other villages like Kleinliebenthal and the seaside village of Lustdorf, that had all resisted the Bolsheviks, were totally destroyed. As they travelled towards Odessa they saw the results of the plunder, destruction and murder of innocent German colonists who were simply trying to save their property and lives. In Grossliebenthal the Reds had murdered 40 villagers out of revenge. These had been hurriedly buried in a shallow grave. Before moving on Paul and Sophie attended their re-burial by Pastor Koch with a proper Christian service. He, poor man, simply because he was a pastor, was later sent to Siberia with his family. The father of William, who had helped Paul earlier, was shot with those 40 men of Grossliebenthal but William himself and his wife managed to survive. Paul and Sophia stayed on a few days to be with her mother (Oma). She had decided to remain in Grossliebenthal and not to try and get to Germany with them. She said she was too old to travel and that, in any case, the Reds would not bother with an old village woman. This was tragically the last they ever saw of her and was dreadful moment, especially for Sophia.

On their way back, through the outskirts of Odessa, they visited Mrs. Van Dych. She told how the CHEKA had terrorised the town and taken thousands to the CHEKA and routinely executed them with a shot in the back of the neck. This included all military officers, the whole of the church, property owners, bankers, factory and business owners and anyone who was considered to be an enemy of Communism. Paul only learned from her then that his second oldest brother, Karl, who, in spite of the warning of friends, had stayed in his Odessa house. He had been dragged out in the night to the CHEKA and executed by shot in the neck. Mrs. Van Dych handed Paul the 17 July 1919 issue of the Bolshevik newspaper *Borjba (The Fight)*, printed on yellow packing paper, in which he was listed as *property owner and counter revolutionary*. His death had been less than a month earlier! Did Paul grieve then? He cursed the Bolsheviks, the Allied Powers and even God for letting all this happen. He then prayed to him, also, for protecting his own family – at least so far. He felt a desperate guilt because he had not managed to persuade his brother to flee the City as he and Albert had done. And anger. Why had Karl been so pig-headed? His suggestion, earlier, had saved his brother-in-law's life yet he had lost his own.

Mrs. Van Dych also gave Paul a folded copy of the wanted notice that the Bolsheviks had put up for his capture. He read that a reward of 50,000 Rubles for information leading to his arrest, as *property owner and representative of Mercedes in Odessa*, was offered. So, in spite of all the dangers and real hardships they had suffered, it proved to Paul and Sophia that it had been a wise decision to flee to the German villages.

During their absence from Odessa the Reds had proclaimed the *Glorious Acquisition of the Russian Proletarian Revolution* – This decreed the socialisation of women. All the Red newspapers announced - and Paul was sorry that he had not kept a copy of the notice - that females between 18 and 40 had been *socialised*. That is that anyone was allowed to have sex with any woman, including those who were married, to live with them as long as they wished and to discard them at will. Paul saw this as a Bolshevik conspiracy to destroy the Russian Christian nation. And he was frustrated and angry that the world stood by and watched, said nothing and did nothing.

Chapter 14 - August

They arrived at their house at Marazlevskaya 14 together with all their goods and chattels, retrieved from storage at Mrs. Van Dych, in mid-August. They found their beautiful modern apartment was now a rubbish tip. Worse, slogans were written all over the walls: *Bugger off white bourgeois riffraff. See you soon then you will hang.* Piles of waste and rubbish were everywhere on the floors, in the fireplaces, in the bath and faeces on the walls. The telephone had been pulled out and was gone. Their feet crunched on broken glass and china. Almost worse was what one couldn't see. The ammoniac smell of urine and faeces mixed with yet further unsavoury aromas made Sophia want to retch. It was clear they could not stay there and definitely not with their children who, as Paul remarked, should again be going to school. They agreed they must restore everything to its former condition as quickly as possible, replace all the fittings and furniture and then sell the flat complete with its contents. They would then find a way to emigrate to Germany. In the mean time Albert and Tilla agreed to squeeze them into their Odessa accommodation. They managed to achieve the challenging task of restoration in less than a fortnight by a combination of strong persuasion and generous payments.

Tamara – August

It was August 1919 and it was hot. We were back in lovely, beautiful Odessa and at home but it was no longer to be our home. We had to run away again. Papa said so. To Germany where everyone spoke German. Isa and I had never been very keen on speaking German. Only Oma, Mama's mother, used to insist that we must. I cried when I learnt that she had decided not to come to Germany with us. Just last August we had gone again to Uncle Albert's estate at Karlovka.

August 1918. Isa and I were excited. We were on our way to Karlovka. First we travelled from Odessa by train to the station at Kameni-Most (Stone Bridge.) The train was fun as we very rarely travelled that way. The rattle of the rails, the steam, smoke and sometimes soot blowing past the windows. Mlle. stopped us leaning out of the window as she said the soot would dirty our dresses and also it was dangerous, we could get our heads knocked off. We couldn't see how and what damage could air rushing through our hair do? We waved at anyone we saw and laughed happily when they waved back. Mlle. tut-tutted and said she thought it all most unladylike. From Kameni-Most we went by carriage that Uncle Albert had sent to meet us. Very soon, although we were still almost an hour's drive away, the conical tower of Uncle's farmhouse stood out on the horizon above the flat fields. Onkel Albert and Tante Tilla were expecting us for our annual summer visit. The journey from Odessa to the Karlovka estate was a day's adventure. We trotted past fields of corn and meadows with grazing sheep and cows. Peasants were working in the fields. We passed other estates. We could easily guess which were owned by other German colonists as their main buildings were built of stone whereas those of the Russians were in their traditional wooden style. Where we did not see farm buildings there were signs leading along tracks both right and left with names such as Wanner, Esslinger, Selinger. Once we slowed the carriage to watch a mother bear and cub playing in the water on the edge of the River Bug.

Mlle. Voutaz came with us as Papa insisted that our lessons continue while we were away. Apart from French, Mlle. Voutaz taught us other subjects, including history, geography, maths and some English. She was also supposed to teach us manners. We both quite liked Mlle. Voutaz. She was fair and tried to be strict but we soon realised that her job depended upon her getting on well with us and I am ashamed that we were sometimes more cheeky than we should have been.

She sat opposite, holding a lacy umbrella and attempting to read in spite of the jolting carriage. Two small discarded sun umbrellas lay on the seat beside us. She had tried to persuade us to use them. But we quickly became bored and, in spite of her protests, laid them aside as our skin didn't need protecting. We surreptitiously loosened our summer shoes and pushed down our white ankle socks with the opposite foot, so our governess could not see.

As we trotted on to the estate and nearer main building Mlle. started to worry at what time we were expected and whether they would be ready to welcome us. Isa and I had made a plan. As the coach entered the house yard she was too busy looking whether anyone was waiting and we slipped off our shoes and socks. Our coachman, in green livery, called out loudly that we had arrived. Mlle. put her hands to her ears. A servant came out immediately and hurried to open the carriage door to help Mlle. down.

But we jumped out first, under Mlle.'s arms, in our bare feet, and ran screaming into the garden, hobbling quickly over the sharp gravel stones of the drive and then on to the soft grass, enjoying its feel between our toes and hid in the surrounding bushes. Mlle. held up her hands in confusion but then, stepped down, walked quietly towards the house, turned, looked towards our hiding place, tapped her knuckles on the garden table and shouted, but genteelly, in French.

'Girls, Tamara, Isa, come out at once. Change and get ready for your lessons.'

We remained hidden, giggled silently, and peeped at her through the leaves. Our saviour, Tante Tilla, emerged, came down the stone steps, patted Mlle. kindly on the arm and, also in French, suggested that the girls could catch up with their lessons later and that she should rest and join her in the garden, with cake and a glass of tea.

This before we two had even said hello to our aunt and uncle. So much for our manners. We crept among the fruit bushes picking and swallowing raspberries, red currants and other fruit. We were a little too late for the strawberries but we did discover a few hidden under the leaves. Then Auntie called,

'All right girls you can come out now and have a piece of cake but be sure you apologise properly to Mlle., first.' The promise of cake was an effective bribe. We emerged from hiding, apologised in our best French and were then allowed to feast greedily on the treat of fresh Apfelstrudel and cream. We also remembered to say 'Hello' properly to Tante Tilla and to thank her for the tea treat. Then we had to change but very soon we were exploring the garden again.

Chapter 15 - Karlovka

Tamara - Karlovka

One day, after we had asked too many questions, Auntie Tilla sat us down and explained how the farm worked. Buyers came from both east and west including England, Loz, and Moscow. The main bargaining was done by Jewish maklers (brokers.) Their strange looks fascinated us with their long black caftans, scull caps and payos (curls) hanging down both sides of their face. Muslim buyers came from the Caucuses mainly to buy rams. Like other buyers they often spent the night. They brought their prayer mats and were given rooms facing east.

The women did the sheep shearing but we never saw that as it was done in spring before we arrived. The wool was then packed into big sacks and loaded on to carts for transport to the station and from there to Odessa harbour. Maize, wheat, rye and barley were all grown and sold to buyers who stayed over night. The grain was taken by cart to Vosnessensk on the River Bug and from there by ship to Nikolaev on the Bug-Black Sea estuary.

Summer, when we visited, was a very busy time. A herd of 3,000 Marino sheep was kept on an estate of 7,550 Morgen (4,718 acres). Over 100 working and Anglo-Arabian riding horses were bred. The riding horses were mainly sold to the Tsar's army. The 300 pigs were for the meat and sausages needed to help feed the 400 workers. There were also chickens, ducks and geese. Nine dogs and twice as many cats, it seemed, added to the list of farm animals. As it started to get dark all were given a saucer of milk.

The workers lived in whitewashed wood and adobe houses. There were many low wooden barns and other farm buildings for housing the animals, storing corn and hay and the farm machinery. This was mostly driven by steam. However, horses were still important. A dam had been built in the river to ensure a secure supply of water. But there was no running water and hand- and horse-drawn water carts of all sizes were scattered around the various yards to ensure it was available for both animals and people. The estate even had its own church and graveyard. We would go and look at the headstones of earlier Vaatzs and ask Tante Tilla and later - when we got back to Odessa - Oma, questions as to what they remembered about them.

Isa – Karlovka

We loved visiting the cook-house and tasting the delicious Borshst made for the workers and the dark black rye bread, baked fresh every day. After dark the workmen sang their traditional Russian songs. By then we had usually been made to go to bed but their harmonious singing still made me happy.

Like other German owned estates my uncle's house was built of stone. The settlers wanted to be sure their houses did not burn down. It was a solid square, just a single living story but standing on a pedestal with 20 steps up to the front door that gave it grandeur and provided a semi-basement for storage. The house had a square courtyard in the middle where one could sit in the sun and out of the wind in winter. But usually in summer we would sit and have our meals by one of the outer walls so we had a view. Deciding which side depended upon whether we were seeking sun or shade. In front of the main door was a large garden with flower-beds, mature trees for shade and shelter from the wind and fruit trees and berry bushes.

A pair of poplar trees guarded the front door. The house had a pretty steeple-pointed tower at one corner with a weather vane on top. Just a simple arrow pointing the direction of the wind. The tower had no proper room upstairs but a stone circular stairway led to a landing where one could look out over the farm. This vantage point was the centre for a number of our imagined adventures.

We had so much to do on the estate, from playing with our dolls and other toys, of which we had a second set waiting for us in our Karlovka nursery, to exploring the estate, the river, the fields and woods and its barns and buildings. While we did play with our dolls outside and took them for walks in their prams carefully sheltering them from the sun, they were usually reserved for when the storms came. We then liked to bring them on to the veranda to listen with us to the rain drumming on the glass roof and splashing heavily on to the drive. We put our hands out under the eaves and felt it hard on our palms. It made a special smell as it hit the dry summer dust.

'One, two, three...'. We counted when the lightening flashed until the thunder rumbled, to work out how far away it was. This was something Uncle had taught us and we got rather frightened as the count got shorter and shorter. And it was true when both did come together the lightening was really close. Making Gogl-Mogl had become a custom with us whenever we sat on the veranda watching the rain with our dolls and telling them not to be frightened. We went to the kitchen and begged a large egg each and a jar of sugar. The egg yolk was cracked into a mug and a few teaspoons of sugar added. We then stirred the mix as hard as we could. The challenge was to see who could produce the whitest mixture. The more vigorous and the longer we stirred, the whiter our mixture got. Aunty or Mlle. usually had to act as judge - a judgement that was invariably disputed. It was also a challenge to see who would give up first and just eat up the sweet mix.

Out in the open we climbed trees, ate all the fruit we wished and dug little holes to store it in. One day Tamara squealed as she found a fat toad sitting on her precious store. I showed off by picking it up, stroking and pretending to kiss it, wishing it to turn into a handsome prince. I set it down and it crawled away under the leaves.

The workers were all polite and welcoming and would worry and caution us if we climbed too high in the barn or got close to working machinery. But they let us sit on a horse or ride on the top of the hay cart when it was being brought in. I remember the noise of the steam-driven threshing machine and the smell of the dust it made. A favourite game was to slide down the chute of the machine. One day I ended up in a wet smelly cow-pat and made the mess worse trying to clean it up. In desperation we went to a workman's house and his wife washed and ironed my things while Tamara and I sat, me half naked, swinging our legs in the sun on the bench.

Another day we went to play with Dancia, the cook's daughter, while her mother was busy in the big house. Like others in the estate village her house had white washed mud-brick walls and a thatched roof. The best room had a large bed with many pillows with pretty cross stitch embroidery in red and blue. In the other room the stove took up half the space. It was slept on in winter. While we were playing Tamara noticed our coloured pencils, that had been missing, lying there. Without a word, when Dancia wasn't looking, we just picked them up and took them home. When I got older I realised what a mean thing that was to have done. For, if our cook had known, she would have been frightened of losing her job, accused of stealing. Fortunately nothing happened.

By the evening we were invariably tired and dirty and getting chided for not having changed into older clothes. Getting the water to the right temperature for the bath was always a procedure with alternate cries of 'too cold' and 'you're scalding me!' Evenings were also atmospheric. In town we had got used to our bright electric lights but here in the country, although the house was as modern as it could be, there was no electricity and we experienced the light and shadows, and smell, of oil lamps and flickering candles as we went to bed.

Sometimes Mama and Papa would come and visit and also other aunts, uncles and cousins. Uncle Fred Linke had two boys more or less our age and a girl, somewhat older. They were first cousins. There would be a special meal, probably prepared in the summer kitchen and served outside on the terrace. Much grown-up talking would take place with Papa asking silly questions as to whether we had behaved and been studious in our lessons. These were always answered in the affirmative by Tante Tilla. We would go off with our cousins and show them the farm.

Tamara - Beach

We had long school holidays in summer and when we were not in Karlovka we often went to the beach at Lustdorf on the Black Sea. It was only 10 km away and if we went in one of Papa's Mercedes cars it was really quick. He seemed to have a different car every time we went. We were told this was because he was testing them or demonstrating different models to customers. Sometimes a complete stranger came with us to the beach so he could experience the car. As most customers were inexperienced they drove too slowly or too fast or stopped suddenly so we fell around screaming and laughing in the back. Often they could not start the car. If we didn't take a chauffer with us Papa had to do the hard work of turning the engine with a big handle. Papa got told off by Mama when she got to hear of our escapades saying it was dangerous and stupid but we enjoyed it. This was strange because usually it was Papa who was the careful one and Mama who liked adventure. Luckily Papa ignored her but made us promise not to tell next time we went.

Chapter 16 - Revenge

Now the Whites were again in control of Odessa it was possible to wear normal clothing and not to be frightened or ashamed to be bourgeois. Both men and women who could afford it, and those who had not destroyed their clothes, for fear that their discovery would label them as bourgeoisie, dressed themselves up with enthusiasm and paraded the streets to convince themselves and others that everything would now be alright. The cafes in and around Deribaskovskaya Street somehow managed to find something to serve, even if it was ersatz coffee made of dried Dandelion root. Just sitting in the sun and chatting, as if things were normal, made it feel normal. Paul was not convinced by this optimism. Having just escaped from Franzfeld only thirty kilometres away and seeing how the Bolsheviks managed to manipulate the population and the force and hatred with which they punished both those who were against them and also the doubters, strengthened his determination to leave the country.

One morning he was walking the sunny, early autumn Odessa streets that were bubbling with - what Paul was convinced was - false optimism. He turned the corner from his house in Marazlevskaya to Bariatinsky Street towards town and he noticed a farmer's cart loaded with water-melons. There was a soldier with his back to him in the dishevelled uniform of Denikin's White cavalry unloading melons and carrying them into the greengrocers. *A soldier on short leave earning a little on the side. Good luck to him*, he thought.

Paul then noticed the red hair. *Could it be? No, impossible!* Then as the soldier passed the melons into the shop he caught a profile view. *Yes it definitely was!* It was the Bolshevik who had twice tried to have him shot and was probably instrumental in having the CHEKA search for him in the German villages. He could hardly believe his eyes. Was he fooling himself? A Red Bolshevik, even an extreme and dedicated Bolshevik, dressed in the uniform of the White army? He looked again and convinced himself he was right.

Paul determined he would make this Bolshevik suffer the same experience that he had suffered: the freezing of the blood in his veins, the inner feeling of departing from this world, that of total despair. Two White Army soldiers, standing guard at an official building a little further up the street, were well within earshot and he included them in his plan of revenge. However, as he owed the Bolshevik his life, he would give like-for-like and on no account denounce him. Paul approached the Bolshevik, tapped him on the shoulder and when he turned, made a stern face and asked, exactly as the Bolshevik had done only two months before.

'Do you remember who I am?' The Bolshevik's face went white and Paul could see in his eyes that the red-head knew exactly who he was and he relished the fear that he could almost feel spreading down his victim's spine.

'No, no,' he stammered.

'Then I will tell you. I am the one who stood close to here, just like you in this same street, only three months ago and who you ordered to have shot by your Bolshevik thugs. Be so good as to stand against this same wall and I will request the soldiers there to shoot you and you will not even live to see today's sunset!'

This once threatening bully slumped and seemed to shrink in size. In a shaking and offended voice he complained,

'Then you lied to me. You said you were a foreigner, a German citizen and were not interested - or involved - in our Russian revolution and did not want to be mixed up in it. If that were true you would not wish to denounce me to the militiaman. That is not fair.' This cheeky reply annoyed Paul and he answered,

'I did not say I would denounce you but that I could and I confirm that I am a German citizen and that I want to go to Germany and leave your bloody, dirty and stupid revolution for ever. What you call Red power is no longer a revolution.'

'What is it then?'

'It is a dog-eat-dog plundering of the whole people, of murder and death without reason and without end. How did you get hold of that uniform? A convinced Bolshevik and in the uniform of the cavalry of Denikin's army. You must be a spy otherwise you would not wear that uniform. Explain yourself!'

If the Bolshevik went white when he first saw Paul he now he went bright red and his face returned to that of the beast Paul had seen before and in an angry but quiet voice said,

'I refuse to answer that question. You are a foreigner and are not allowed to meddle in our revolution. You said yourself you did not wish to be involved so why do you ask me these questions?' He added sarcastically, 'If you really want to know then denounce me to the militiaman but I will tell you nothing.' This sly, casual reply came because the red-head had obviously sensed that Paul would not reveal him to the Whites, although Paul had now begun to weaken and wonder whether to not to do so after all. He thought the whole, military, political, moral situation a mess, a dog's breakfast. But he answered,

‘All right then, you do not have to tell me. I am just curious about your unusual uniform. I will not denounce you. I am a foreigner and will keep my word. However, young man, I am sorry for you. You are wrong. Improve yourself. Give up the Reds, go over to the Whites and when they win be part of the new, free beautiful Russia.’ The red-head replied,

‘I will stick with the Reds, I will not serve the Whites and what I am wearing is just a masquerade. This stitched together uniform is my insurance. I believe in my Reds. What your White generals offer is a return of the Tsar and to all the old suffering of the poor. I will not betray the Reds.’

So then Paul saw him less as a traitor but more as an unfortunate misguided young man. The Bolshevik smiled and took Paul by the arm.

‘Let’s get closer to the cart and inspect the melons so that passers-by and the soldiers will assume that you want to buy.’

‘What he had said about the White generals and the Tsar stank of the propaganda that filled the Bolshevik papers’, thought Paul, ‘That one could not trust the White generals as they sought the return of an unlimited autocratic monarchy. He was a young man who had clearly been brainwashed by this propaganda,’ so Paul said,

‘Have you not noticed how Jews hold most of the senior positions in the Revolution? Trotsky, Bronstein, Sinoweff, Apfelbaum, Teklow, Nachamkes, Kamenew, Rosenfeld, Radek, Sobelsohn? The Jews lead the people’s tribunals. I have seen it in Odessa. The Jews and Jewesses are also prominent in the CHEKA. Have you not heard of the ‘beautiful Rosa?’ How the Whites were taken to the Shadanov building in Katarina Place imprisoned and then murdered with a shot in the neck? Will you still not believe me that this bloody revolution is led by the Jews?’

‘And what about Lenin, Bucharin and the other Russians?’

‘Those are just a few. Think, do you really want to help the Bolsheviks drag poor Mother Russia to Hell?’

‘I will think about it.’

‘Good and I will repay what you did for me. I will not expose you. We are now equal. You are free. But do not serve the Bolsheviks!’ They separated, Paul in the hope that the Bolshevik would reconsider carefully and leave the Reds. However, on the day of their departure from Odessa fate caught up with him. He had apparently made the wrong decision. But more of that later.

Chapter 17- The Arta

Early one morning, soon after this last meeting with the Bolshevik, Paul got up and went alone to a remote corner of Alexander Park, sheltered by thick bushes. He started to yell and shout and curse, he spat out the most extreme profanities he could drag from his memory. He cursed the whole shitty situation. He blamed everyone and anyone, the Bolsheviks and all the many self-serving factions participating in the revolution, the provisional governments, the separatists such as Poles, Ukrainians and Romanians, the Tsar, the Allies and the German-Austrian Alliance, the gods in general and God himself. Why were they all so ignorant and stupid? Why so cruel? Why, why this awful terrible hell? Why, especially poor Karl, who had never harmed anybody? He drummed with the side of his fists against the smooth grey bark of the large beech tree that he stood under. He held the trunk between his hands and banged his head against it, slowly and softly in despair. He paused, stood up straight, took a few deep breaths, wiped his eyes and mouth, first with the back of his hands and then with a clean white handkerchief pulled from his inside jacket pocket and walked determinedly back to his brother's Odessa house. He and his family would survive!

Paul and Sophia put their restored property up for sale with all its fittings and furnishings. Surprisingly there was quite an interest from those who had escaped from the Bolshevik occupied parts of the country. The best offer was from a Count Brobinski, who had fled from St Petersburg. He had arrived with his family and two large carts of possessions. How he had managed to get these through the war-ravaged Ukrainian countryside was a mystery. He still seemed to have faith in the White army and the deal was concluded within a day. The means of payment presented a challenge as the Rouble had crashed in value and the Kerenk, introduced by the short-lived Kerensky government, had almost no value. So payment was made in a mix of jewellery, gold and silver coins, war bonds and Tsarist -so called Romanov - Rubles. Paul was relieved to have received anything and to be rid of what he considered to have become an encumbrance.

Almost four months had passed since Paul's last meeting with his Russian Bolshevik and he was getting more and more impatient waiting for the opportunity to leave and emigrate to Germany. The general situation in town was getting worse by the day and he was convinced that the Reds would again achieve the upper hand and retake Odessa. Denikin's White army was far too weak and the allied forces, the French and Greek troops who came in August with their small tanks were useless. They just sat around and did not bother themselves with the revolution. The French spent their time offering passers-by Cognac, although there were times when the bottle contained nothing more than tea. Paul took a chance in buying a sample and was lucky that it was genuine. So they had a little toast that an early means of escape would appear.

The Greek troops soon left. The French stayed longer, in fact to a time after the family managed to leave Odessa, but they only brought bad luck to the city. It would have been better had they never arrived as, because of the French presence in Odessa, the White army gained confidence and advanced but then, when the French suddenly left by sea, the Odessa end of the White front was blown wide open and the Reds quickly retook the town together with many Whites and all their wealthy possessions. It was rumoured that the French General D'Anselm had accepted a several million Rubles bribe in gold from the Reds to leave. The official reason given by the French for the departure was the outbreak of revolutions in France, led by extreme socialists and even communists.

At last came the fantastic news that the German steam freighter Arta was in harbour and was leaving for Hamburg, early on the 6th December, only two days away. It would transport any remaining Germans free of charge back to Germany. This was to be the last ship to sail! The family rushed to pack everything they could and had it transported to the ship. Loading their effects was not a trivial exercise as they had four large wooden crates containing, as Paul insisted, many books including the complete works of the Russian classics such as Tolstoy, Pushkin, Dostoyevsky, but also Shakespeare and Byron in Russian and Mark Twain in German, all illustrated and with gold edging. Not only Paul's and Sophie's but also those of the children. Paul remembered packing their tattered Pinocchio that he had also had read to him as a child. He also packed the large samovar that had been the centre piece of the dining room since before his time. So, although they lost most of their toys, the girls' books went with them to Germany. Then there were the two small but rather heavy boxes of valuables, mostly silver and jewellery that were kept close by, one with Sophie and one with Paul.

A late addition was a box of smoked meat and sausages that Uncle Albert managed to obtain for Paul by rushing to and from his estate in a friendly White Army officer's car. He had found his estate in ruin, ransacked and destroyed. The old employees that remained were polite but totally disillusioned and confused by events and many were begging him to return. He pushed trashed belongings and damaged furniture aside and at the back of his old cellar store room he still found some hidden preserved meats and sausages. These as well as providing Paul and family with a welcome addition to the limited diet available on board, would, during the sea journey, be exchanged for favours such as a better sleeping bunk or alternative food.

They spent the final day waiting to board the Arta with Albert and Mathilde. The two families sat together in the afternoon over Russian lemon tea and in front of a decent fire that they were lucky to have, considering the general circumstances. They reminisced and started their long goodbyes, Paul arguing they should come with him and they still persuading him to stay.

As they were talking the maid came in saying there was a young lady in the kitchen crying and urgently wanting to speak to Mr Paul Vaatz. He found a Russian peasant girl simply dressed with a covered head sitting crying. She explained that her husband had been arrested and was waiting to be tried by the military tribunal to be shot as a Bolshevik. Paul was the only one who could save him and she begged him to go to the court and swear that her husband was not a Bolshevik but a White. Further, her husband was suspicious that Paul had denounced him to the Whites. Her story made Paul realise just how efficiently the Red spy system had been working. They obviously knew where he and family had been living with Mrs. Van Dych and later in Grossliebenthal and the other German villages. They also knew that, after selling his property, he had moved in with his in-laws. However, he stressed to the girl that he had kept his promise and had definitely not exposed her husband and that someone else must have done so. He explained that, even if he wanted to help, he could not because he was leaving very early next morning on the last ship. He added that they were now even. Her husband had saved Paul from being shot and he had returned the favour.

She left and that was the end of Paul's episode with the Bolshevik. He was not surprised that the Bolshevik had been discovered for, as they had experienced in Alexander Park, he did not hide his strong communist views. It could also have been that Vadim, Paul's lawyer friend, had finally tracked him down and exposed him to the authorities. Paul was truly sorry for the girl and had a slight feeling of guilt that he had not offered to help. She was clearly innocent and he realised that if it had been one of his own family who was in danger that he would, somehow, have managed to make contact with the head of the military court, even though it was evening and the offices were closed. The head of the court could easily have been a major whom Paul knew socially and, if not, would almost certainly be a White officer who knew one of Paul's several senior military friends stationed in Odessa. Unlike for the young wife, however, he could feel no sympathy for the Bolshevik, as he thought it more than likely that, with his obvious knowledge of the Vaatz family, he was instrumental both in arranging for the murder of his dear brother Karl in Odessa and the CHEKA being guided where to look for his family in the German villages. Paul never knew what happened in the end but had to admit to himself it was probable the Bolshevik was shot.

The family left for the harbour just after five o'clock the following morning, on the 6th December (by the new calendar as introduced by the Bolsheviks, which Paul considered was the only good decision they had ever made.) Albert and Mathilde came on board, as did three cousins, to say final goodbyes. When they saw the rough conditions the family would have to endure, they again tried to persuade them to change their minds, as they were confident that the Whites would win. Paul was not even close to agreeing. The experiences that he had suffered during the last year convinced him that his family and he would be far safer and happier in Germany. However, he reassured his relatives by promising to return if conditions really did improve.

So after hugs, tears and kisses, on a cold dull morning, Paul, Sophia, Tamara and Isa were waving goodbye from the ship's rail. They had very mixed feelings. On the one hand they were happy to be leaving this dangerous, disintegrating country; on the other hand they were devastated to be leaving their loved ones and the place where they had all grown up. Paul doubted whether they would ever see family or country again. Sophia thought of her mother and cried inside herself, without tears, not to upset the children.

They were very lucky to depart in good order on that last ship for, less than a year later, Odessa was again overwhelmed by the Reds in what was effectively the end of the civil war and the start of the Soviet Union of Joseph Stalin. The Whites including the military and the bourgeoisie had to flee in panic from the Bolshevik machineguns to the harbour and leave on any ship that would take them, to the Crimea, to the Caucasus and to Constantinople. Paul's brother and his wife and other close relatives, who had assumed that the Whites would conquer in the end, had to flee under such chaotic conditions. Albert managed to get passage on a Russian steamer to Varna in Bulgaria and from there to Germany. They were packed like sardines in a tin, under far worse conditions than Paul's family had suffered, and were able to take almost nothing with them apart from small items of jewellery. Others who were even more stubborn (and Paul had such unfortunate relatives too) suffered misery, starvation and illness or died in the CHEKA. Later Paul wondered how Count Brobinski had fared, as he had found him to be a fine and likeable gentleman. He hoped sincerely that he had been able to save his life, at least, and flee Odessa as Albert and Mathilde had done.

Paul's family, although not sitting on soft couches and in luxury, but on wooden soldier's benches, were happy to be steaming peacefully half-way round Europe to their German Fatherland. The bulk of the passengers were ex prisoners of war. They were clearly as happy as Paul and family to be going home and kept everyone cheerful with their accordion playing and the singing of traditional songs. They also liked to spoil Tamara and Isa with their attention, many of them no doubt thinking of their own children at home. When the sea was not too rough the two girls explored all over the ship and made friends with both crew and other passengers. As they were the only youngsters on board everyone took an interest in them and they were somewhat spoiled. The cook took a particular liking to them and gave them a treat from time to time such as an apple or something sweet and they realised how lucky they were as the standard food was basic and boring – dried beans or lentils in which they found small worms. The novelty of corned beef was a little more acceptable but they soon had enough of that also.

Paul and Sophie were happy to play their part on board, to collect in groups to peel potatoes and share other chores. Sophia managed to charm the captain and he showed Paul and her the control deck and occasionally invited them to his cabin for a drink. In return Paul was able to present him with a farm-made sausage or two. The family was separated for sleeping, Paul with the soldiers and Sophia and the girls with the seven only other ladies on the Arta. Nevertheless the wooden bunks and hammocks were cosy enough and comfortable, as they had brought their own warm bedding with them.

The Allies allowed no one to disembark at any of the ports on the way. All through the journey the Arta was escorted by either English or French war ships and passed from one to the other. They were happy when English, rather than French, officers were their escorts as the French were rough and restrained whereas the English were welcoming and friendly - like gentlemen! They noticed how, in Constantinople and Solonika, the French tried to assume control of the Arta and to elbow out the English. At these two ports the ship took on additional German refugees fleeing the red terror in Russia. The freighter anchored in Constantinople bay at four in the morning. Paul came on deck to a dreamlike vision. It was mild and warm, as they were used to in Odessa in May. There was a soft stillness in the air and the water lapped gently against the sides of the ship. The city lay sleeping in a faint morning mist. This, the city of fairy tales and of a Thousand and One Nights. This, an oriental city with twinkling lights and candle-like minarets soaring in to the sky. It was like a metamorphosis comparing this weather with the day before. However, the French gave them little time to enjoy the scene and made them steam-on on the same day.

In the Dardanelles they passed two sunken steamers with their masts sticking out of the water. In the Aegean they experienced a terrible storm. But in the Mediterranean, in the classic south, on the way to Gibraltar they experienced the most enjoyable part of their journey, the most beautiful, the clearest and sunniest, calm weather. It was wonderful to see the friendly green coast-line with the pretty little white Italian and Spanish houses. Near the Spanish border they could see the snow capped mountains. For part of the journey they were close to the African coast and saw several small whirlwinds spiralling away over the coast and out of sight into the distance. It was so warm that they were on deck every day and taking saltwater showers in the middle of December.

Chapter 18 – Christmas

The Arta arrived in Gibraltar on the 24th December. The ship was surrounded by small boats with Spaniards selling souvenirs and, more interestingly, oranges, lemons, dates, peaches and sweet Mediterranean cakes. There was also the tender, manned by English sailors, bringing the officer in control on board to check with our captain.

Once again the girls were noticed and presented with chocolate and sweets. The German tradition is to celebrate on Christmas Eve and all were looking forward to doing this peacefully in Gibraltar harbour.

Isa - Christmas

In Russia the second festival, after Easter is, of course, Christmas. However it is not such big feast in Orthodox Russia. The normal Christmas greeting being Snovom Godom or Happy New Year. So in Odessa we celebrated the German way on Christmas Eve. We children were not allowed to see the decorated Christmas tree until after dark. Mama and Papa would disappear to the lounge. We would be confined to the nursery and listen to the bustling toing and froing in the hall. And from four o'clock onwards we would be pestering Mlle. that surely it was now dark enough. We were ready and impatient in our best dresses. These had arrived just in time all the way from Wien. They were white with Broiderie Anglais edging, mine with a pink silk sash and Tamara's with pale blue. At last Papa rung the little silver bell (which I still have.) We went with the story that this was the sound of Father Christmas (or Father Frost, in Russian) departing with his reindeer, after leaving our presents. We dashed, our party shoes clicking on the polished wooden floors, to the living room to see the lighted tree. The magic and surprise was never less. The little lighted candles swayed gently on the tree that reached high to the ceiling. Their flickering lights reflected in the various shaped and different coloured glass baubles. The pine smell. There were two wooden painted Nussknacker soldiers, one in red the other in blue, guarding the presents under the tree.

It was a small family gathering, nothing like the bustle of Easter, including Oma and Mlle. Voutaz. However, Uncle Albert and Tante Tilla were usually also with us. They stayed two or three days and slept in the room to the right of the entrance that was always kept ready for their visits.

After the presents were all opened we played with our new toys. Papa was then pressed to do Bleigießen. For this he first melted a scrap of lead in a large kitchen spoon over a candle. The lead sometimes came from the car workshop or it could be a farm animal with a missing leg or two from our toy farm. There was sometimes a debate as to whether the animal was sufficiently injured to be sacrificed but in our impatience we two tended to be rather brutal in offering up our wounded lead animals. The melted lead was then poured into cold water. It entered with a hiss and cooled into a distorted shape of silver-bright metal that glinted in the light of the tree candles as it was fished out. We then begged Mama to tell the fortunes. These depended on the shapes that the lead formed and the creative imagination of the fortune teller. We didn't want Papa doing the telling as he liked to tease us with scary futures.

We were allowed to stay up and go to midnight service. This time to our own Lutheran church, which was quite near to the Orthodox Cathedral. However there was nothing like the gold decoration, the tinkling bells, icons and incense of the Orthodox but with its traditionally dressed Christmas tree and German carols, it had a special atmosphere of its own. On more than one occasion, by the time it was time to leave for church, one or both of us would have fallen asleep. If so, either Oma or Mlle. Voutaz stayed behind to look after us. Next morning we would be teased.

The English showed no pity on the refugee ship and forced the Arta out of Gibraltar harbour and into the wild Atlantic for Christmas Eve. Many thought they had done this to spite the Germans. So the Arta and its passengers, with their improvised little Christmas tree, were thrown around like a small walnut shell. Obviously they had no real tree so they copied the sailors and searched for the largest broom they could find. The end of the broomstick was attached to a bayonet and the bayonet stuck into the table that hung on four chains from the ceiling. The bristles were decorated with apples, mandarins, oranges and hazelnuts. The foil from chocolate blocks served as tinsel. These luxuries they had bought from the Spaniards whose boats had surrounded the Arta in Gibraltar. Finally from somewhere small candles appeared. All surrounded the tree, as it and we swung to and fro in the gale, and sang carols. There were many moist eyes, even amongst the men.

The Bay of Biscay lived up to its reputation. Huge waves, such as can only occur in big oceans, battered the little Arta. They followed one after another like an unending chain of high mountains. These waves were almost the end of Paul. Together with his cache of preserved meats, bacon and sausages he had brought a small frying pan and was going to the little galley on deck to cook when he realised that an especially large wave was descending upon the Arta and him. He just managed to grab the safety line that surrounded the deck with his left hand but held onto the frying pan with his right in the hope that the wave would simply pass over him. But as the wave broke he realised that one hand was not going to be enough and, although it hurt, he let go his pan with its precious contents and quickly grabbed the line with two hands. As the wave broke over him he saw the pan contents disappear into the waves and ruefully hoped that the fish would enjoy their extra treat. Luckily the pan somehow got caught among some ship's chains and he was able to retrieve it. So he rinsed and refilled it and this time managed to finish his chef's task. Poor Sophia suffered severe sea-sickness in this terrible weather while the rest of the family was much less affected. Luckily the captain took pity and allowed her to rest in his cabin when she was so unwell.

Chapter 19 - Hamburg

Already in the River Elbe, but before Hamburg proper, the Arta eventually tied-up at Brunnsbütel where the tired refugees were greeted with music, speeches of welcome and the wonderful smell and taste of real, fresh coffee. They sailed on to the centre of Hamburg and tied-up at Dock number 5. Here they were surprised to be welcomed yet again by good-will speeches. Although Paul realised that this warm welcome was intended mainly for the brave soldiers returning home, it still made the family feel wanted and happy to be “home.” Before leaving the dock they managed to buy a small doll for the Captain who had been so kind, as he had mentioned that he too had a daughter, two years younger than Isa. He was clearly touched when Isa and Tamara presented him with this little gift.

The Vaatz family had finally arrived at their new home. On the 6th December they had fled Odessa and on the 5th January they arrived safely in Hamburg. Exactly one month. They had passed: Constantinople, Salonika, Gibraltar, Plymouth and then Hamburg. It was said on board that theirs was the last journey of the 5,000 Ton steamer that the English would allow to sail. It had rescued Paul’s family from the Red-Bolshevik hell-hole and brought them safely to their Fatherland. Paul gave the ship a final look and thanked her silently for the peaceful, safe asylum they had all received from her for a whole month. From now she would serve their most bitter enemies!

Paul pondered the fact that his great grandfather with his wife and two sons had gone from Merseburg near Halle, in Germany, to the Ukraine in Russia. They went as poor shepherds from a little village trekking in a simple cart over a thousand kilometres into the unknown to try and build a stable future for their families in a huge new land. They and their descendants worked hard, prospered and built up large fortunes and big estates. But after almost 100 years their great great grandchildren had returned and were now as poor as their forebears had been when they had arrived in Russia. But in the end, Paul thought, *it is not riches and the temptation of uncertain money that bring happiness but health, loyalty, mutual love within the family and the opportunity to do useful work.* So he determined to start afresh with the same family from the same country that his forbearers did those many years ago.

Epilogue

Before the Revolution Paul and Sophia used to visit Hamburg every few years and Tamara herself was born there in 1906. These visits may have been partly to retain their German citizenship. They had good friends in the city so when they arrived as refugees they were invited to stay until they could decide what to do. In fact they remained just two days as Paul was offered a post with Mercedes in Stuttgart on the basis of his work for the company in Odessa.

The German authorities were well organised to receive their fellow ethnic refugees and the family was issued a Red Cross voucher giving them free rail passage to Stuttgart. However, the Mercedes job lasted less than a year because of the depression that was affecting all of Europe.

They settled in south Germany and eventually received compensation from the German government from funds that the Bolsheviks had agreed to pay for the properties left behind by the German emigrants. Although the sum received was only a small percentage of the value of what they had lost they were still able to buy a small farm near Berlin. Later they sold this and bought a largish house in Stuttgart with spare rooms to let. The five young sons of a London hotel owner came to learn German. Two of those sons courted and married Tamara and Isa, respectively. Thus in the second world war the family again suffered; this time by being split in two, on opposite sides of the conflict. During the war Mlle. Voutaz, in Switzerland, stayed in contact with both sides of the family. However, for five years, parents and children were unable to correspond directly.



Paul Vaatz and Family

Bibliography

This story is based mainly on the typewritten account by Paul Vaatz of his family's traumatic last year in Russia fleeing arrest and execution by the Odessa Bolshevik CHEKA. The handwritten and verbal evidence of his two daughters supplement his story. They have also passed on handwritten descriptions of events as told to them by their mother and grandmother. Annotated photographs and ephemera helped to construct a picture. The literature and history of the post World War I / revolutionary period has been researched to confirm event dates and pre-revolutionary place names.

A short list of sources is given below.

Eisfeld, A., *200 Jahre Ansiedlung der Deutschen im Schwarzmeergebiet* [200 years of settlement by the Germans in the Black Sea region] Lecture presented in Neuenschloss, Stuttgart (Sept 2003). Includes a table (p. 11) showing which forces held power in Odessa during the period 1917 to 1920. Some of the dates in Paul's account are rather vague and this listing was very helpful.

French, Isolde, (nee Vaatz) I. Handwritten manuscripts in German and English of life in Odessa before and during the Revolution as experienced herself and as told to her by her mother, her mother's sister and maternal grandmother.

Hamburger Korrespondenz 7 January 1920. Evidence that the steamship Arta docked in Hamburg on 5 January 1920 – interestingly, Paul's account says the 6th. (Last date in dock is recorded as 29 January.) Paul says that the ship was handed over to the British as war reparations. I could find no supporting evidence for this.

Linke, Bubi. *Episodes from the country of my ancestors*, Speech by Bubi Linke, Eichstätt, Germany (1994)

The Linkes were Vaatz descendants on the female side and the two families were close. This is a short account of the traumas the Linkes experienced during 1919. Bubi's story broadly supports and supplements Paul's but in detail sometimes contradicts it. I have had to choose which 'truth' to present. After the second world war the Linke family migrated still further west, to San Francisco, to be as far away from Communism as possible.

Mercedes-Benz, Classic Archive, Stuttgart. Photos of the Odessa showroom giving name of the manager in 1914 and showroom address.

Mercedes-Benz Copy of terminating job reference showing Paul found work with Mercedes in Germany but only from 1 February to 30 September 1920. Signed by Hoenemer, no date.

Stumpp, Karl *Karte der deutschen Siedlungen im gebiet Odessa : ehem. westl. Teil des Gouv. Cherson, Stand 1940*, (1955), Publ. Stumpp [Map of German settlements in the Odessa region: formerly: Gouvernement of West Cherson, situation in 1940]

This locates the German villages and farm estates mentioned in Paul's narrative.

Stumpp, Karl, *Die Geschichte der Familie Vaatz, Schwarzmeergebiet, Kreis Ananiew* [History of the Vaatz family, Black Sea region, Ananiev county] Copy of a newspaper or journal article presenting the growth in ownership of land by the Vaatz family and

its increase in value. His figures mirror the handwritten notes of Albert Vaatz (below.) Date and the journal in which this article appears is not indicated.

Tucker, S. C., (Ed) *The European Powers of the First World War, an Encyclopaedia*, p. 708, Garland Publishing, (1996)

A guide to the dates on which the various powers held Odessa. However Paul's account says that the Whites had two months in Odessa during spring 1919 that are not indicated by either Tucker or Eisfeld.

South Russia 1919 Wikipedia suggests that "by mid-June the Reds were chased from the Odessa area," which fits better with Paul's timeline. However, no primary reference is given. So Paul's evidence is the best I have.

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian_Civil_War)

Vaatz, Albert F., (Paul's oldest brother) Inventory of estates in Karlovka and elsewhere. On both sides of lined paper in blue and purple ink and pencil. (Undated.) Provides evidence of the land ownership and wealth of the Vaatz family. When the family fled Russia there were at least 8 large Vaatz estates in the region and this ignores the estates owned by female descendants of the line. Albert's notes were perhaps drafted when he was claiming his share of the compensation that German state was paying the *Russlanddeutschen* from funds received from the Bolsheviks to compensate those who had lost property.

Vaatz, Alexander, *Deutsche Bauernarbeit im Schwarzmeergebiet* [German Farm Management in the Black Sea Region], Verlag C.V. Engelhard (December 1942.) Alexander is recorded by the family as having been killed in the 2nd World War. While his document provides interesting evidence of the living style, methods and successes of German farmers in the region, it also serves to seek the support of the German state and its occupying forces for the *Russlanddeutschen*. The year of publication is that following the occupation of Odessa by German forces near the end of WW2.

Vaatz, Paul A., *Der Bolschewik – Selbsterlebnisse Odessa u. Umgebung in 1919* [The Bolsheviks – My life in Odessa and its surroundings during 1919] (December 1938) Typed with handwritten annotations. The main source for the structure and many details of this story.

Vaatz, Paul A., *Die Schilderung der Einwanderung unserer Familie Vaatz im Jahre 1834, aus Deutschland nach Russland* [An account of the immigration of the family Vaatz from Germany to Russia in 1834] (August 1938)

Typewritten document. It is interesting to note that the above two pieces were written in the same year that the Kristalnacht took place, one before and one after the event. It is not clear why Paul chose to write at this time, some 19 years after his arrival in Germany.

Vaatz, Paul A. Annotated photo of Paul and two Vaatz cousins evidencing that they were demobbed from the German army in Graudenz (present day Romania) in November 1918. My assumption is that they enrolled, not long before, during the German occupation of Odessa in March 1918 and probably offered themselves as interpreters. It could be they joined earlier, soon after the Bolshevik and the German governments made peace in December 1917. This Photograph is annotated with the

names of eight Vaatzs who died “fighting at the front.” It is not clear whether fighting for the White (Tsarist) - or the German – army.

Vaatz, Paul A. Red Cross Travel document granting the Vaatz family free rail travel to Stuttgart, the location of the Mercedes-Benz HQ (6 January 1920.)

Vaatz, Sophia. Post card from Sophia at home in Odessa to daughter Tamara on holiday at the farm estate of her Uncle Albert, giving news of meetings between local landowners, farmers and peasants in Odessa following the 1917 uprisings in the north. She also tells Tamara to be more respectful to the governess. (21 July 1917)

General reading on the early period of the Russian Revolution.

Bevor, Anthony. *Stalingrad*, Penguin Books, (2011)

Hodgson, John Ernest ("War Correspondent with the Anti-Bolshevik Forces"), *"With Denikin's Armies: Being a Description of the Cossack Counter-Revolution in South Russia, 1918-1920"*, Temple Bar Publishing Co., London, 1932, pp. 54-56.

“I had not been with Denikin more than a month before I was forced to the conclusion that the Jew represented a very big element in the Russian upheaval. The officers and men of the Army laid practically all the blame for their country's troubles on the Hebrew. They held that the whole cataclysm had been engineered by some great and mysterious secret society of international Jews, who, in the pay and at the orders of Germany, had seized the psychological moment and snatched the reins of government. All the figures and facts that were then available appeared to lend colour to this contention. No less than 82 per cent of the Bolshevik Commissars were known to be Jews, the fierce and implacable 'Trotsky,' who shared office with Lenin, being a Yiddisher whose real name was Bronstein. Among Denikin's officers this idea was an obsession of such terrible bitterness and insistency as to lead them into making statements of the wildest and most fantastic character.”

This evidence of the intense anti-Semitism of the Russian bourgeoisie is re-quoted in many references relating to the Russian revolution.

Popoff, Georg. *Tscheka* (in German), Frankfurter Societäts – Druckerei, (1925)

Rappaport, Helen. *Caught in the Revolution*, Hutchison (2016)

Service, Robert. *The last of the Tsars*, Macmillan, (2017)

Kort, Michael. *The Soviet Colossus*, Routledge, (2010)

Archives

Guide to the ISCSC Archives

Dickinson College
Carlisle, PA

COLLECTION REGISTER

Name: **International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations (ISCSC)**

Material: Papers (1968 - present)

Volume: 20.5 linear feet (Document Boxes 1-13, Audiotape Boxes 1-3,
Videotapes 1-2)

Donation: On deposit since 1987

Usage: These materials have been deposited with no restrictions on usage.

HISTORICAL NOTE

The International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations (ISCSC) was founded in 1961 by a group of European and European-born American scholars, under the presidency of Pitirim Sorokin, Emeritus Professor of Sociology at Harvard University. Between then and 1963, the society sponsored two international conferences in Europe which were attended by such overseas representatives as Alfred Kroeber, Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, and Arnold Toynbee of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. After Sorokin's death in 1968, Othmar Anderle, Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Salzburg, succeeded to the presidency.

In 1971, an American chapter of the ISCSC was formed by Roger Wescott, Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at Drew University. The first annual meeting of the American chapter of ISCSC was held as a joint meeting with the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) in 1972. The chapter has since sponsored several other national conferences in conjunction with the A.A.A.S. and a series of independent annual conferences. Although dates have varied over the past three decades, the annual conference is generally held in late spring/early summer. While the conference locations have been mainly American university campuses, the ISCSC has met in Santo Domingo, Ireland, and most recently, Japan.

In 1973, Raoul Naroll, Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at the State University of New York at Buffalo, instituted an active collaboration between the ISCSC and New Haven's Human Relations Area File and its Comparative Archive of Pre-Industrial Civilizations.

In 1974, Dr. Anderle declared the parent organization in Europe officially dissolved. However, the American chapter of the ISCSC has held an annual conference every year since, and continues to grow in membership and participation. The Society roster contains well over 500 members worldwide.

In order to supplement its annual conferences, the ISCSC has also produced several publications regarding the comparative study of civilizations. The Society Newsletter has been published since the founding of the American Chapter, as well as two journals, the *Comparative Civilizations Bulletin* and the *Comparative Civilizations Review*. In addition, the Society has sponsored several collaborative works (e.g. Sorokin Project).

The purpose of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations is to foster interdisciplinary contribution from most of the humanities and social sciences to an holistic view of those complex transitional entities which are called civilizations.

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

The papers of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations contain records of the society from 1968 through the present day. They have been organized into five record groups:

- RG 1 – Society Business
- RG 2 – Correspondence
- RG 3 – Publications
- RG 4 – Annual Meetings
- RG 5 – Miscellaneous

This organization is based on the guidelines established by Jan Blodgett and Matthew Melko in 1989. The collection was deposited by the Society in the Dickinson College Archives through the recommendations of the late Ralph Slotten, Emeritus Professor of Religion, and the late Vytautas Kavolis, Professor of Sociology, both of Dickinson College. The collection continues to grow as society members deposit their papers regarding the organization in the archives. In 2014, this collection was re-processed in order to incorporate this new material. Should the Society disband, the collection then becomes property of the Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections.

COLLECTION INVENTORY

RG 1 – SOCIETY BUSINESS

Record Group 1, which covers Society Business, is organized into seven series: Archives, General, President, Minutes and Reports, Finances, Committees, and Membership. The materials contained within each series are arranged chronologically and then alphabetically where applicable. The Archives series includes correspondence between various members of the organization regarding the disposition of the organization's papers in the Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections. The General series consists of papers regarding the society that do not readily fit into any of the other series, such as the Constitution. The President series consists of reports of the president of the society, as well as instructions to the various committees and councils. The minutes of the ruling council and business meetings are available in the Minutes and Reports series, along with the reports of both the secretary and the treasurer. The Finances series includes any papers concerning the finances of the society. The Committees series consists of memoranda and correspondence of the society's various committees – Nomination, Future of the Society, Prize, and Sorokin Project committees. The records of the Program and Local Arrangements Committees can be found in RG 4 – Annual Meetings. The Membership series includes general membership directories and officer directories.

RG 1 INVENTORY

RG 1 SOCIETY BUSINESS

1.1 Archives

1.1.1 1983-2009

1.2 General

1.2.1 1968-2003

1.3 President

1.3.1 Report to the Council – 1983-1986

1.3.2 Other Reports and Instructions – 1981-1997

1.4 Minutes and Reports

1.4.1 Minutes of the Business Meeting – 1974-1991

1.4.2 Minutes of the Council Meeting – 1972-2000

1.4.3 Reports of the Treasurer – 1976-1999

1.4.4 Reports of the Secretary – 1979-1983

1.5 Finances

1.5.1 1972-2000

1.6 Committees

1.6.1 Future Committee – 1986

1.6.2 Nomination Committee – 1976-1998

1.6.3 Prize Committee – 1984-1986

1.6.4 Quigley Award Committee – 2004

1.6.5 Sorokin Project Committee – 1988-1993

1.7 Membership

1.7.1 Membership Committee – 2005-2006

1.7.2 General/Miscellaneous – 1973-2000

1.7.3 Membership Directories

1.7.3.1 1973-1981

1.7.3.2 1982-1997

1.7.3.3 Undated

1.7.4 Officer Directories – 1981-2000

1.7.5 Specialty Area Directories – 1977-1984

1.7.6 Completed Membership Forms – 1995-1999

1.7.6.1 A-F

1.7.6.2 G-Z

RG 2 – CORRESPONDENCE

The Correspondence record group is arranged alphabetically by author and then chronologically. The inventory listing includes the range of dates of the correspondence housed within each folder. These records include correspondence by various members of the society and between the IS CSC and other groups such as the International Studies Association. Those members with a significant volume of correspondence are listed individually, following a folder of general correspondence. Translations for correspondence that is not in English is not available.

RG 2 INVENTORY

RG 2 CORRESPONDENCE

- 2.1.1 A (various authors) – 1971-2000
- 2.1.2 Anderle, Othmar – 1968-1974
- 2.1.3 Andregg, Michael – 1989-2001

- 2.2.1 B (various authors) – 1971-2001
- 2.2.2 Barkun, Michael – 1977-1985
- 2.2.3 Benesch, Walter – 1988-2003
- 2.2.4 Berg, Ellen – 1988-1998
- 2.2.5 Bialor, Perry – 1972-1975
- 2.2.6 Bledsoe, Wayne – 1978-2003
- 2.2.7 Bourg, Carroll – 1976-1993
- 2.2.8 Bowler, T. Downing – 1972-2001
- 2.2.9 Bozeman, Adda – 1971-1984
- 2.2.10 Bullough, Vern – 1977-1987
- 2.2.11 Burgy, Donald – 1980-2002

- 2.3.1 C (various authors) – 1971-1999
- 2.3.2 Canadian Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations – 1982-1985
- 2.3.3 Case, Margaret – 1978-1981
- 2.3.4 Chase-Dunn, Christopher – 1987-2001
- 2.3.5 Chodak, Szymon – 1974-1988
- 2.3.6 Choi, Dong Sull – 1995-2003
- 2.3.7 Cross, William – 1971-1988

- 2.4.1 D (various authors) – 1970-2002
- 2.4.2 Dogbe, Korsi – 1977-1995
- 2.4.3 Dwiggin, Cyril – 1977-1979

- 2.5.1 E (various authors) – 1973-1996
- 2.5.2 Eckhardt, William – 1986-1996

- 2.5.3 Edmunds, Lowell – 1977-1985
- 2.5.4 Edwards, William – 1977-1996
- 2.5.5 Erasov, Boris – 1980-2000

- 2.6.1 F (various authors) – 1972-2001
- 2.6.2 Farhat-Holzman, Laina – 1996-2003
- 2.6.3 Farrenkopf, John – 1993-2003
- 2.6.4 Flack, Michael – 1972-1991
- 2.6.5 Fontaine, Fernand – 1973-1997
- 2.6.6 Ford, Joseph – 1973-1997

- 2.7.1 G (various authors) – 1968-2001
- 2.7.2 Gilb, Corinne
 - 2.7.2.1 1968-1991
 - 2.7.2.2 1992-1996
 - 2.7.2.3 1997-2002
- 2.7.3 Gray, Wallace – 1978-2003

- 2.8.1 H (various authors) – 1972-2007
- 2.8.2 Hall, Robert – 1972-1973
- 2.8.3 Hewes, Gordon – 1972-2002
- 2.8.4 Hinkle, Roscoe – 1977-2007
- 2.8.5 Holzner, Burkart – 1973-1991
- 2.8.6 Holzner, Lutz – 1977-1979
- 2.8.7 Hord, John
 - 2.8.7.1 1976-1980
 - 2.8.7.2 1981-1988
 - 2.8.7.3 1989-2007
- 2.8.8 Huff, Toby – 1977-1995

- 2.9.1 I (various authors) – 1977-2000
- 2.9.2 Iberall, Arthur – 1973-1994
- 2.9.3 Ito, Shuntaro – 1985-2000

- 2.10.1 J (various authors) – 1976-1995

- 2.11.1 K (various authors) – 1971-2001
- 2.11.2 Kavolis, Vytautas
 - 2.11.2.1 1970-1974
 - 2.11.2.2 1975-1977
 - 2.11.2.3 1978-1979
 - 2.11.2.4 1980-1996
- 2.11.3 Kawakubo, Keisuke – 1991-2003

- 2.11.4 Kitao, T. Kaori – 1977-1987
- 2.11.5 Kopf, David – 1973-1996
- 2.11.6 Krejci, Jaroslav – 1975-1998

- 2.12.1 L (various authors) – 1971-1998
- 2.12.2 Lawall, Sarah – 1975-1987
- 2.12.3 Legters, Lyman – 1975-1981
- 2.12.4 Leites, Edmund – 1973-2000
- 2.12.5 Lidz, Victor – 1974-1977

- 2.13.1 M (various authors) – 1973-2000
- 2.13.2 Maxwell, Ross – 1980-2002
- 2.13.3 McBride-Limaye, Ann – 1983-1995
- 2.13.4 McKnight, Stephen – 1974-1978
- 2.13.5 Melko, Matthew
 - 2.13.5.1 1971-1972
 - 2.13.5.2 1973
 - 2.13.5.3 1974-1975
 - 2.13.5.4 1976-1977
 - 2.13.5.5 1978-1979
 - 2.13.5.6 1980-1981
 - 2.13.5.7 1982-1983
 - 2.13.5.8 1984
 - 2.13.5.9 1985
 - 2.13.5.10 1986
 - 2.13.5.11 1987
 - 2.13.5.12 1988
 - 2.13.5.13 1989-1990
 - 2.13.5.14 1991-1992
 - 2.13.5.15 1993-1994
 - 2.13.5.16 1995
 - 2.13.5.17 1996
 - 2.13.5.18 1997
 - 2.13.5.19 1998
 - 2.13.5.20 1999
 - 2.13.5.21 2000
 - 2.13.5.22 2001
 - 2.13.5.23 2002
 - 2.13.5.24 2003
 - 2.13.5.25 2006-2009 & Undated
- 2.13.6 Mickunas, Algis – 1972-1978
- 2.13.7 Miller, Lucien – 1980-1989

- 2.13.8 Mitchell, Douglas – 1977-1987
- 2.13.9 Miyahara, Kazutake – 1992-2001
- 2.13.10 Mueller, Gertrude – 1977-1979

- 2.14.1 N (various authors) – 1973-1993
- 2.14.2 Naff, William – 1975-2000
- 2.14.3 Naroll, Raoul – 1971-1981
- 2.14.4 Nelson, Benjamin
 - 2.14.4.1 1971-1973
 - 2.14.4.2 1974-1977
- 2.14.5 Nielson, Donald – 1972-1991
- 2.14.6 Noble, Stedman – 1987-2003

- 2.15.1 O (various authors) – 1973-2003
- 2.15.2 Orchard, Cecil – 1971-1992

- 2.16.1 P (various authors) – 1971-2002
- 2.16.2 Palencia-Roth, Michael – 1977-2001

- 2.17.1 Q (various authors) – 1980-1982
- 2.17.2 Quigley, Carroll – 1971-1976

- 2.18.1 R (various authors) – 1973-2002
- 2.18.2 Richardson, David
 - 2.18.2.1 1973-1983
 - 2.18.2.2 1984-2003
- 2.18.3 Riggs, Fred – 1973-1977
- 2.18.4 Rynn, Midori – 1986-2003

- 2.19.1 S (various authors) – 1961-2003
 - 2.19.1.1 Sadler-Smith
 - 2.19.1.2 Snow-Swanson
- 2.19.2 Scott, Leighton – 1977-2001
- 2.19.3 Seger Coulborn-Coulborn, Imogen – 1971-1995
- 2.19.4 Serebriany, Sergei – 1981-1991
- 2.19.5 Snyder, Lee Daniel – 1981-2002
- 2.19.6 Stevens-Arroyo, Anthony – 1984-2002

- 2.20.1 T (various authors) – 1973-2008
- 2.20.2 Talbutt, Palmer – 1980-2006

- 2.21.1 U (various authors) – 1985

- 2.22.1 V (various authors) – 1973-2000
- 2.22.2 Von der Muhll, George – 1988-1999
- 2.22.3 Von Laue, Theodore – 1977-1989

- 2.23.1 W (various authors) – 1961-2001
- 2.23.2 Walter, E. V. – 1973-1981
- 2.23.3 Wenger, Win – 1971-1995
- 2.23.4 Wescott, Roger
 - 2.23.4.1 1968-1993
 - 2.23.4.2 1994-2001
- 2.23.5 Wesson, Robert – 1973-1980
- 2.23.6 White, H. Loring – 1985-2003
- 2.23.7 Wilkinson, David – 1972-2003
- 2.23.8 Winetrout, Kenneth – 1974-1998
- 2.23.9 Wolf, C. P. – 1970-1987

- 2.24.1 X, Y, Z (various authors) – 1974-2002

RG 3 – PUBLICATIONS

The Publications record group is arranged into series by publication, with one preliminary series of materials related to the society's efforts in publication. The second series contains a variety of material related to *The Boundaries of Civilizations in Space and Time* (1987), a collection of over 80 papers edited by ISCSC members Matthew Melko and Leighton R. Scott. Most of the papers contained in this volume were originally presented at ISCSC meetings. The remaining series concern the ISCSC's publications – the Newsletter, the *Comparative Civilizations Bulletin*, and the *Comparative Civilizations Review*. The materials are comprised of copies of printed matter published by the society as well as manuscripts and correspondence regarding the preparation of these publications. The materials in the Publications record group are organized alphabetically by publication title, and then by record type. Some issues of each publication are missing; a complete run is not available for any of these publications.

RG 3 INVENTORY**RG 3 PUBLICATIONS**3.1 General Matters

3.1.1 Correspondence – 1977-1989

3.2 *The Boundaries of Civilizations in Space and Time*

3.2.1 General Correspondence

3.2.1.1 1981-1982

3.2.1.2 1983-1984

3.2.1.3 1985-1989

3.2.2 Publishing Correspondence – 1981-1989

3.2.3 Manuscripts – 1983-1987

3.2.4 Reviews – 1987-1989

3.3 *Comparative Civilizations Bulletin*

3.3.1 Manuscripts – 1975-1999

3.3.2 *Comparative Civilizations Bulletin*

3.3.2.1 Spring 1973

Summer 1973

Fall 1973

Winter 1973

Spring 1974

Summer 1974

Fall 1974

3.3.2.2 Spring 1975

- Summer 1975
- Fall 1975
- Winter 1975
- Spring 1976
- Summer 1976
- Fall 1976
- Winter 1976
- Spring 1977
- Summer 1977 (missing several pages)
- 3.3.2.3 Spring/Summer 1978
- Winter 1978
- Summer 1979
- Winter 1979
- Summer 1980
- Winter 1980
- Summer 1981

3.4 Comparative Civilizations Review

- 3.4.1 *Review/Bulletin* Correspondence
 - 3.4.1.1 1976-1979
 - 3.4.1.2 1980-1986
 - 3.4.1.3 1987-2004
 - 3.4.1.4 2005-2009
- 3.4.2 Proposed Changes to Editorship – 1987-1990
- 3.4.3 Manuscripts
 - 3.4.3.1 Various Manuscripts – 1971-c2001
 - 3.4.3.2 Spring 1993 (No. 28)
 - 3.4.3.3 Spring 1993 (No. 28)
 - 3.4.3.4 Spring 1994 (No. 30)
 - 3.4.3.5 Spring 1995 (No. 32)
 - 3.4.3.6 Spring 1995 (No. 32)
 - 3.4.3.7 Fall 1995 (No. 33)
 - 3.4.3.8 Fall 1995 (No. 33)
 - 3.4.3.9 Spring 1996 (No. 34)
 - 3.4.3.10 Spring 1996 (No. 34)
 - 3.4.3.11 Winter 1997 (No. 35)
 - 3.4.3.12 Winter 1997 (No. 35)
- 3.4.4 *Comparative Civilizations Review* – 1979-2008
 - 3.4.4.1 No. 1-6
 - 3.4.4.2 No. 7-12 (No. 10 & 11 missing)
 - 3.4.4.3 No. 13-17
 - 3.4.4.4 No. 18-22
 - 3.4.4.5 No. 23-26

- 3.4.4.6 No. 27-30
- 3.4.4.7 No. 31-35
- 3.4.4.8 No. 36-40
- 3.4.4.9 No. 41-45
- 3.4.4.10 No. 46-49
- 3.4.4.11 No. 50-55 (No. 52 & 54 missing)
- 3.4.4.12 No. 56-59

3.5 ISCSC Newsletter

- 3.5.1 Correspondence
 - 3.5.1.1 1971-1996
 - 3.5.1.2 1999-2001
- 3.5.2 Manuscripts – 1993-1999
- 3.5.3 Newsletter
 - 3.5.3.1 1971-1986
 - 3.5.3.2 1986-1991
 - 3.5.3.3 1991-1997
 - 3.5.3.4 1999-2002

RG 4 – ANNUAL MEETINGS

The Annual Meetings record group is arranged chronologically and consists of correspondence, memos, programs, papers, and audio-visual material related to each individual meeting. Each annual meeting is a separate series in this record group and is further divided into the following subseries whenever sufficient material is available:

Program – Printed Meeting Programs

Program Planning – Correspondence, Memos, and other documents from the Local Arrangements Committee, the Program Committee, and the Chair of the Program Committee

Abstracts – Call for papers and abstracts

Papers – Manuscripts of the papers delivered.

Comments on Papers – IS CSC members' comments and responses to papers delivered at annual meetings.

Reviews, Comments, and Afterthoughts – Comments and evaluations of the annual meetings

Transcripts – Printed transcripts of discussions held during annual meetings

Audio Visual Material – Cassettes or video tapes of various presentation

The bulk of this record group is devoted to copies of papers delivered at annual meetings, which are arranged alphabetically by author in each series. Translations of those papers not in English are not always available. The last series in this record group includes both papers and comments that are undated. In addition, each series also notes the location of that year's annual meeting.

Cassettes and video tapes are also included for a few of the annual meetings. The two videotapes, which are Umatic 3/4 inch videotapes, are both from the 1985 meeting; the audiocassette tapes, which are analog ninety minute audiocassettes, are organized chronologically within the three boxes. Both the cassette and video tapes are housed separately, after all of the document boxes, for simplicity of storage. The Umatic 3/4 inch videotapes cannot be played at the Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections.

RG 4 INVENTORY

RG 4 ANNUAL MEETINGS

4.1 1972 meeting -- Washington, D.C.

4.1.1 Program (only includes Section H - "Civilizations as Systems")

4.1.2 Program Planning

4.1.3 Abstracts

4.1.4 Papers

- 4.1.4.1 Flack, Michael. Flack, Michael. [Thoughts Concerning Civilizational Change](#) (2 versions)
 Kavolis, Vytautas. [Aesthetic Education in the Civilizational Perspective](#)
 Melko, Matthew. [Quigley's Model as a Model Model](#)
 Naroll, Raoul. [Civilizations as Empirical Systems](#)
 Naroll, Raoul. [Trustworthy Information from Untrustworthy Sources](#)
- 4.1.4.2 Nelson, Benjamin and Vytautas Kavolis. [Comparative and Civilizational Perspectives in the Social Sciences and Humanities: An Inventory and Statement](#)
 Quigley, Carroll. [The Civilizational Process: A General Systems Approach](#)
 Quigley, Carroll. [Cognitive Factors in the Evolution of Civilizations](#)
 Wenger, Susan and Win Wenger. [Civilizations and Other Living Systems](#)
 Wescott, Roger. [One-Word Synonyms for "The Comparative Study of Civilizations"](#)

4.2 1973 meeting -- University of Chicago

- 4.2.1 Program
 4.2.2 Program Planning
 4.2.3 Papers
 Kavolis, Vytautas. [Mythological Models in Civilizational Analysis](#)
 Melko, Matthew. [Civilizational Patterns: The Central Notion in the Search for the General Social Model](#)

4.3 1974 meeting -- Boston University

- 4.3.1 Program
 4.3.2 Program Planning

4.4 1975 meeting -- University of Pittsburgh

- 4.4.1 Program
 4.4.2 Program Planning
 4.4.3 Papers
 Quigley, Carroll. [Two Kinds of Civilizations](#)

4.5 1976 meeting -- University of Pennsylvania

- 4.5.1 Program
 4.5.2 Program Planning
 4.5.3 Abstracts
 4.5.4 Papers
 Bullough, Vern. [Sex and Mythology: Some Implications](#)

Holzner, Lutz. Urban Crisis: Two Examples from a Geographer's Point of View

4.6 1977 meeting -- Bradford College (Haverhill, MA)

- 4.6.1 Program
- 4.6.2 Program Planning
- 4.6.3 Abstracts
- 4.6.4 Papers

Melko, Matthew. The Breakdowns of Automobiles, Civilizations, and Things Like That

Wallerstein, Immanuel. Civilizations and Modes of Production: Conflicts and Convergences

4.7 1978 meeting -- University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

- 4.7.1 Program
- 4.7.2 Program Planning
- 4.7.3 Abstracts
- 4.7.4 Papers

Burton, Dudley J. Civilization Analysis for the Critique of Social Planning

Gilb, Corinne Lathrop. Civilizational Differences in the Legal Definition of Cities

Manicas, Peter. Concept of Politics

Zadra, Dario. Benjamin Nelson

- 4.7.5 Reviews, Comments, Afterthoughts

4.8 1979 meeting -- California State University, Northridge

- 4.8.1 Program
- 4.8.2 Program Planning
- 4.8.3 Abstracts
- 4.8.4 Papers

Bledsoe, Wayne. Theories of the Origins of Civilization

Coulborn, Imogen Seger Coulborn. Rushton Coulborn's Theory of The origin of Civilized Societies

Donlan, Walter. Two Modes of Distribution in Dark Age Greece

Edwards, William E. The Insular Integration Theory of the Origin of Civilization: The Aegean Case (3 versions)

Hord, John K. Diffusionism Revisited: An Ideological Matrix for the Origins of Civilization

Hord, John K. State and Non-State Systems

Iberall, Arthur S. A Social Physics for the Origins of Civilized Societies

Melko, Matthew. Comments and Questions

- Melko, Matthew. The Breakdown of Peace in the State System States
 Melko, Matthew. The Origins of the Session on Origins
 Richardson, David B. The Origins of Civilizational Weltanschauungen
 Wakeman, Mary. Mother
 Wescott, Roger W. Protohistory: The Transition from Pre-Civil to Civil Society
 Wesson, Robert G. Wrong Number? A Skeptic Argues Against the Likelihood of Advanced Extraterrestrial Civilizations
 Wilkinson, David. Quigley's and Other Theories of Geneses
 Ziskind, David B. Civilizations and Legal Systems
 [No Author Listed]. The Anarchistic Consciousness and Conscience
- 4.8.5 Comments on Papers
- 4.8.6 Reviews, Comments, Afterthoughts
- 4.8.7 Transcripts
- “What Must Exist Before You Have A Civilization? The Northridge Discussion”
- Participants: Melko, Wilkinson, Hord, Edwards, Seger
 Coulborn, Robert G. Wesson, Bledsoe, F. Eugene Yates,
 Richardson
- “Special Session on Classification of West Asian and Mediterranean Civilizations”
- Colloquium XX 1979 Classifications Transcript
 Eight Annual Meeting 24 March 1979
- “Colloquium 20 - 'The Origins of Civilizations,’” Partial Transcript of “Side 2”
- “Colloquium 20,” Partial Transcript of “Side 3”
- 4.8.9 Cassette Tapes (3)
- 4.9 1980 meeting -- Syracuse University
- 4.9.1 Program
- 4.9.2 Program Planning
- 4.9.3 Abstracts
- 4.9.4 Papers
- Bledsoe, Wayne. Population Pressure and the Origins of Agriculture
 Coulborn, Rushton. Cities Before Civilizations
 Hewes, Gordon W. Agriculture and Civilization (Original Title of Hewes’ paper - The Economic Basis for Civilization)
 Holzner, Lutz. Civilizational Responses to Processes of Urbanization from a Geographic Point of View
 Hord, John K. The Infrastructure of Civilization
 Iberall, Arthur S. A Physics for Civilization
 Koller, Marvin R. The Living ‘Fossil’: What Does Judaism Teach Us About Spacial and Temporal Boundaries?

Melko, Matthew. Agriculture, Cities, and Combinations

Melko, Matthew. Iberall vs. Hord: Which Way?

Richardson, David B. Spengler's 'Magian' Classification Applied to an Unrecognized Ecumené: The Near East, 1500 - 0 B.C.

Thatcher, John P. The Economic Base for Civilization in the New World

Session on the Economic Basis for Civilization

Winetrou, Kenneth. Toynbee's Mortuary for Civilizations

Hewes, Gordon W. The Economic Basis for Civilization

Adams, William Y. Cereals Before Cities Except After Jacobs

Bledsoe, Wayne. Population Pressure and the Origins of Agriculture

Thatcher, John P. The Economic Base for Civilization in the New World

Coulborn, Rushton. Cities Before Civilizations

Hord, John K. The Infrastructure of Civilization

Donlan, Walter. Renfrew's Model of the Origins of Civilization

Richardson, David B. On the Economic Basis of a Civilizational World-View

Session on Termination of Civilizations

Iberall, Arthur S. A Physics for Civilization

Bowler, T. Downing. The Termination of Civilizations

Session on Terminations

Wilkinson, David. Genesis of Civilizations

Iberall, A. S. Birth, Life, and Death of Civilizations

Winetrou, Kenneth. Toynbee's Mortuary for Civilizations

Richardson, David B. The Termination of World-Views and Civilizations

Hewes, Gordon W. The Terminations of Civilizations

Hord, John K. Viewpoint Summary: Terminations of Civilizations

Koller, Marvin R. The Living 'Fossil': What Does Judaism Teach Us About Spacial and Temporal Boundaries?

Wilkinson, David. "Terminations" of Civilizations

4.9.5 Comments on Papers

4.9.6 Transcript

"What Are the Essentials? What are the Combinations? The Syracuse Discussion"

Participants: Melko, T. Downing Bowler, Iberall, Hord, Donlan, Thomas Seung, Hewes, Lawrence G. Wolf, Henry Gardocki, Bledsoe, Imogen Seger Coulborn, Silvan Tomkins, Wilkinson, Kund Lundbeck

4.9.7 Cassette Tapes (4)

4.10 1981 meeting -- Indiana University (Bloomington, IN)

4.10.1 Program

4.10.2 Program Planning

4.10.3 Abstracts

4.10.4 Papers

4.10.4.1 Adams, William Y. The North American Pueblos: A Self-Arrested Civilization?Armillas, Pedro. Unity and Diversity in the Ancient Mesoamerican CivilizationDrew, Joseph. Ruling Powers and Creative Cultures: Geographically Peripheral, Socially Marginal, Highly CreativeFält, Olavi K. Periodicity in World HistoryHewes, Gordon W. Prospects for More Productive Comparative Civilizational StudiesHord, John K. Civilization, By DefinitionHord, John K. Civilizations of the New WorldIberall, Arthur S. A Physical Reductionist Systems Model of Social Processes, Including Civilizations - Their Birth, Life, and DeathMelko, Matthew. The Correct Definition of CivilizationMelko, Matthew. World Civilizations: A Faustian Perception of Hellenistic PhaseNaroll, Raoul. "Civilization"- A Definition Set4.10.4.2 Pechatschek, Franz J. The First World CivilizationRichardson, David B. Is There a Global Civilizational World View?Richardson, David B. A Range Definition of CivilizationRiordan, Robert V. Civilization in the American Midwest? The Mississippian CaseSinai, I. Robert. A Systems Approach to the Study of CivilizationsThatcher, John P. The Andean Tradition: A Distinct New World CivilizationWescott, Roger W. The Identities of Civilizations

4.10.5 Comments on Papers

4.10.6 Cassette Tapes (6)

4.11 1982 meeting -- University of Pittsburgh

4.11.1 Program

4.11.2 Program Planning

4.11.3 Abstracts

4.11.4 Papers

Brown, James Proctor, III. Pharaonic Civilization as African Cultural Product: A Preliminary ExaminationFord, Joseph B. Introduction: Anti-Civilization & Toynbee's Concepts

Foss, Theodore Nicholas. 'What a rich and lovely Country does it represent to us?' The Image of China Cast by Jean-Baptiste Du Halde's Description...de la Chine

Hewes, Gordon W. Anticivilization

Hewes, Gordon W. The Concept of East and West in Eurasian Civilizational Thought

Hord, John K. The Civilizations of Africa

Hord, John K. Orient and Occident: The Great Canyon and the Local Cracks

Iberall, A. S. One More Time - A Physical Science for Social Phenomena

Melko, Matthew. CSC ± NS = CSC¹

Richardson, David B. Anticivilizational Elements in Historical Pseudomorphoses

Richardson, David B. Orient and Occident: The Difference of East and West

Richardson, David B. Science and Human Classification: Arthur Iberall

Serebriany, S. D. Science and Human Classifications

Serebriany, Sergei. Rabindranath Tagore and the Idea of "Asian Civilization"

Snyder, Lee Daniel. Modeling and Civilization: Can There Be a Science of Civilization?

Vanhaneen, Tatu. Human Strife for Democracy Through Civilizations

Yuan, Tsing. Some Traditional Chinese Views of Southeast Asian Civilizations

4.11.5 Comments on Papers

4.11.6 Cassette Tapes (7)

4.12 1983 meeting -- State University College at Buffalo (Buffalo, NY)

4.12.1 Program

4.12.2 Program Planning

4.12.3 Abstracts

4.12.4 Papers

Dogbe, Korsi. Prophetism in Africa: a Study in the Theory of Civilizational Catastrophes

Drew, Joseph. Jewish Messianism: the Permanent Interaction?

Hord, John K. The Boundaries Symposia: 1978-1982 ; Summary: The Classification of Civilizations

4.12.5 Reviews, Comments, Afterthoughts

4.12.6 Cassette Tapes (8)

4.13 1984 meeting -- Appalachian State University (Boone, NC)

- 4.13.1 Program
- 4.13.2 Program Planning
- 4.13.3 Abstracts
- 4.13.4 Papers
 - 4.13.4.1 Adams, William Y. The North American Pueblos: A Self-Arrested Civilization?
 - Artigiani, Robert. The Name of the Wave: Science and Civilization in Prigogine and Eco
 - Bledsoe, Wayne. Classical Influences on Modern Social Theory
 - Dogbe, Korsi. A Typology of African Leadership: The Quest for Relevant Development
 - Hewes, Gordon W. Diasporas Along the Central Asian Silk Road
 - Hord, John. The State: Organized Progress or Decay Product?
 - Iberall, A. Human Sociogeophysics -- Phase I: Explaining the Macroscopic Patterns of Man on Earth
 - 4.13.4.2 Kavolis, Vytautas. The Symbolic Structure of Moral Cultures
 - Orchard, Cecil. Jewish Emigration from Germany before World War II
 - Richardson, David B. Technology: the Evil of the West
 - Snyder, Lee Daniel. Systems Theory and the Interpretation of History
 - Wilkinson, David. Encounters Between Civilizations: Coexistence, Fusion, Fission, Collision
 - Papers ; included as part of a memo from David Richardson:
 - Teitelbaum, Marionlee. Worldview as a Determinant of Diaspora in North America
 - Hord, John K. A Barbarian in the House: A Note on the Domestication of Pirates
 - Barkun, Michael. “Messianism,” “Revitalization,” and “Millennialism”: The Role of External Stress in Movements of Total Transformation
 - Melko, Matthew. The Assimilation of Alien Technologies
 - Fält, Olavi K. Modernization: A Western Image of Alien Response
 - Richardson, David B. Responses to Intrusions: Diffusion and Purification of Alien Influences
- 4.13.5 Comments on Papers
- 4.13.6 Reviews, Comments, Afterthoughts
- 4.14 1985 meeting -- Wright State University (Dayton, OH)
 - 4.14.1 Program
 - 4.14.2 Program Planning
 - 4.14.3 Abstracts
 - 4.14.4 Papers
 - 4.14.4.1 Edwards, William E. The Insular Integration Theory of the Origin of Civilizations

- Edwards, William E. Threats to Civilization's Survival
- Hord, John K. A Proposal on the Nature of the Onset of Civilization (2 versions)
- Hord, John K. The Bones of Government
- Maxwell, Ross R. Eternal Rome: Self-Reflective Consciousness and Immortality
- McNeill, William H. Macrohistory: Civilization or Ecumenical?
- Scanlan, R. S. The Western Empire: The Universal State of the West
- 4.14.4.2 Scott, Leighton. Trade and Intercivilizational Encounter in the Era of Rome's Fall
- Snyder, Lee Daniel. Analyzing Cultural History as an Interaction of Three Basic Types
- Wilkinson, David. State Systems: Ethos and Pathos
- Wolf, Laurence G. Civilization and Environment: A Geographer's Introduction
- Ziskind, David. The Rule of Law in Civilizations
- 4.14.5 Comments on Papers
- 4.14.6 Reviews, Comments, Afterthoughts
- 4.14.7 Video Tapes - William McNeill (2)
- 4.15 1986 meeting -- College of Santa Fe (Santa Fe, NM)
- 4.15.1 Program
- 4.15.2 Program Planning
- 4.15.3 Abstracts
- 4.15.4 Papers
- 4.15.4.1 Artigiani, Robert. A Dissipative Structures Model of Scientific Revolution
- Artigiani, Robert. Cultural Evolution
- Edwards, William E. Testing Origins of Civilizations Hypotheses
- Edwards, William E. An Evaluation of A. L. Kroeber's Contributions to the History of Culture and Civilizations
- Fischer, Klaus P. Oswald Spengler and the Organic Model of Historical Explanation
- Hord, John K. By the Sword: The Pathology of the Universal States
- Hughes, Anne O. and Joseph S. Drew. Intercivilizational Regions, Interstitial Areas, and Civilizational Creativity
- 4.15.4.2 Iberall, A. S. Outlining Social Physics for Modern Societies--- Locating Culture, Economics, and Politics: The Enlightenment Reconsidered
- Kavolis, Vytautas. The Secularization of Moral Cultures and "The Return of the Sacred"
- Kelen, Andràs. The Social Embeddedness of Voluntary Action

- Mears, John. Methodological Considerations for the Comparative Study of Civilizations
- Melko, Matthew. The Demise of State Systems: An Attempt to Relate the Theories of the Presenters in the 1985 Session entitled “State System to Empire”
- Melko, Matthew. The New Emperors’ Clothes: Founders and Consolidators in the Establishment of Empire
- Okada, Ichiro. The Legitimacy of the Term ‘Philosophy’ in the Context of Japanese Thought
- Okada, Ichiro. The Paradigm as an Analytical Apparatus for the Comparative Study of Civilizations
- 4.15.4.3 Richardson, David. Is Civilizational Worldview Relevant to the Termination of Civilizations?
- Richardson, David. Some Difference Between the Social Sciences and Civilizational Worldview-Study, with Particular Attention to Heidegger
- White, H. Loring. Commentary: A. J. R. Wood, “African History: New Perspectives for the Non-African Historian”
- White, H. Loring. A Technological Model of Global History
- White, H. Loring. Variables that Affect Cultural Encounters: An Analytical Tool
- Wilkinson, David. State Systems: Pathology and Survival
- 4.15.5 Comments on Papers
- 4.15.6 Reviews, Comments, Afterthoughts
- 4.16 1987 meeting -- Ohio University (Athens, OH)
- 4.16.1 Program
- 4.16.1 Program Planning
- 4.16.2.1 1985-1987
- 4.16.2.2 1986-1987
- 4.16.2.3 1987
- 4.16.3 Abstracts
- 4.16.4 Papers
- Artigiani, Robert. Cultural Evolution and Technology
- Hord, John K. A Proposal on the Origins of Agriculture
- Maxwell, R. Origin of Civilization
- Maxwell, R. The Religious Resolution of the Transition Stage Crises
- Richardson, David. The Continuity of Worldviews in the Eclipse of Civilizations
- Wolf, Laurence Grambow. The Birth & Demise of Capitalism: Problems in Societal Dynamics
- Wolf, Laurence Grambow. Putting Civilizations In Their Place
- 4.16.5 Comments on Papers

4.16.6 Reviews, Comments, Afterthoughts

4.17 1988 meeting -- Hampton University (Hampton, VA)

4.17.1 Program

4.17.2 Program Planning

4.17.2.1 1985-1988

4.17.2.2 1987-1988

4.17.2.3 1988

4.17.3 Abstracts

4.17.4 Papers

4.17.4.1 Betton, Christine Nicderberger. Paleolandscapes and Pre-Urban Archaeology of the Basin of MexicoChase-Dunn, Christopher. Comparing World-Systems: Toward a Theory of Semiperipheral DevelopmentChester, Edward W. Leland DeWitt Baldwin and the Tides of Modern CivilizationDrew, Joseph. Is There A Jewish Civilization?Eckhardt, William. Civilizations, Empires, and WarsEckhardt, William. Sorokin's Theories of War and PeaceEvans, James. The Second Venus Cycle in Economics and HistoryHeinsohn, Gunnar. Did the Sumerians and the Akkadians Ever Exist?Heinsohn, Gunnar. Pre-Axial Chronology Revised: A New Version of Chaldean and Pharaonic HistoryHermitte, Eugene. European Missionaries and African SocietyHord, John K. A Cure for Bureaucracy4.14.4.2 Hord, John K. "Feudalism in History" Revisited: a Study in Comparative Middle AgesHord, John K. Review of Ronald M. Glassman's Democracy and Despotism in Primitive Societies. A Neo-Weberian Approach to Political TheoryIberall, Arthur S. On a Characteristic 500-Year Process-Time in Culture-CivilizationsJohnston, Barry V. Altruism, Cultural Transformation and Civilization's Modern Crisis: Sorokin and the Frankfurt SchoolKrejci, Jaroslav. Alternatives to Global Apprehension in HistoryMelko, Matthew. A Civilizationist Among the Wild HistoriansNoble, Stedman B. Socio-Religious Movements in Africa: A Case Study of Tokoism in AngolaNoble, Stedman B. The Successive Surges of Civilization4.17.4.3 Orchard, Cecil C. Pastoralists: Anti or Pro Civilization?Page, Melvin E. The Temporal Bases of World Civilizations: Theory and Practice for TeachingRichard, Michel P. Sorokin Revisited: 1987 and Beyond

- Richardson, David. The Confusing Ambiguity of the Myth Behind the Name of the Faustian Civilization
- Sallie, Steven S. Dependency and Government: Repression Across the African States
- Seeger Coulborn-Coulborn, Imogen. Commentary on Christine Neiderberger Betton: *Paleopaysages et Archéologie Pré-Urbaine du Bassin de Mexico*
- Snyder, Lee Daniel. A Modest Proposal for a Model Explaining Cultural Innovation and Diffusion
- Taagepera, Rein. The Fading Rate of History
- Talbutt, Palmer. Fiat Justitia: Three Consensual Trends from Harvard Sociology's Golden Age
- 4.17.4.4 Thomas-Emeagwali, Gloria. The Transfer of Technology Revisited: A Study in Trans-Civilizational Exchange
- Wilkinson, David. Civilizational Convergence and War
- Wilkinson, David. World-Economic Theories and Problems: Quigley vs. Wallerstein vs. Central Civilization
- Winetrou, Kenneth. Greed and Growth in Toynbee: A Civilizationist's Challenge to the Present
- 4.17.5 Comments on Papers
- 4.17.6 Reviews, Comments, Afterthoughts
- 4.17.7 Cassette Tapes (7)
- 4.18 1989 meeting -- University of California-Berkley
- 4.18.1 Program
- 4.18.2 Program Planning
- 4.18.2.1 1988
- 4.18.2.2 1988-1989
- 4.18.3 Abstracts
- 4.18.4 Papers
- 4.18.4.1 Andregg, Michael. How to Survive War
- Benesch, Walter. Comparative Logics and the Comparative Study of Civilizations
- Chase-Dunn, Christopher. Conceptualizing Core/Periphery Hierarchies for Comparative World-System Research
- Chodak, Szymon. The Rise of the Global Civilization: Continuity and Discontinuity of Civilization Processes
- Eckhardt, William. A Dialectical Evolutionary Theory of Civilizations, Empires, and Wars
- Eckhardt, William. Sorokin: Cultures, Transitions, Revolutions, and Wars
- Edwards, William. The Migration Myth

Erasov, Boris. Sociocultural Specificity and Dynamics of Non-Western Civilizations

Erasov, Boris. The U.S.S.R.: One Civilization or Several?

4.18.4.2 Foroohar, Manzar. Social or Religious Movements? Iran and Nicaragua

Hord, John K. Part I: Civilization: A Definition; Part II: The Nature of a Formal Knowledge Systems

Hord, John K. The Identity of Moses

4.18.4.3 Maxwell, Ross R. Resolution of the Human Sacrifice Crisis: Individuation, Immortality, Religion, and the Origin of Civilization

Melko, Matthew. Civilization, War and Peace

Melko, Matthew. Toynbee, Sorokin and Kroeber: A Value Added Approach

Richard, Michel P. Cynicism, Egoism, and Altruism: A Media Test of Sorokin's Paradigm

Richardson, David B. A Disadvantage of "Sorokinian" vis a vis "Danilevskian" Theories of Civilization

Richardson, David. Sorokin and Two Advantages of "Intuitively Minded" Over "Rationally Minded" Theories of Civilization

Sallie, Steven S. The Syndrome of Dependency: Economic Oppression, Political Repression, and Mental Depression in the Periphery of the World System

Sanderson, Stephen K. The Evolution of Societies and World-Systems Shanahan, Daniel A. Migration in North America: An Ancient Paradigm

4.18.4.4 Snyder, Lee Daniel. War from the Perspective of Macro-History

Sondhi, Madhuri. The Making of Peace

Talbutt, Palmer. Sorokin's Challenge and Its Relevance to Civilizational Studies

Thomas-Emegwali, Gloria. Technology Transfer in the Pacific: Explaining the Japanese Success Story

Werlin, Herbert H. Decentralization and Culture: The Case of Monrovia, Liberia

White, H. Loring. The Forest vs. the Trees: Toynbee and the History Profession

White, H. Loring. A Mentality Model of Global History: A Holistic Approach

Wilkinson, David. Civilizational Convergence and War

Wilkinson, David. Cores, Peripheries and Civilizations

Wilkinson, David. The Noble Project: A 13-Page World History

Wilkinson, David. Sorokin vs. Toynbee: Congeries and Civilizations

4.18.5 Reviews, Comments, Afterthoughts

4.18.6 Cassette Tapes (18)

- 4.19 1990 meeting -- University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
- 4.19.1 Program
- 4.19.2 Program Planning
- 4.19.3 Abstracts
- 4.19.4 Papers
- Andregg, Michael. The Next General War Should Begin Between 1997 and 2001, Unless... (2 versions)
- Andregg, Michael. War in Ancient China, Greece and India, ca. 400 B.C., from Sun Tzu, Thucydides, and the Bagavad Gita
- Edwards, William E. The Developmental History of Warfare and Its Role in Shaping Polities
- Edwards, William E. The Effects of War
- Hanson, Robert C. Sorokin as Dialectician
- Melko, Matthew. The Jews as Bearers of Mesopotamian Civilization
- Melko, Matthew. Modernization: A Faustian Delusion
- Orlando, Peter C. The Impact Upon Parental Self Esteem and Family Values of An Early Intervention Program for Children At Risk in Peru, South America
- Stanley, Autumn. The Creation of Patriarchy Revisited: Unexplored Aspects
- Talbutt, Palmer. Three Remarkable Consensual Trends Found at Harvard
- 4.19.5 Comments on Papers
- 4.20 1991 meeting -- Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic
- 4.20.1 Program
- 4.20.2 Program Planning
- 4.20.3 Abstracts
- 4.20.4 Papers
- 4.20.4.1 Andregg, Michael. Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Data About Wars, Battles and Casualties
- Diaz-Stevens, Ana Maria. Nostalgia and Language as Culture Identity: A Sociological Analysis of the Literature of Caribbean Migrants to New York
- Dimitrie, Constantin. Review of Ross Dunn's "The Adventures of Ibn Battuta"
- Eckhardt, William. War-Related Deaths Since 3000 B.C.
- Helms, Mary W. Perspectives on Middle America and the Caribbean: The 1490's (and Before)
- Hord, John K. The Comparability of Ancient and Modern Civilizations
- Maurer, Crescencia. The China Brazil Earth Resource Satellite: Patterns of Third World Scientific Cooperation
- 4.20.4.2 Maxwell, Ross R. Methodology for the Historical Studies

Melko, Matthew. Hypotheses Concerning General War and General Peace

Riordan, Robert. North American in the 1490's

Schwegler, Armin. When the Dead Speak: The Decipherment of Afro-Hispanic Burial Songs of Northern Colombia

Steven-Arroyo, Anthony M. Incorporation into the World System and into the Otherworldly System: A Comparative Analysis of Conquest and Evangelization in the Canaries and Hispaniola 1355-1522

Talbutt, Palmer. Reflections Upon the Geopolitics of the Noosphere

Van Schendel, Willem. The Past in Development: The Need for a Comparative Approach to History

4.21 1992 meeting -- Eastern Kentucky University (Richmond, KY)

4.21.1 Program Planning

4.21.2 Abstracts

4.21.3 Papers

Edwards, William E. Animals, Warfare, and Civilizational Selection

Edwards, William E. The Origins of Animal Domestication

Melko, Matthew. The Civilizational Science

Melko, Matthew. The ISCSC: Scientific Enterprise or Boondoggle?

Miyahara, Kazutake. A Theoretical Trial on the Structure of a Civilization- with the Keywords 'Language' and 'Currency'-

Noble, Stedman B. MetaMathematics, MetaPhysics, and MetaHistory

Thomas-Emeagwali, Gloria. "Wild Historians", Eurocentrism and History with Some Reference to the *Boundaries of Civilization in Space and Time*

Winetroun, Kenneth. Chikuro Hiroike (1866-1938) Moralogy: A Preliminary Examination

Winetroun, Kenneth. China: The Great Expectations of Arnold Toynbee

4.22 1993 meeting -- University of Scranton (Scranton, PA)

4.22.1 Program

4.22.2 Program Planning

4.22.3 Abstracts

4.22.4 Papers

4.22.4.1 Choi, Dong Sull. Christianity and the Uniqueness of Japanese Religious Mentality

Emeagwali, Gloria T. Rethinking "the Scientific Revolution:" A Critique of World History Texts prepared for American Colleges and Universities

Hewes, Gordon W. The Nestorians: The Varied Fortunes of an Asian Diaspora

Hord, John K. Civilization and Its Beginnings in the Near East and the Americas

Hord, John K. Manichaeism: A Brief Synopsis

King, William H. Mani and the Mission

4.22.4.2 Maxwell, Ross R. Civilization: The Cultural Stage with Specialized Individuals

Melko, Matthew. Scholarly Discourse: Important Work or Boondoggle?

Miyahara, Kazutake. The New International Currency and Language Which Will Form a New International Civilization

Miyahara, Kazutake. The Structure of an International Civilization: A Trial Theory on the Global Civilization

Noble, Stedman B. World History Versus World Civilizations

Wilkinson, David. Spatio-Temporal Boundaries of African Civilizations Reconsidered

4.22.5 Comments on Papers

4.22.6 Reviews, Comments, Afterthoughts

4.23 1994 meeting -- University College Dublin (Dublin, Ireland)

4.23.1 Program

4.23.2 Program Planning

4.23.3 Abstracts

4.23.4 Papers

Kawakubo, Keisuke. Hiroike Chikuro and Mori Ogai as Cultural Initiators in Modern Japan

Maxwell, Ross R. Civilization and the Specialization of Individuals

Melko, Matthew. Cases of General War in World History: An Interim Report

Miyahara, Kazutake. The Transfer of Civilization - It's Principle, Mechanism and Results

Wilkinson, David and Arthur S. Iberall. One of Our Civilizations Is Missing! or, Putting a Little Zipf into the Study of Civilizations

4.23.5 Comments on Papers

4.23.6 Reviews, Comments, Afterthoughts

4.24 1995 meeting -- Wright State University (Dayton, OH)

4.24.1 Program

4.24.2 Program Planning

4.24.2.1 1994-1995

4.24.2.2 1995

4.24.3 Abstracts

4.24.4 Papers

Edmondson, Nelson. World History Education and the Politics of Agnosticism: A Program for Cross-Cultural Amity

Geiger, Pedro P. The Geographical Space as a Component of Social Formation: An Essay

Gilb, Corinne Lathrop. Digital Confluence, Space, Time, and Civilization

Gilb, Corinne Lathrop. Sacred Cities, Geopolitics and Economics: The Case of Jerusalem

Hord, John K. Before Civilization: I. Receiving the Fire

Hord, John K. Tulip Gardens

Kawakubo, Keisuke. Toynbee's View of Religion in an Age of Ecumenism

Yoshizaki, Yasuhiro. The Values of Japanese and American Youth

4.24.5 Comments on Papers

4.25 1996 meeting -- California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

4.25.1 Program

4.25.2 Program Planning

4.25.3 Abstracts

4.25.4 Papers

4.25.4.1 Andregg, Michael. Exotic Weapons and Civilizational Change

Edwards, William E. How Geography Caused England to Originate Industrialization and to Provide Humans' Future Universal Language

Gilb, Corinne Lathrop. Whose World? What History?

Hsu, Francis. Scale: A Culture-Free Evaluation of Science & Technology

Iberall, Arthur S. Review of Quigley, Chapter 6 and All That

Ishida, Juro. Summary of Two Articles: "New World Order" and "Economics in Post-Modernism"

Kawakubo, Keisuke. Civilizations and Morals: Legitimacy, the Line of Succession, and Polity

Maxwell, Ross R. Civilization and Specialization

4.25.4.2 Melko, Matthew. General War: No Sneaker Endorsements

Moyer, Charles D. How to Revive a Dragon: The Indo-European Time Cycle, the Olmec Calendar, and the Holy Dorje of Shambhala

White, H. Loring. Rome Vs. The World System: Chronologies of Integration

Ziskind, David. The Definition of Civilization

4.26 1997 meeting -- Brigham Young University (Provo, UT)

4.26.1 Program

4.26.2 Program Planning

4.26.3 Abstracts

4.26.4 Papers

4.25.4.1 Andregg, Michael. Pro's and Con's of Feminism, Half Way Down The Road

Andregg, Michael. "True Religion," Civilizations, and Human Survival

Berg, Ellen Ziskind. Feminist Social Theory; A New Product in the Marketplace of Ideas

Choi, Dong Sull. Christian Revivals in Africa

4.25.4.2 Choi, Dong Sull. The Impact of Religion on World Civilization

Choi, Dong Sull. Life After Death in World Religions

Farhat. Laina. Zoroastrianism and Its Earthly Tenure

Hamill, Patricia. The Trickster in Literature: Knave and Hero

Hord, John K. Two Problems Regarding Moses: 1) The God of the Exodus 2) The Holy Mountain

4.26.4.3 Ito, Shuntaro. A Framework for Comparative Study of Civilizations

Ito, Shuntaro. What is Civilization? - A New Approach

Kawakubo, Keisuke. Civilization and Religion in Toynbee

Kawakubo, Keisuke. Women in Civilization: After Equality--What?

Kunz, Phillip R. The Relationship of Missionary Work and Subsequent Foreign Encounters

Melko, Matthew. Hypotheses Concerning Religion and Civilizations Part I: Universals

Noble, Stedman. Jesus, Son of God: A Short Play

Richardson, David. On Civilizational Worldviews, Part 2

Tonomura, Naohiko. What is Feudalism?

4.27 1998 meeting -- Reitaku University (Kashiwa-shi, Chiba-ken, Japan)

4.27.1 Program

4.27.2 Program Planning

4.27.3 Abstracts

4.27.4 Papers

Andregg, Michael. Promise and Peril in Energy, Biotechnology, and Information Systems

Andregg, Michael. The Proper Balance Between Individual and Collective Values in the Emerging Global Civilization

Kawabe, Makoto. A Mathematical Consideration on the Development of Ancient Civilizations in Both New and Old Continents [No English Translation]

- 4.28 1999 meeting -- University of Missouri-Rolla (St. Louis, MO)
- 4.28.1 Program
- 4.28.2 Program Planning
- 4.28.3 Abstracts
- 4.28.4 Papers
- 4.28.4.1 Andregg, Michael. The Waning Days of Ancient Rome and the Modern Era: Parallels and Echoes
- Benesch, Walter. Consciousness Viewed as Historical Possibility of Civilizations Vs. Civilization Viewed as Historical Possibilities for Consciousness
- Benesch, Walter. Creation and Pro-Creation in World Religions: From Adam's Rib to the Muddy Rope of Nu Wa
- Farhat-Holzman, Laina. Class, Caste, and Gender--The Illusion of Superiority
- Farhat-Holzman, Laina. Review of Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: the Fates of Human Societies*
- Farhat-Holzman, Laina. The Shah Nameh of Ferdowsi
- Haggman, Bertil. Technocrash and Civilization
- Haggman, Bertil. Technocrash and Civilization: Titans and Titanism as Metaphor from the Classical World
- 4.28.4.2 Hord, John K. Bicycling Through History
- Hord, John K. Book Reviews
- Hord, John K. A Comparative Sociology of Heroic Ages with Modern Applications
- Hord, John K. A Cross-Cultural Epistemology: Revisiting the Idea of the State
- Inukai, Takao. A Comparison of Heroes: Japan and the American Old West
- Kawakubo, Keisuke. Theoretical Possibilities of the Comparative Study of Civilizations in the U.S.A. and Japan
- Miyahara, Kazutake. Women's Roles in Civilizations-Past, Present and Future-
- O'Brien, Peter. Europe Eclipsed by Rival Civilizations: A Millennium of Marginality
- O'Leary, James. Capitalism and Culture: The Political Economy of Development in India and China
- Richardson, David. Foreign Sources of Democracy
- 4.29 2000 meeting -- University of South Alabama (Mobile, AL)
- 4.29.1 Program
- 4.29.2 Program Planning
- 4.29.3 Abstracts
- 4.29.4 Papers

- 4.29.4.1 Andregg, Michael. The UN Wants Us to Build a Culture of Peace: What Might That Be?
Benesch, Walter. Looking Backward---Looking Forward: Civilization as Mental Processes and Products
Erasov, Boris. Criminality as a Product of the Crash of Civilization: A View from Russia
Farhat-Holzman, Laina. Janus Blindsided: The Islamic Revolution
Gray, Wallace. The Plot of John C. Plott's Philosophy
Hattori, Eiji. The Route of Mahayana Buddhism through the Southern Sea
- 4.29.4.2 Kawakubo, Keisuke. Towards Global Ethics
Maxwell, Ross R. Civilization, Interdependent Specialists and Moral Syndromes
Melko, Matthew. Mainstream Civilizations
Melko, Matthew. Review of Arie Kacowicz, *Zones of Peace in the Third World: South America and West Africa in Comparative Perspective*
Noble, Stedman B. Tentative Overall Strategy as to How to Analyze World History: A Proposal for a Succession of Papers
Ohmoto, Akio. In the Walking City -- Looking into Possibilities in the Walking City
Richardson, David. Crafting a Fit Between Worldviews and Mainstream Civilizations
Richardson, David. On Civilizational Worldviews's Influences and Diffusions, Illustrated in Cultural Eccentricities of Mathematics
Wilkinson, David. Review of Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*
- 4.30 2001 meeting -- Rutgers University (Newark, NJ)
- 4.30.1 Program
- 4.30.2 Program Planning
- 4.30.3 Abstracts
- 4.30.4 Papers
- 4.30.4.1 Benesch, Walter. The Essential Question; *Existence: As 'Concept' and 'Condition' (What do we mean? or Parmenides vs Gorgias)*
Benesch, Walter. Traditions and Civilizations: Another Approach to Understanding Human History
Bowler, Downing. Why Me? Why Now? Why At All? Why Are You Asking?
Burgy, Donald. The Forethought of 25 Francis Road
Gray, Wallace. The Peoples of South America: A Case Study, Or, when civilizations pause to look at ethnic groups
Cosandey, David. The Rich States System Theory

Farhat-Holzman, Laina. God's Law or Man's Law

Kawakubo, Keisuke. The Status of Japanese Civilization: My Journey for the Discovery of Japan

Melko, Matthew. The Civilizational Concept

4.30.4.2 Richardson, David. The Mideastern Worldview

Rothman, Norman C. Indian Ocean Trading Links: The Swahili Experience

Snyder, Lee Daniel. From Macro to Micro: It Takes Three to Dance, Civilization and the Urban Dynamic

Stauffer, Lee. Globalization as a Signal of the Next Stage in Cultural Evolution

Vieira, Alberto. The Islands and the Atlantic System

4.31 2002 meeting -- Frenchman's Cove, Jamaica

4.31.1 Program

4.31.2 Program Planning

4.31.3 Abstracts

4.31.4 Papers

Hanson, Robert C. Book Review of Fernand Braudel's *The Perspective of the World*

Melko, Matthew. How Civilizations Develop

Melko, Matthew. Intercivilizational Encounters

Miyahara, Kazutake. Mainstream Civilizations - A Trial Essay –

Ohmoto, Akio. Information Technology and Administration and Politics

4.32 2003 meeting -- St. Petersburg, Russia

4.32.1 Program Planning

4.32.2 Papers

Melko, Matthew. Conflict Among Civilizations

4.33 2004 meeting -- Fairbanks, Alaska

4.33.1 Abstracts

4.33.2 Papers

Blaha, Stephen. A Mathematical Theory of the Life Cycle of Civilizations (for non-mathematicians)

McGaughey, William. The Model of Civilization Presented in Five Epochs of Civilization

Miyahara, Kazutake. Three Kinds of Cultures in Mainstream Civilizations

Noble, Stedman B. A Needed Reformulation of the History of the World from About 35,000 Years Ago to 1543 C. E.

Noboru, Matsuzaki. Civilizations: Bridges and Barriers

Ohmoto, Akio. The Information Technology and Democracy
 Targowski, Andrew. A Dynamic Model of an Autonomous Civilization

4.34 2005 meeting -- University of St. Thomas (St. Paul, MN)

- 4.34.1 Program
- 4.34.2 Program Planning
- 4.34.3 Abstracts

4.35 2006 meeting -- Institut National d'histoire de Art Paris, France

- 4.35.1 Program Planning
- 4.35.2 Abstracts
- 4.35.3 Papers
 - Kawakubo, Keisuke. Spiritual Transmission
 - Maxwell, Ross R. Civilization, Cooperation, Trust and the Multiple Moral Systems Model
 - Rothman, Norman C. Watchtower to Kitawala

4.36 2007 meeting

4.37 2008 meeting

- 4.37.1 Program Planning
- 4.37.2 Abstracts
- 4.37.3 Papers
 - Haggman, Bertil. Territorial Governor William Gilpin and the Isothermal Axis of Civilization

4.99 Unknown Dates

- 4.99.1 Comments
- 4.99.2 Papers
 - 4.99.2.1 Ahlers, Rolf. Culture and Ideology
 - Armillas, Pedro. Unity and Diversity in the Ancient Mesoamerica Civilization
 - Bartek, Edward J. A Calendar of Human Change
 - Brauer, Ralph W. Court-Conferences and Decision-Making in Imperial China
 - Chen, Wilbur Chien-Ju. The Comparative Study Between Confucianism and New Confucianism
 - Chen, Zhen. Understanding the Chinese Language and Culture: Why Has Chinese Culture Not Facilitated the Development of Modern Science?
 - Edwards, William. Extraterrestrial Civilizations

Elvin, Mark. The Man Who Saw Dragons: Reflections on Quasi-Scientific Styles of Thinking in Xieh Zhaohzhih's *Five-Fold Miscellany*

4.99.2.2 Fält, Olavi K. Periodicity in World History

Hewes, Gordon W. Alfred Louis Kroeber as a Pioneer of Civilizational Analysis

Hinkle, Roscoe C. An Evaluation of Innovative Dating in Recent Studies of Earlier Civilizations

Lambert, Yves. Religion in Modernity as a New Axial Age

Noble, Stedman B. Paper Untitled as Yet - Section One: A Problem Identified

Noble, Stedman B. Should There Be A Social Science?

Okada, I. The Legitimacy of the Term 'Philosophy' in the Context of Japanese Thought

Orchard, Cecil C. and James Webb. World Civilization and Comparative Study

Philips, John Edward. What is the West Anyway? An Inquiry in to the Nature of Western Civilization

Richardson, David. Dumont's Theory of Civilization Worldview: Strengths and Weaknesses

Shu-li, Ji. An Ancient Science in the Modern Interpretation

Slaatte, Howard A. A Personal Perspective of Plott and His Plottings

4.99.2.3 Sorokin, Pitirim. "L. N. Tolstoy As A Philosopher" Moscow, 1914
(Translated by Lawrence T. Nichols and Nelly S. Grosswasser)

Swenson, Loyd S. Microhistory, Mythistory, Macrohistory: Good, Better, Best Approaches to Civilizational Studies?

Talbutt, Palmer C. Power Centers, Hinterlands, and Outlands: The Radial Contrariety

Talbutt, Palmer C. Sorokin in America: A Cultural Clash

Werlin, Herert H. Decentralization and Development: Towards More Linkage and Less Confusion

[No Author]. Culturology and Cosmology

RG 5 – MISCELLANEOUS

The Miscellaneous record group includes materials such as papers prepared by Society members that were not delivered at Society meetings, correspondence unrelated to the society, and the *curricula vitae* of individuals associated with the society. As with the Correspondence series, some members and other organizations are listed individually, following a folder of general miscellaneous material. In addition, this record group includes material like newsletters related to eight other organizations, such as the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the Society for Cross-Cultural Research. This record group is arranged alphabetically.

RG 5 INVENTORY

RG 5 MISCELLANEOUS

- 5.1.1 A -- General
- 5.1.2 Abdel-Malek, Anouar
- 5.1.3 American Association for the Advancement of Science
- 5.1.4 Artigiani, Robert
- 5.1.5 Atwell, William

- 5.2.1 B -- General
- 5.2.2 Bowler, T. Downing

- 5.3.1 C -- General
- 5.3.2 Canadian Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations
- 5.3.3 Cassinelli, Robert
- 5.3.4 Chodak, Szymon
- 5.3.5 Choi, Dong Sull
- 5.3.6 Cioffi-Revilla, Claudio and Todd Landman
- 5.3.7 Coulborn, Rushton

- 5.4.1 D -- General
- 5.4.2 Denmark, Robert

- 5.5.1 E -- General
- 5.5.2 Erasov, Boris

- 5.6.1 F -- General
- 5.6.2 Farhat-Holzman, Laina
 - 5.6.2.1 2002-2006
 - 5.6.2.2 2007-2008
 - 5.6.2.3 2008-2009
- 5.6.3 Ford, Joseph

- 5.7.1 G -- General
- 5.7.2 Gilb, Corinne
- 5.7.3 Gills, Barry and André Gunder Frank
- 5.7.4 Gray, Wallace

- 5.8.1 H -- General
- 5.8.2 Hall, Thomas
- 5.8.3 Hay, Stephen
- 5.8.4 Hewes, Gordon
- 5.8.5 Holzner, Burkart
- 5.8.6 Hord, John

- 5.9.1 I -- General
- 5.9.2 Iberall, Arthur
- 5.9.3 International Organization for Unification of Terminological Neologisms
- 5.9.4 International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations
- 5.9.5 International Studies Association

- 5.10.1 J -- General
- 5.10.2 Ji, Shu-Li
- 5.10.3 Jung, Dong-Hyeon

- 5.11.1 K -- General
- 5.11.2 Kalberg, Stephen
- 5.11.3 Kandal, Terry
- 5.11.4 Kavolis, Vytautas
- 5.11.5 King, Arden
- 5.11.6 Krejci, Jaroslav

- 5.12.1 L -- General
- 5.12.2 Leites, Edmund

- 5.13.1 M -- General
- 5.13.2 Mak, Ricardo
- 5.13.3 Maxwell, Ross
- 5.13.4 Melko, Matthew
 - 5.13.4.1 A-L
 - 5.13.4.2 M-Z
- 5.13.5 Mickunas, Algis
- 5.13.6 Miyahara, Kazutake
- 5.13.7 Modelski, George and William Thompson

- 5.14.1 N -- General

- 5.14.2 Naroll, Raoul
- 5.14.3 Nelson, Benjamin
- 5.14.4 Niederberger, Christine
- 5.14.5 Noble, Stedman

- 5.15.1 O -- General
- 5.15.2 Okada, Ichiro
- 5.15.3 Orchard, Cecil

- 5.16.1 P -- General

- 5.17.1 Quigley, Carroll

- 5.18.1 R -- General
- 5.18.2 Reitaku Center for the Comparative Study of Civilizations
- 5.18.3 Richard, Michel
- 5.18.4 Richardson, David
- 5.18.5 Roesler, Herbert
- 5.18.6 Rosov, Nikolai

- 5.19.1 S -- General
- 5.19.2 Seger Coulborn-Coulborn, Imogen
- 5.19.3 Serebriany, Sergei
- 5.19.4 Shoben, Edward, Jr.
- 5.19.5 Snyder, Lee Daniel
- 5.19.6 Society for Cross-Cultural Research
- 5.19.7 Stevens-Arroyo, Anthony
- 5.19.8 Stoesz, Willis
- 5.19.9 Subramaniam, V.
- 5.19.10 Sylvan, David

- 5.20.1 T -- General
- 5.20.2 Talbutt, Palmer
- 5.20.3 Tonomura, Naohiko

- 5.21.1 U -- General

- 5.22.1 V -- General
- 5.22.2 Von Laue, Theodore

- 5.23.1 W -- General
- 5.23.2 Wescott, Roger
- 5.23.3 White, H. Loring

- 5.23.4 Wilkinson, David
 - 5.23.4.1 A-L
 - 5.23.4.2 M-Z
- 5.23.5 Winetrout, Kenneth
- 5.23.6 Wolf, C. P.
- 5.23.7 Wolf, Laurence
- 5.23.8 World History Association
- 5.23.9 Wu, Wei Renmin Fu

- 5.24.1 X, Y, Z -- General

What Must Exist Before You Have A Civilization?

The Northridge Discussion

1979

Participants: Matthew Melko, David Wilkinson, John Hord, William Edwards, Imogen Seger Coulborn, Robert G. Wesson, Wayne Bledsoe, F. Eugene Yates, David Richardson

Melko: The first question I'd like to ask comes partly out of the Wescott paper, which poses a whole intermediate area between primitive society and civilized society. And I guess the question that comes up that I would like to ask the participants to address is this: What has to exist before a civilization can be said to exist? In other words, part of the area of disagreement that comes about may be because we have different perceptions of what is necessary to constitute a civilization. At some earlier period, we have societies which have a high level of development, which have agriculture, which have philosophy, which have other characteristics of civilizations and yet are very well in agreement that those are not civilizations. At a later point, when we get to Egypt and Mesopotamia, we have societies that have other characteristics and we are fairly well in agreement that those are civilizations. What I would like to know is, at what point do you say, what mix do you need to say, that a civilization has come into existence? I'd like your response to that one.

Wilkinson: I will respond first of all from a position of Carroll Quigley, which I'm never done trying to defend, and extend his argument that the determining criterion for the existence of a civilization is the presence of something which he calls an instrument of expansion, which is any social organization which saves economic surplus, allocates the savings as incentive for economic invention and investment: any social organization that tends to promote economic growth. Now the evidence of this won't be left behind for some time but it will be left behind eventually in the form of non-producing classes and of a marked increase in the material standard of living and material standard of consumption of society. But, it's the instrument of expansion which Quigley takes as the final criterion of the existence of a civilization as opposed to some other society, and I concur.

Hord: May I ask on what basis such a social organization can be created?

Wilkinson: It is precisely that question which is the whole question of origins from a Quigleyan standpoint. My paper summarizes what Quigley had to say, which wasn't a great deal. Some of what others have to say about the origins of civilization it seems to me can be combined with and used to amplify and clarify Quigley's ideas.

Hord: May I toss my own nickel in, then? Some of the origin of civilization occurs with the first legitimation of a matrix of ideas, including techniques both physical – such things as plowing, blacksmithing, anything along that line – and psychological— ideas about ideas. When these are brought together into a conceptual framework which is accepted as “legitimate”, you have a civilization. How large, how widespread this has to be – that we could argue from now to the next solar eclipse.

Edwards: Well, I think the trouble with that definition, John, like so many definitions of civilization, is that it’s much too vague. It doesn’t really spell out what is distinctive about a civilization versus some other cultural system and this is why I emphasized in my own paper that, as I see it, a most fruitful, most objective definition of civilization is simply a relatively complex culture. We can delimit that wherever we wish.

But, by and large, because of the accumulation of usages, I think we are pretty much, as one of you commented in a discussion yesterday evening, pretty much in agreement on which cultures are civilizations and which ones are not. Obviously, there must be transition if my concept is correct. You can’t arbitrarily select one criterion like writing or fourteen of seventeen criteria and say if one has only thirteen, it is not a civilization and would have to wait until the next year when the fourteenth item is added.

But, in any event, I think we need to stress the relativeness on a continuum. It would be desirable to say that a point on the continuum marks the beginning of civilization, but I see no way to, and this was a major objection I had both to John’s paper and to Richardson’s. And that is John said an organized religion is a civilization; Richardson said a fully developed *Weltanschauung* is a civilization. In essence, I’m simplifying only the least bit for them. I say that you cannot arbitrarily establish any single criterion for a civilization.

Melko: Before I let you respond to that, I just want to put in a footnote that the story about seventeen criteria was my story last night, and it was that at the 1972 conference of the ISCS, Carroll Quigley, Roger Wescott and Raoul Naroll were all on the platform and the question of the definition of civilization came up and Quigley said why it is an instrument of expansion and elaborated on that. Naroll said that it is cities, whether cities are present or not present, and Wescott said, well, there are about seventeen basic characteristics that civilizations have, and he named the seventeen, and if a society has about thirteen or fourteen, we’ll say it is a civilization. At that point, a physicist – this was a meeting with the AAAS – leaned over to me and said, “Their paradigm isn’t very clear, is it?” And I said, “Well you ask them to name the civilizations and they’ll name the same old civilizations.”

Seeger Coulborn: Rushton Coulborn said that also. It just is not very useful to define and define because you will never finish. You will never agree. But people are agreed on the whole that there are civilizations and they are agreed on what the principal ones were or are.

Hord: I have three separate responses which may not be quite legitimate, but I'll try them anyway. One, a matrix is a complexity, by definition a relationship amongst several points. Two, an organized religion should not be considered in terms of our present Sunday-School Christianity, which exists for one hour a week unless the sun is shining on the golf course. It is a much more thorough thing than that, in which an economic relationship exists because the priesthood must be supported, in which the priesthood supports the politicians because the politicians are supported by the priesthood, in which the religion permeates the society quite thoroughly. This includes medieval Europe, Buddhist China, Hindu India, any of them. Point three, the specific thing (Edwards) charged me with was saying that an organized religion was in itself a civilization.

Edwards: In that case I didn't misquote you, because you even underlined it.

Hord: I also made that a non-exclusive definition: "whether or not all civilizations are organized religions." An organized religion is a civilization, but I did not limit that statement to organized religions.

Edwards: [Asks whether Hord feels that recognized religion was to be found in the very earliest religion.]

Hord: I cannot prove that there was or there wasn't. There are indications from Catal Huyuk, from the Olmec center of La Venta, and from the Peruvian center of Chavin de Huantar that their religious symbols were part of more complex symbologies. The continuous existence of a complex symbology – there's that "degree of complexity" again – is an indication that something has been organized and is being passed on.

What comes out of Catal Huyuk is much more complex than just a symbol of a mother-goddess; the relationship includes, for example, the mother-goddess attached to the son usually attached to the bull in a certain way. There are certain other things that I didn't go into because the evidence is incomplete.

In Crete the mother-goddess is the Lady of the Mountain – there are no particularly impressive mountains in Crete, so why should she be attached to a mountain? In Mesopotamia the mother-goddess is the Lady of the Mountain – in the flood-plain of the Tigris and Euphrates? In India we have evidence only as of the transition from the lady to the lord, Siva. He is the Lord of the Mountain – again in a flood-plain, of the Ganges and Indus systems.

In Southeast Asia we have the same thing, surviving into modern times. “Phnom Penh”, the capital of Cambodia, means “the mountain” in Cambodian.

Well, all this can be explained in terms of Catal Huyuk, simply because the whole culture seems to have an obsidian mining from that one mountain, called Hasan Dag [then a live volcano, pictured in reliefs from Catal Huyuk]. Unfortunately, we have a discontinuity here, because we have not one single shred of evidence that the Lady of Catal Huyuk was also considered the Lady of that mountain.

Melko: Your point, really, is that some kind of centralized religion is a quality always found in civilization?

Hord: Centralized ideology. (Centralized not geographically but ideologically – for instance, we in the United States organize our value system around the central concept “The United States”, with immediate satellite values, symbols, and interpretations: medieval Europe was organized around the central value “God”, with immediate satellite values, symbols, interpretations.)

Wesson: This to me is very unsatisfactory. First of all, it seems to me, just a parenthetical comment, that you’re suggesting that we are no longer a real civilization. I’m referring to your comments on Sunday school and so forth.

Hord: I admitted that we are no longer a religious civilization.

Edwards: If organized religion means a complex group of religious specialists, your concept is much more readily accepted. But by the vaguer definition you just gave us, Paleolithic religion, upper Paleolithic religion, would certainly fit the criteria.

Hord: At which vaguer definition, ideology?

Edwards: The one that you just gave, a complex ideology. It is quite likely that the ideology at that time was quite complex and we do know that the ideologies of many Neolithic peoples that we don’t consider civilized have a fairly complex ideology.

Hord: For example?

Edwards: Let me turn that around. Give me an example of the Neolithic people lacking a complex ideology.

Hord: A Neolithic people lacking a complex ideology? Okay, New Guinea.

Edwards: New Guinea? This is a barely Neolithic population. An extremely simple Neolithic economy – eggs and yams people.

Hord: Most of the tribes, most of what we consider tribes and pre-civilized people, I would place in a frontier zone of civilization. They're getting ideas, they're getting trade products, they have some degree of commerce with civilization. But the point is had to pin down. What, for example, is the status of civilization in the Vinca culture of Romania around 4000 BCE? We know that they had a complex something going on, but all we've got is a few shreds of it.

Wilkinson: I just wanted to comment on something that Imogen suggested, the idea that it isn't useful to argue over definitions because we actually agree on the roster of true civilizations. I think this is (not) entirely correct. Those who emphasize religious or ideological definitions as John does and those who emphasize material and economic definitions, as I do, are not going to agree on the roster of civilizations. For one thing, I would say today, there exists only one surviving civilization, world civilization. Whereas, there are others who would argue that there exists a surviving China, a surviving India, and a surviving Western and a possibly surviving Russia. The basic argument between us rests upon the definition and we ought to know this because in a sense, it may not be resolvable, even though our theories may at some point or other intersect, our rosters will pertinently be rather distinct.

Bledsoe: I am not sure either how productive it is to try to come up with a definition of civilization, just jotting down some of the comments made here. One says it's any social extension, one says it's a matrix of ideas, another a relatively complex culture, another organized religion. And if you really stop and consider those definitions, I'm not sure what they tell you. I'm not sure what a matrix of ideas really is. All this needs considerable elaboration and I think it may be far more productive to talk about characteristics of civilizations than to simply sit down and give one simple definition. Perhaps like trying to come up with a definition of art. I'm not sure that you can do it.

Wilkinson: There is nothing wrong with elaborating the definition but the reason for starting out with a definition is that you can do the sorting between societies that are civilizations and societies that are not, so that you can then induce a general theory ... from only those societies which properly meet your definition.

I would grant that the idea of a civilization is vague as a beginning but it's an appropriate beginning. One can then develop criteria for determining where does such an instrument exist and where it doesn't. Quigley does, and I try to and having done so ... can pass by that screen of criteria the societies which seem to be candidates for the label "civilization" and say: you fail, you pass. And having passed a certain number, one can then ask, are there developmental regularities here or are there not? But if you don't know what's going to pass by the screen and you find you don't know what it is you found developmental regularities in, you may be talking not about civilization but about society, which may not be the same thing.

Melko: My question wasn't for a definition, I don't think. What I wrote down here is: "What has to exist before a civilization exists?" Imogen, would you respond to this question because I think you say something a little different about the problem -- What has to exist before a civilization exists? How do you know one?

We were saying that the Adena and the Hopewell are not civilizations whereas Egypt is, why do we say that?

Seeger Coulborn: Because civilizations have had a history.

Melko: Would you elaborate on "had a history"? That's a point I remember Coulborn often made.

Seeger Coulborn: We can recognize a civilized society later on because it develops and has a history. That is to say we recognize the rise and fall, the up and down and up again in the development of civilizations, their innate instability. That is what we call "history."

Hord: The emphasis is on change, then?

Seeger Coulborn: The emphasis is on change, yes, but for a recognizable entity which consists of a conglomeration of societies and the conglomeration of their myths in an organized religion or system of thought. The change is up and down and up and down and not linear and it is much faster than change in primitive societies is.

Melko: Gene, would you care to comment on this?

Yates: Yes. Remember I bring fresh and naïve ears to this discussion, but I can tell you what physical science would hear in the discussion that just occurred. What physics can deal with is processes that lead to aggregation and finally irrevocable aggregation. So, as I hear you talk I would not personally be able to reject any of the themes being attributes of a civilization. But, I would wonder if maybe you don't have a set of attributes that is finite but has some size to it and any particular civilization would be some subset of these predicate characteristics. It may be religion, it may emphasize economics, or it may merely emphasize division of labor, specialization or something like this.

In the variety of the world, there are rules of formation of aggregates. Aggregates form hierarchies. That is, the variety of the world includes aggregates on many different scales. And so, the question we ask is, however you solve your most logical problems, which is a problem you have because you are a pre-science?

All sciences begin naming and classifying and counting ... You're in taxonomy as we were in biology a hundred years ago. All we could do is count the species. Now we have some theory. Nowhere near what physics has. You lack theory and so your definitional discussions will be endless until you reduce them and compact them with concept. So that is how you get a paradigm that you are comfortable with and don't feel as imposed on you. It's your own.

Now I come here as an outsider. I hope this morning to speak both as a biologist, as I think modern biology has something to add to your discussion, and then representing Iberall's view of physics. So, I would say then that from the physicist's view, it doesn't matter what you name your aggregates, but rather that you admit the variety of sizes and forms of human aggregates. At some level, you are willing to call them "civilizations". But the larger question is when you have a set of aggregates. Let's just take the little hunters and gatherers in tribes. When do they become a larger aggregate regardless of what you call it? One of the conditions that make a larger aggregate form you may still call "pre-civilization"; then later, yet a different and more complex factor (you may call "civilization") ... And so, the question is, are there some simple principles of hierarchal aggregation formation? And I'm here to say the answer is yes.

Edwards: It seems to me that we have something of a dichotomy here. Most of those here and elsewhere who define civilization have done so by emphasizing one or a few attributes of culture. It seems to me that Dr. Iberall and I are on the other side of the fence, in saying that it's simply a matter of relative complexity.

Melko: David ... you are the only participant to hasn't had a chance to comment.

Richardson: I like to tell my students that a civilization is larger than a country and smaller than a world, and that makes immediate sense to them. They see what I'm getting at. Toynbee insists that there's a fairly large area consisting of several states. I think a civilization is composed of two or more states that are relatively autonomous from each other, and I think the typical civilization has two or more languages.

Melko: I'm really surprised at that answer because you haven't said anything about worldview.

Richardson: I believe that a civilization can come into existence before the worldview emerges. I think that before people become sophisticated in their theoretical thought of artistic work, it is possible for some dictatorial person or group to force societies together into an approximation to civilization. (Or perhaps not a dictator but a very creative leader who brings these member states together.)

Gordon Hewes once said at one of our meetings that “civilization is what children learn,” meaning by that they have (a more or less organized) education. And so, I think it’s possible to have an approximation to a civilization before having universal education. What I especially illustrate (the idea) with is the creation of (the beginning of a) system of education by Charlemagne about 800 A.D. At that time, Western Civilization (was taking) form; yet I don’t think that the civilizational *Weltanschauung* and the world of beauty emerged until approximately 1000 A.D.

I think, rather, that ... members of a civilization, whether (they are) artists, or people of jurisprudence, politicians, philosophers, (or) theologians, somehow ... more or less unconsciously latch onto a handful of key (images, key) attitudes, key biases, (and) key ideas. (Thus,) this world view is underground (at first). It doesn’t yet emerge in the architecture or in the worlds of the civilization.

I think that if, finally, enough people, enough of a creative minority, unconsciously share these attitudes, ideas and biases, (then) all of a sudden you have an explosion of a culture, (for example) the cultural explosion of approximately the year 1000.

Melko: Obviously, this subject would take up the whole two hours very easily. What I would like to do in the next forty minutes is give the participants themselves a chance to raise the questions that they think are of major importance. So, I will allow the participants now a chance to get to their agendas and to be sure that Gene gets a chance to give us a little more on his view of what physics and biology may have to offer to these civilizational studies.

Yates: I come here from a science. That is, I’m a biologist, not yet mature itself in that we do not have much theory. I do not have any condescension toward the difficulties that face you. Let me suggest first what biology can bring to your field ... What is social physics?

How do you give decisions for that notion? What could it be and why would you care about biology? You notice that things spread, ideas spread, tool use spreads, and you want to know is there a diffusion of ideas? Let’s not even use the technical word diffusion. Is there a spread of ideas or a spread of people behind the spread? Which is fundamental? Did the idea go marching through?

Obviously, people are behind that spread but did the bodies have to move or do ideas have a velocity and a habit of spreading according to their own rules? Now, how would you know whether this fundamental process was a spread of ideas or endemic diffusion? They are not usually exclusive, and both must be going on.

Now what you want to know is, which one was dominant? Now what you people have to work with is archaeological evidence. You work in a science in which most of your evidence is permanently lost. There will be no doubt more discoveries, but for you to sit around and wait for the next dig to be developed to answer your theories will put you well into your grave before you ever have enough, so you fill it in with talk as you must, you do what you can do.

Well, one thing you can do is not neglect discoveries in other branches of science that are not archaeological. For example: an article in Science really demonstrates this. There is one storage form of information that is relatively permanent that has not been destroyed that answers your question. That is the human genome. So, if you explore where human genes have gone, and these are now definable, you can answer the question whether the bodies moved, or the ideas moved and at what rate.

How do you do it? Well, you do it as it was done here in this article on “Synthetic Maps of Human Gene Frequencies in Europeans.” This asks the question you’ve all asked: where does it start and how did it spread across Europe and the United States? This is Menozzi, Piazza, Cavalli-Sforza. It’s a magnificent article in Science, September 1978, Vol 201, p. 786. What has been done by taking advantage of the best computer graphics to do it is mapping the known human beings that are mappable across the populations of Europe.

Remember this, that the human genome stores its history. That’s what biology is about, we are historical machines. And so, since you need history and you can’t get it at a high enough rate by digging it up, although I think you are doing wonderfully well with that, look to the human gene for a history of what moved where We couldn’t have done this work, we biologists, ten years ago. It’s only just now that can give you maps, too, and they will look like your maps. That could be a map of farming practices or something else. You will recognize the maps; then, what you have to ask is, how do you relate where the bodies have gone with what digs tell you about where the languages went and where the tools went and so forth.

So out of biology comes a new way of mapping the diffusion of characteristics which you are curious about. I might say what it says is it’s endemic diffusion, and not a cultural diffusion (that) is primary.

Well, that’s enough. It’s just to say that there’s a very mature line of evidence, other than archaeological, that addresses some of the very questions that you asked and gives an answer. It says endemic diffusion is dominant over cultural diffusion. But from the physics viewpoint, I could have told you in advance what you already know. There is going to be a diffusion. And the question, when does a diffusive process produce an aggregate?

Hord: How detailed is this stored gene information specifically from one example? There was for some time a large-scale argument over the idea of the arrival of the idea of the stirrup, the saddle stirrup in Europe. It is not usually conceded that this was brought in by the Huns. Now the Huns were a genetic movement. Is this traceable from the genome?

Yates: Yes, it is. That's part of what's going on in that. You don't trace one gene. You trace genes themselves in aggregates. That helps define the habitats naturally. And so, you must invent a hierarchy of genetic study to do this. It's a highly technical effort, but well explained, and I am convinced will probably energize your field as you become more and more aware of it, so I call your attention to that as a biologist.

Edwards: I would agree that the dispersal of genes or spread of genes is certainly perhaps the best method of checking diffusion versus population spread. But, unfortunately, I think there are more complications than you just indicated. I haven't seen this article in *Science* from six months ago. But, in any case, a little over twenty-five years ago, many anthropologists, physical anthropologists, were very enthusiastic about the feeling that they had finally found the secret to unlocking human distributional patterns from the past in checking for one type of gene, blood type.

As we have quite a few different blood type series now known and were becoming rapidly known at this time in the early fifties. Well, people like Boyd and Verant were in the forefront in developing this. Unfortunately, there are many complications, and these studies, although not useless, the results to be derived from them are very doubtful.

Yates: Well, that's one gene. That's not the way to do it.

Edwards: Not one gene, this was working with thirty different sets of genes. And it was thought that this would be useful because these were supposedly ...

Yates: You haven't told me why it isn't useful.

Edwards: That's what I'm about to say. It was thought that these were non-adaptive genes, but subsequent studies have shown that this is not the case and we do not know exactly why in most cases but most of these genes do show differential survival of patterns and it apparently varies according to various elements in the environment. For example, in response to your question, John, the answer is that, unless there are some new genes that show, the answer is no, that for one thing, the Huns have never left any archaeological evidence that I'm aware of. And genetically, the Huns surely came in with a very large concentration of a blood type and yet we do not find any indication of this in the central part of East Europe.

Yates: I really have missed your point entirely. If you are going to suggest there is no information in the current distribution of human genes, you are just wrong. There's a great deal.

Edwards: No, that isn't what I said. I said, on the contrary, this probably the best single check against the archaeological evidence itself. But it must be approached with caution.

Hord: One thing, you just contradicted him directly on one point and I think you resolve it first. You said that the Huns left no genetic inheritance. Specifically, the blood type.

Edwards: No, I did not say they did not leave any genetic evidence. I said that at least as of not many years ago, there is no clear evidence of this. Doubtless, they left some genetic traces.

Yates: Yes, they did. What you find is three areas that were the center of diffusion on the map. Now what is your job is to take the genetic maps and overlay them to the archaeological maps and say who were the people. That is, it's your job to put the names on the genes, because, after all, who were the Huns? They were Scythians who were on horseback 3000 years ago? I don't know

Melko: Do you want to comment on this, David?

Richardson: The Huns conveyed a tremendous cultural influence. I'm putting an awful lot of dependence in my study of the Faustian Culture on a narrow foundation here. Wilhelm Worringer is a great historian of art, and he and one or two others have asserted that the Huns invading Europe came with tens of thousands of artifacts – ornaments with an interlacing strap work. This interlacing strap work – deeply symbolic – is extremely important in the Irish Book of Kells and in Europe from 1400 A.D. onward. This small design from Asia, brought by the Huns, conveyed to a most receptive Europe the Chinese and Indian sense of dynamic energetic flux in all things. I've traced the Europeanization of the Huns' decorative designs with the help of a geographer, to wherever this very dynamic linear design existed (particularly in Northern Europe). It probably had an enormous impact on the Faustian world view that emerged in ideologies and art works after the year 1000, for example, the Gothic cathedral. Whatever light the studies of genetic track of the Huns in the Eastern and Central areas can shed on their locations may be quite important in Euro-Asian cross-cultural studies.

Melko: How about you, Imogen? Are there any concerns you want to raise?

Seeger Coulborn: I am going to start something very different. Why do some people see the origin of civilization mainly in religions or cultural terms and others in political terms or economic terms? Why do they start with one or the other? Is that individual accident or biographical accident or does it have to do with personal character or is there something more scientific than that?

Richardson: Imogen, in my case, there wasn't anybody else working on civilizational worldview, so I asked myself, why don't I work on it?

Wilkinson: I don't think there's anything more elevated than in the biography of the investigator. I really couldn't explain why it is that Quigley's way of organizing things seemed to be on the way I perceive things, but it did, and more so than Spengler's; not more so than Toynbee's, but Quigley's logic seemed cleaner than Toynbee's.

Melko: At least shorter.

Seeger Coulborn: If that is so, we have not much hope of agreeing.

Wilkinson: It's unlikely that we will agree upon a single paradigm. On the other hand, some of the findings that those on one paradigm produce will probably be ... much more related to evidence than others. At least in part many of the particular propositions that Spengler advances, for instance, concerning the transitions from folk society to noble society seem to me to be entirely understandable and acceptable as hypotheses and capable of being checked by someone who simply can't feel that a civilization has a geist or who can't participate in it anyway.

---#---

COMMENTS: David Richardson, roughly the Winter of 1980

For a moment, I will amend Melko's question: "What are the necessary conditions for a civilization to exist?" to "What are the necessary conditions for a complete civilization to exist?" Then, part of the answer is going to be "the presence of a viable civilizational world view in the educated people."

We are probably talking about approximations to a higher civilization in all its ideal completeness. But I don't want to be too subtle or precious. I think that a civilization can exist, even if it has no civilizational world view but the civilizations that we are familiar with probably all had world views during most of their existence. So, evidently, it is a necessity for a higher civilization to have a world view, without which it would be a pre-civilization.

One Word Synonyms for “The Comparative Study of Civilizations”

Roger Wescott

January 9, 1972

One of the topics discussed at the 1971 A.A.A.S. planning and organization session on “Crucial Transitions in Civilization” was that of the suitability of various shorter synonyms of the phrase “comparative study of civilizations.” None of the three synonyms proposed on December 29 seemed to command wide acquiescence. Yet the fact remains that, in purely terminological competition with such familiar expressions as “history” and “sociology” or even “historiography” and “sociometrics,” the expression “comparative study of civilizations” seems unwieldy and unlikely to gain colloquial currency in academic circles.

There are various ways to abridge four- or five-word phrases. One is by ellipsis, as in the case of the two-word phrase “comparative civilizations.” And another is by syllabic acronymy, as in the case of the student compound “Comp. Civ.” (analogous, except perhaps for its stress pattern, to the Orwellian compound “Ingsoc” or the Birchite compound “Comsymp”). But neither of these recourses seems likely to prove as attractive to academicians as such one-word disciplinary names as “anthropology” or “philosophy.”

In this brief excursus, therefore, I shall confine myself to single-word terms, constructed from familiar Classical bases by a process of affixation. The bases considered will be the following seven:

1. Latin cī(vi) – “town,” from the Proto-Indo-European root *kei-, “to settle”, as in Hittite keta, Sanskrit çete, and Greek keítai, “is lying down.” From this root, English derives, directly through Anglo-Saxon, the noun home; through Latin, the adjective civil; through French, the noun city; and through Greek, the noun cemetery.
2. Greek hīstor(i)-, “investigation,” from the Proto-Indo-European stem *(h)ueid-, “to see,” as in Sanskrit vēda, “knowledge,” Greek oīda, “I have seen,” and Latin video, “I see.” From this stem, English derives, directly through Anglo-Saxon, the adjective wise; through Greek, the noun history; and through Latin, the noun vision.
3. Greek pol(i)-, “fortress,” from the Proto-Indo-European stem *pelē-, “to fill,” as in Sanskrit pūr, “city” (whence the contemporary place-name Singa-pore), Greek pímplēmi, “I fill,” and Lithuanian pilīs, “castle.”¹ From this stem, English derives, directly through Anglo-Saxon, the noun folk; through Greek, the noun politics; and through Latin, the adjective com-plete.

4. Greek dēm(o)-, “people,” from the Proto-Indo-European stem *dāi-, “to divide,”² as in Hittite damais, “foreigner,” Sanskrit dānam, “division,” and Old Irish dām, “retinue.” From this stem, English derives, directly through Anglo-Saxon, the noun tide; and through Greek, the noun demography.
5. Greek ast-, “town,” from the Proto-Indo European root *ues-, “to dwell,” as in Sanskrit vastu, “settlement,” Greek ástu, “city,” and Tocharian wast, “house.” From this root, English derives, directly through Anglo-Saxon, the verb preterit was, (originally meaning “did locate in”).
6. Greek hēmer(o)-, “domestic,” from the Proto-Indo-European stem *hiēm-, “to control,” as in Sanskrit yámati, “reins (his horse)” and Greek hēmeros, “tame.” From this stem English may derive, directly through Anglo-Saxon, the adjective even.
7. Greek ask(ē)-, “training,” from an unknown (and perhaps non-Indo-European) source. From this base English derives, through Greek, the adjective ascetic.

These seven bases can be combined with a number of prefixes, medial suffixes, and terminal suffixes to produce technical terms. The prefixes are:

1. Latin multi-, “many” (as in English multiply)
2. Latin super-, “elevated” (as in English supercharge)
3. Greek macro-, “great” (as in English macrocosm)
4. Greek poly-, “much” (as in English polymath)

The medial suffixes are technically known as formatives. Though lacking in denotative meaning of their own, they serve the grammatical function of connecting the bases with the terminal suffixes. Of the medial suffixes that may be attached to the seven bases named above, only one is Latin in origin -- namely -il-, as in the English noun servility vis-à-vis the English verb serve.

The other five medial suffixes are Greek in origin. They are:

1. -i-, as in English semasiology
2. -y-, as in English ichthyology
3. -ic-, as in English basically
4. -it-, as in English politics
5. -ot-, as in English neurotic

The terminal suffixes, however, do have denotative meaning. Of the seven that can be appended to the above-mentioned bases, only one is a Greco-Latin hybrid – namely, -ization, “process” or “condition,” as in English, organization. The others are of exclusively Greek derivation, as follows:

1. -ics, “the study of,” as in English mathematics
2. -istics, (idem), as in English statistics
3. -logy, (idem), as in English mineralogy
4. -ology, (idem), as in English psychology
5. -onomy, “formulation of the laws of,” as in English astronomy
6. -osophy, “attainment of wisdom concerning,” as in English theosophy

Combining the preceding bases and affixes in various ways, we find the following feasible one-word terms for “the comparative study of civilizations”:

1. multi-civics
2. civics³ (from Latin civis, “citizen”)
3. civistics
4. civilistics
5. civiology
6. civilology
7. civilization
8. civilizations
9. civilizationistics
10. civilizationology
11. super-history
12. macro-history
13. polyhistory
14. historiology
15. historionomy
16. historiosophy
17. macro-politics
18. polilogy
19. poliology
20. politology (from Greek polītēs, “citizen”)
21. demology
22. demotology (from Greek dēmótēs, “city”)
23. demosophy
24. astology (from Greek astós, “citizen”)
25. astyology
26. astiology (from Greek asteîos, “urbane”)
27. asticology (from Greek astikós, “urban”)
28. hemerics
29. hemerotics (from Greek hēmeróō, “I domesticate”)
30. ascics
31. ascetics (from Greek áscēsis, “cultivation”)

Of the preceding thirty-one terms, only three have thus far been explicitly recommended by members of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations. These three are:

1. civilizationology
2. macro-history⁵
3. historiology⁶

In addition, one other term has been casually used by several members with the same meaning. It is:

4. civilizations

Besides this, a well-known philosopher has employed another of these terms. It is:

5. Super-history⁷

Of these thirty-one terms, my own preferences are, in order:

1. historiology
2. historionomy
3. historiosophy
4. polyhistory
5. macro-history
6. civilogy
7. civistics

But only feedback from other European and American members of the ISCSC can produce a consensus on this question.

Footnoted References

¹Although the pre-Greek meaning of Greek *pólis* may have been “a place filled with people,” it is more likely that it meant “a structure filled with building materials (such as earth, stone, or wood).”

²The earliest reconstructable meaning of Proto-Indo-European **dāmo-* is “ethnic division,” where the division may have been either that between noblemen and commoners or that between fellow-tribesmen and aliens.

³It might be argued that the term “civics” has been preempted by secondary-school teachers to designate “courses in citizenship.” But this does not obviate more technical usages. The term “graphology,” for example, is popularly used to mean character-reading by means of hand-writing analysis – a procedure which, as practiced, is often on a par with palmistry. Yet it is also used by philologists and paleographers to designate the study of the history and structure of writing-systems.

⁴Proposed by Prof. Othmar F. Anderle, President of the ISCSC, in his letter of December 7, 1971, to the writer.

⁵Proposed by Prof. Carroll Quigley of Georgetown University in his article “Assumption and Inference Concerning Human Origins,” Current Anthropology, Chicago, Illinois, October, 1971.

⁶Proposed by the writer in his article “The Enumeration of Civilizations,” History and Theory, Middletown, Connecticut, Vol. 1, No. 9, 1970.

⁷Proposed (though perhaps with exclusively ironic intent) by Prof. Walter Kaufmann of Princeton University in his article “Toynbee and Super-History,” The Partisan Review, Fall, 1955.

Book Reviews

**Eric Ashley Hairston, *The Ebony Column: Classics, Civilization and The African American Reclamation of the West.*
Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2013.**

Reviewed by John Berteaux

In today's world, one has to defend any university course that does not instantly lead to a specific career or occupation. In a recent *New York Review of Books* article, author Marilynne Robinson states, "There is a great deal of questioning now of the value of the humanities, those aptly named disciplines that make us consider what human beings have been, and are, and will be" (Robinson 28). Robinson's article makes plain why I often find myself defending my chosen discipline – Philosophy. After all, a university education is expensive and, moreover, once the student leaves the university, food, clothing, and a place to live don't come cheap; one has to make a living. Hence, students, administrators, and parents ask: "Philosophy? What can you do with that?" If questions about the usefulness of the humanities are apropos, then Professor of English, Law, and Humanities Eric Ashley Hairston asks a far more compelling question in his book, *The Ebony Column*. Given that we live in a society in which race matters socially, politically, and economically, Hairston asks us to consider the value or usefulness of a classical education for today's black American student.

In defending my chosen discipline, generally, I turn to philosopher Bertrand Russell (1872-1970) for support. The essence of Hairston's argument, however, intimates that I could just as easily have turned to African American sociologist, historian, and civil rights leader W. E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963). In *The Value of Philosophy*, Bertrand Russell, a contemporary of Du Bois, considers what it is that makes philosophical questions unique and worth taking the time and effort to think about. Russell writes, "The 'practical' man . . . is one who recognizes only material needs, who realizes that men must have food for the body, but is oblivious of the necessity of providing food for the mind" (Russell 154). He insists what makes philosophy special is that it aims at a kind of knowledge that "gives unity and system to the body of the sciences, and the kind which results from a critical examination of the grounds of our convictions, prejudices, and beliefs" (Russell 154).

In fact, Eric Hairston (159) insists that W. E. B. Du Bois's "analysis of the opportunities, dangers, and challenges African Americans face clearly pits the pursuit of the good life and its meaning, wisdom, and culture – the virtuous life – against the barbaric pursuit of wealth, power, and possessions." For example, he reports that Du Bois draws on the classical myth of Hippomenes to demonstrate that virtue and liberty can be destroyed by materialism. One version of this story is that Hippomenes fell in love with Atalanta. Atalanta did not want to marry.

As a result, she set up a test. She was known to be a very fast runner. She conceded to marry anyone who could beat her in a foot race with the caveat being that anyone who tried to beat her and lost would be punished by death. Atalanta raced all her suitors save one: Hippomenes. In the end, she agreed to race Hippomenes. He defeated her by placing three golden apples in her path. When Atalanta stopped to pick up the apples, Hippomenes passed her and won the race and her hand. Hippomenes's desire to possess Atalanta unfortunately led to their doom.

While Bertrand Russell claims the utility of philosophy is found in its indirect effects on the lives of those who study it, similarly, W.E. B. Du Bois saw the classics as an antidote to vulgar materialism. In sum, then, both Russell and Du Bois were concerned that we integrate or balance our practical and intellectual pursuits. They were critical of applying a wholly practical or economic meaning to the term "useful" (Hairston 160; Russell 153).

Hairston observes that "an actual examination of Du Bois's education reveals remarkable depth and a significant investment in classical texts and subjects" (Hairston 167). Yet, he complains, treatments of Du Bois's work rarely mention his classicism or pays only superficial attention to his classical education (Hairston 159, 160). According to Hairston (160),

Despite Du Bois's overt use of classics in *The Souls of Black Folk*, especially in his core educational philosophy, few scholars have pondered the implications of the preeminent African American scholar of the twentieth century having envisioned African American education as a classical education. None have adequately addressed what lessons, virtues, strategies, or tools Du Bois intended for an education grounded in the classics to provide African Americans. The absence of the classics from scholarly discussions of Du Bois is hardly to be believed, given the sheer volume of commentary on Du Bois.

In addition to W.E. B. Du Bois, Eric Hairston draws on the compositions of classicist and ex-slave Phillis Wheatley (c. 1753-1784); classicist, ex-slave, and abolitionist Fredrick Douglass (c. 1818-1895); and classicist, educator, sociologist, and black activist Anna Julia Cooper (1858-1964). Hairston posits that these scholars came to redefine the classics, using the field to give unity to a body of work that resulted in a critical examination of 19th century racism. One implication of the recognition of their commitment to the classics is that it raises the following question. What if "old white men ideas" really are ideas that were developed by women and people of color?

The upshot of all this is that, on the one hand, Eric Hairston suggests the classics contain a wealth of “moral and intellectual lessons . . . relatively objective and practically race-neutral” (Hairston 157). Yet, at the same time, his treatment of these scholars reclaims the Western Civilization story for African Americans as part of their heritage (Hairston xv). They remind us that “many Africans had been part of the classical world and part of the Roman Empire . . . classical sources like Herodotus and Tacitus [suggest] African Americans had proof of both black historical presence and historical context” (Hairston 16). In a world in which Western Civilization courses have all but disappeared, Hairston himself writes, “I endeavor to provide a partial correction of the multigenerational and multiracial failure to chronicle the journey of African Americans in the West and within the experience of Western Civilization” (Hairston xv).

Hairston’s point is that the classical education received by Wheatley, Douglas, Cooper, and Du Bois demonstrates that the classics have always been central to the African American intellectual tradition. By allowing these scholars to reject the stereotypical characterization of intellectual deficiency foisted on blacks, the classics: 1) offered a unique reading of race and gender; 2) posed a transforming set of ideals that shaped African American culture and freed blacks from the narrow confines of a Christian morality, replacing it with a humanistic theology, a theology that is evident in the work of Douglas, Cooper, and Du Bois; 3) allowed for a critical examination of the ideologies upon which American society was based. Ultimately, Hairston’s goal is to demonstrate that it is not what the ancients said but what African American classicists did with what they said that matters.

Hairston’s argument is both compelling and clear. The case he makes is important in a world in which “those disciplines that make us consider what human beings have been, and are, and will be” are facing extinction (Robinson 28). While these black scholars explode the Thomas Jefferson myth of blacks as subhuman, inferior, and intellectually deficient Hairston essentially claims that they did much more. Their use of the classics was liberating in that it indicated black Americans could do more than mimic and put on a show. They could sublimate cultural interpretations of “useful” and integrate intellectual and cultural pursuits. That they illustrated the classics could serve as a basis for a critical examination of society; you would think the field might offer tools for challenging contemporary racism.

Endnotes

Robinson, Marilynne. “What Are We Doing Here?” *The New York Review of Books*, vol. LXIV, no. 17, Nov. 2017, p. 28,35 & 36.

Russell, Bertrand. *The Problems of Philosophy*. Oxford University Press, 1959.

**Robert Harris, *Munich*. Knopf Doubleday, 2018.
Martin Cruz Smith, *December 6*. Simon & Schuster 2003**

Reviewed by Laina Farhat-Holzman

Two Books Explore “What Ifs” in History

The extraordinary closeness of our 2016 presidential election is getting plenty of attention. Very few political analysts at the time predicted that Hillary Clinton could lose the election. Even Donald Trump didn’t really believe that he would win, which was obvious in the choice of a modest venue for the election night party. Analysts are just beginning to explore the “what ifs” of this moment in history.

What if they overlooked the rising tide of people left jobless by the new technologies making old-style manufacturing or mining obsolete? What if they missed the misogyny that had gone underground and viral against an elite woman becoming president? Did they miss the racial animus of people resenting the “identity politics” that had become so popular among the better educated?

Although our intelligence agencies recognized clandestine Russian interference, they and outgoing President Obama were reluctant to interfere or seem to choose sides. The entire election campaign was a succession of shocks and surprises, words and actions that would have unseated any other candidate left Donald Trump untouched. He courted the disgruntled and won the grudging admiration of some otherwise cautious conservatives. The Russian interference did not create something new; it simply exploited and magnified our already poisonous differences. Historic novelists in the future will have a “what if” story to tell.

I am recommending one new book and one older one that take on “what ifs” in events that changed the world: both of them on the eve of World War II.

Munich by Robert Harris, is solid history, telling the story of the 1938 meeting between Britain’s Neville Chamberlain’s diplomats and Hitler and his men. Hitler was agitating to go to war with Czechoslovakia over their imaginary “mistreatment” of their German-speaking minority. Britain and France had agreed to protect the Czechs, but this would mean going to war with Germany. The post-World War I disarmament of the British and French was the result of war fatigue. Although they were the winners of that conflict, the death toll and expense left the public viscerally anti-war.

We have come to know Chamberlain as a cowardly figure, the great appeaser, who knuckled under to the bully, Hitler. But there may be another side to this.

At the three-day meeting with Hitler in Munich, Chamberlain thought he could talk to Hitler man to man. Hitler insisted that his demand to absorb the Czech Germans into Germany was no different than his absorption of Austria and that he had no further territorial designs. There would be peace, not war.

Chamberlain's appeasement might have been less motivated by cowardice (peace at any cost) than by the realization that Britain was not ready to defend itself. They were rearming, but needed more time. His decision was to sacrifice Czechoslovakia (which the British were not ready to die for) and draw the line at Poland, which was the trigger starting the war when the Nazis invaded.

The fictional part of this novel is the invention of two young diplomats, both translators, one English and the other German, former schoolmates at Oxford. The two reconnected at the conference and worked together in the hope of a different outcome. One comment in the book gave me pause. The German was explaining to his British friend why he had joined the Nazi party: "Everyone said (people like me) 'Oh, he's a terrible fellow, Hitler, but he's not necessarily all bad. Look at his achievements, aside from this awful medieval anti-Jew stuff: it will pass.'" This sounds creepily familiar. Even American evangelicals who supposedly care about decency have decided that his promised achievements would negate their disgust.

The other book, *December 6*, is by the wonderful Martin Cruz Smith, author of a series of detective novels about an honest Russian police detective, a loner in corrupt late and post-Communist Russia. This stand-alone book covers the day before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, a bad choice for the Japanese. The protagonist is a young American, a child of missionaries, who has made Japan his home. He runs a popular nightclub (think of Rick's Place in Casablanca) and sees what is coming. He spends the entire day of December 6 trying to head it off. What a big "what if" this is!

**Michael Gubser, *The Far Reaches: Phenomenology, Ethics, and Social Renewal in Central Europe*.
Stanford University Press, 2014**

Reviewed by Stephen T. Satkiewicz

With the on-going civilizational crisis that began with the 2008 financial collapse, it has become a matter of vital necessity to formulate new sets of paradigms that may shed critical light on the catastrophe we are facing. Civilizational crises have been the seedbeds for some of the greatest philosophical insights into the human condition. The great crisis of the twentieth century that culminated with the two world wars as well as the great depression (1914-1945) was no exception. The great cataclysmic shock of the world wars shook the world to its very core, and out of the ashes of old certainties

Michael Gubser, Associate Professor of History at James Madison University, has provided scholars with a little known but still important chapter in the philosophical history of the twentieth century with his work *The Far Reaches: Phenomenology, Ethics, and Social Renewal in Central Europe*. Phenomenology is too often considered primarily a philosophy of consciousness, yet its deep civilizational implications and dimensions have long been neglected in Western and especially Anglophone scholarship. Gubser's account insists that phenomenology is without question "one of the preeminent social and ethical philosophies of its age" (1).

Gubser provides some explanation as to why this might be the case. The predominance of Martin Heidegger and later Maurice Merleau-Ponty in Western phenomenology is one critical reason mentioned by Gubser. Neither thinker made social ethical concerns a major priority of philosophical concern. Heidegger's involvement with the Nazi movement is of course still a matter of debate among philosophers, yet even this debate rests more upon the presumption that such political involvement is either separate from his strictly philosophical concerns or are not explicitly propounded upon if they are connected. The main architect for phenomenology's use as a philosophy of civilizational renewal came from the work of Max Scheler. Although neglected once again by mainstream scholarship on phenomenology, Scheler's impact on this school of thought cannot be over-emphasized. Even Heidegger praised Scheler's work as "the strongest philosophical power" (80).

After the destruction of World War II, the main stronghold for the continuation of the social ethical legacy of phenomenology remained in Eastern Europe behind the Iron Curtain. In such a context, the struggle against totalitarianism remained a top priority for dissident intellectuals such as Jan Patočka, Karol Wojtyła (later Pope John Paul II), Václav Havel, as well as many others. There the threat of Soviet Communism raised critical issues concerning the proper nature of human personhood and community.

As a result of being cut off from the rest of Europe, dissident intellectuals had to address the nature and meaning of Europe as a civilization as well as its proper place in the postwar world. This meant a critical reengagement with Europe's Classical and Christian heritage, which would serve as the foundation for any potential civilizational rebirth.

To Karol Wojtyła, Europe's Christian heritage became the most important foundation for asserting the indestructible value of the human person. This provided the groundwork for his life-long struggle with first the Nazi and then later the Communist form of totalitarianism, which wrought havoc upon his native Poland throughout the 20th century. Wojtyła realized the horrors of totalitarianism could be matched by a vision of Europe and society governed by its 2000 years of Christian history. This religious-based insight became the essence of his work related to phenomenology. Although he was not the only phenomenologist to do so, he was perhaps the most famous example of one who attempted to synthesis phenomenological social ethics with Neo-Thomism. Karol Wojtyła was determined to avoid the pitfall of phenomenology turning into subjectivism, and saw Neo-Thomism as a more reliable foundation for a building a realist ontology to govern phenomenological inquiry. While acknowledging his debt to Scheler's work related to philosophical anthropology, Wojtyła sought a different path on how to proceed with such work. Upon being elected as Pope John Paul II in 1979, his work on Personalist social ethics built upon an overtly religious foundation would serve as an intellectual inspiration for the Solidarity movement of the 1980s which later helped bring about the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe.

The Czech philosopher Jan Patočka also addressed the spiritual catastrophe that had befallen the modern world. He openly lamented the permanent death of Europe as a result of the crisis of late modernity represented by the Second World War that would in time usher in a new "post-European" world. Yet in contemplating the possibilities for such a world, Patočka was at the same time determined to retrace the historical trajectory that had led Europe to its civilizational greatness and then later abyss. Its foundations lay with the adventurous spirit of the Ancient Greeks to boldly explore their world to its fullest extent. This adventurous spirit was sharp contrast to the bourgeois complacency of the modern West, which hypocritically asserted freedom as the highest ideal while slavishly obeying the dictates of impersonal technocratic bureaucracies.

Patočka proclaimed that modern Europe had successfully created the first "metacivilization" that encompassed the whole world. Yet this "metacivilization" was built on superficial technocratic foundations which not only undermine mankind's traditional cultural and religious identities. It was these same superficial foundations which lead not only Europe but the whole world to the abyss, unleashing the ideological forces of the French Revolution and later on the rise of totalitarian Fascism and Communism. This served to undermine the only fragile nature of this modern metacivilization.

With the fall of Communism in 1989 in Eastern Europe, the social phenomenological tradition fell into obscurity in the face of the more popular “End of History” style of triumphalism that was all the rage throughout the 1990s. Yet the legacy of the social ethical tradition of phenomenology continues into the present moment as the Western world continues to grapple with issues related to its very self-identity and the growing globalization of the world. The phenomenological insights into the civilizational crisis of the 20th century that began with the First World War are as relevant as ever to the on-going crisis a century later.

Patočka’s insights in particular on the world’s metacivilization demonstrate that any globalized order built purely on mere technocratic foundations cannot last since it fails to satisfy basic human needs for identity and roots. The recent resurgence of populist nationalisms across the world in reaction to globalization is a stern reminder of that reality. Europe is once again at the very heart of this contemporary struggle, with the European Union’s foundations being called into question by the resurgence of such nationalisms, as well as initiatives such as Brexit. The legacy of social phenomenology with its explicit aim of European renewal could be a valuable intellectual resource, calling upon European civilizational unity whilst also acknowledging the very historical foundations for such a unity. Any superficial and ahistorical foundations for European unity are bound to fail. Civilizations and cultures are historically-based realities that cannot be overridden and erased overnight. A civilization without a history is a civilization without a future.

Yet this acknowledgement for historical roots need not be interpreted as an endorsement for the emerging populist nationalism either. The specter of the Nazi brand of extreme nationalism came under severe rebuke from social phenomenologists as well, especially in the case of Dietrich von Hildebrand and Edith Stein (who died in a concentration camp). To them, nationalism was but another manifestation of the impersonal collectivism behind modern totalitarianism, the same force that gave birth to Soviet Communism. In a similar vein, the current dichotomy between globalization and populist neo-nationalism represents the latest manifestation of the clash between different extremes of late modernity that had inspired phenomenology’s social analysis in the first place. In this contemporary context, perhaps this tradition may provide a foundation for a thorough social analysis that goes beyond the narrow confines of the now discredited “End of History” school of thought. Possible insights could grapple with the issue of how to properly integrate historically rooted identities within a global metacivilization that is not built on mere technocratic foundations. The global metacivilization maybe no longer be Euro-centric, but that need not mean Europe has no proper place within it either.

**W. Julian Korab-Karpowicz, *Tractatus Politico-Philosophicus: New Directions for the Future Development of Humankind.*
New York and London: Routledge, 2017**

Reviewed by Stephanie Spoto

This recent publication of W. Julian Korab-Karpowicz's *Traktat polityczno-filozoficzny* (2015) from the Polish is one of the most recent titles in the Routledge Focus Collection on Politics Series which aims at a quick turn around – they advertise three months – from submission to publication. Other recent titles in this series are concerned with the rise of the far right in America, and the increasing trend of populism in South East Asia, among other timely topics. Indeed, this series's quick turn around on publication allows for literature to be available on current events and topical themes while they are still a part of emerging public conversations. However, while this permits the circulation of work relevant to contemporary issues, it leaves submitted manuscripts vulnerable to oversights.

Tractatus Politico-Philosophicus aims to promote a view of the good society, through a survey of values, governance, and evolution, with a stated end goal of progress towards individual ethical perfection. Beyond the individual's moral evolution, this volume discusses the individual's relationship to national culture by articulating ethics as a necessary part of social and political thought, and attempts to create a theory of international cooperation across national boundaries.

The book's structure has been modeled on Wittgenstein's *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (1921), in that both are composed of numbered presuppositions and claims with little or no explanation or argument to support those claims. Outside of the book's form and the similar titles, there is no connection to Wittgenstein's philosophy. Korab-Karpowicz's unqualified claim that Wittgenstein was a positivist – a position the author works to reject – suggests that he has not engaged with much of Wittgenstein's other work, since Wittgenstein's first publication, *Tractatus*, is perhaps his only major text which could be categorized as logical positivism.

Though the majority of the book appears in this layout, the introduction presents a more familiar prose form, which allows for a more nuanced discussion of themes than the number supposition form of the body. It is here that the philosophical foundations of Korab-Karpowicz's thought suggest a need for revision or, at least, clarification. For example, a primary concern in this volume emerges as a desire to dismiss postmodernism so that he can make claims of objectivity about values. This is explained: if multiple people have a subjective experience in relationship to values, and those experiences align, then this proves its objective truth.

The problem with this claim is that it equates inter-subjectivity with objectivity; even in the case of a universally subjective truth, we should not claim that this is tantamount to objectivity without much more sensitive attention to the problems with this argument.

He then strangely uses this position to argue that since no human has had contact with alien intelligent life, and that no human is likely to, that therefore not only does intelligent alien life not exist, but no alien life exists – an *argumentum ad ignorantiam*. While it is unclear why this train of thought regarding alien life is relevant to his argument, the position of a possible set of universal values that can be objectively known becomes important when he wants to argue that all humankind shares the common heritage of classical values, which Korab-Karpowicz relates to Christian values. He does not support this claim with any argument or evidence.

Once in the body of the volume, the lack of flexibility of form means that many assertions lack ample context and argument. In some instances, this leads to a lack of clarity and nuance that leaves some of his claims confusing. For example, in the chapter “Freedom,” Korab-Karpowicz argues against infringements on freedom of speech, except in cases where that speech is “vulgar” or “offensive.” There is no conversation about who might be curtailing these freedoms (government, media, corporations with broad platforms?), and there are no examples of what constitutes “offensive” speech.

In the very next supposition, he inserts a note against “political correctness,” describing it is an ideology which asserts that some opinions are correct and some opinions are incorrect. Political correctness is propagated by various interest and pressure groups, constituting a denial of freedom. Again, it is unclear why “political correctness” is included at this point. Is he using this as an example of a kind of claim against offensive speech, but a claim that should be ignored? Or is he using “political correctness” as an example of infringement on freedom of speech? Since even some of the most unsympathetic and most common accounts of “political correctness” describe it in terms of being offended at someone’s expressed opinion, he could have included it as part of the former. However, the odd and unexplained allusion to pressure groups might put it in the latter. The reader is left uncertain.

This patchwork of unargued proclamations is a series of claims supporting nationalism, social exclusion, homophobia, and Islamophobia. The reader gleans more later on about what he means by pressure groups, and the example given is that of LGBTQ organizing, which he calls the “lobby of perverted sex.” He repeatedly asserts that people should not be treated as means, and yet also claims that human sexuality should be used to preserve existing institutions, which by his own later definition, would actually equal enslavement. He also claims that multiculturalism has failed, and that societies which embrace a diversity of values, communities, and perspectives are doomed to collapse.

He argues for a *nativeculturalism* which dominates over other cultures, and which is based on classical Greek culture, which – according to him – was the Golden Age of democracy. While one might respond that citizenship, voting rights, land ownership, etc. were denied to most humans living in these famous city-states, it's clear that Korab-Karpowicz isn't concerned with these people. Seeing Athenian "democracy" from the perspective of slaves, foot soldiers, women, or immigrants does not interest him, and perhaps he would see this critical intervention as mere Marxist postmodernism. He claims LGBTQ people threaten civil values, though he never once submits any evidence or argument to support this claim, and when he does outline these civic virtues they include things like courage, honesty, and respect for the law, but the most important civil virtue according to him is "love of the homeland."

What emerges from these pages is a tired, and simultaneously bizarre, traditionalist and nationalist manifesto, full of unsubstantiated homophobic and xenophobic claims and full of self-citation. Curious about the vague yet positive reviews on the back of this book (Did they even read the same book I did?), I decided to look up some of the so-called reviewers and see what kind of work they themselves produced. One Professor William Auden, listed as from Western Connecticut State University, claims that the "thoughtful book is a guide for anyone inquiring about positive world change." There was no mention of any Professor Auden on the university's website, and a few informal inquiries to various faculty there confirmed that there is no one by that name at the university, nor has there ever been. This is a mystery, to be sure, and one that is almost as baffling as why this book was published in the first place.

**Raghav Sharma, *Nation, Ethnicity and the Conflict in Afghanistan: Political Islam and the Rise of Ethno-politics 1992-1996.*
London: Routledge, 2016**

Reviewed by David M. Traboulay

At the very beginning of this fine monograph Raghav Sharma posed his argument that the political history of Afghanistan had changed fundamentally arising from the conflicts during the period 1992 to 1996, when the *Mujahideen* gained power. New social groups challenged for inclusion in the new state. Of course, the seemingly endless war in Afghanistan and the twists and turns in the fortunes of the Taliban and the US and Western supporters of the government make for a pessimistic outcome of this sad situation. The resurgence of the Taliban and the expansion of the territory they control and the tough response by the current US president who has promised to send more troops to counter the Taliban have drowned out cries for a diplomatic solution to the conflict. However, a more moderate tone of the former secretary of state, Mr. Rex Tillerson, before his visit to South Asia, has given a small hope for diplomacy.

Raghav Sharma's monograph on new ways to understand the present political situation is important in giving the diplomatic actors fresh perspectives and hope. In arguing for the significance of ethnicity, he still advised that we must interrogate the "old, neat categorizations to make sense of ethnicity as a living social reality." After all, Afghanistan was a nation state in the making. First, a brief narrative of the context of the war is appropriate.

The long war has blinded all from knowing that Afghanistan had experienced a significant period of progressive social and political development under King Zahir Shah and by his cousin and Prime Minister, Daoud Khan, who served as his Prime Minister from 1953. Daoud Khan seized power when King Zahir Shah was visiting Italy in 1973. He introduced economic modernization, emancipation of women, and an Afghan nationalism built around the supremacy of the Pashtun ethnic group. In 1978 Daoud Khan and his family were assassinated and the socialist People's Democratic Party came to power. The party emphasized socialist reforms like the abolition of arranged marriages, mass literacy, and land reform, reforms that undermined the traditional tribal order. In 1979 President Nur Muhammad Taraki, leader of the PDPA, was assassinated, as was his successor, Hafizullah Amin. Three months later, the Soviet Union intervened to support Babrak Karmal, leader of another faction of the PDPA. In 1987 President Najibullah replaced Karmal and some stability was achieved.

To counter the Soviet intervention, the USA and its allies, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, decided to encourage, arm, and use the religiously oriented, Afghan *Mujahideen* leadership and forces to fight against the Soviet intervention. This alliance brought Arab Muslims including Bin Laden to join them. The Soviet Union withdrew its forces in 1989. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, President Najibullah resigned in 1992, bringing an end to the PDPA. The government in Kabul fell to *Mujahideen* factions, and civil war started.

In 1994 Mohammed Omar, a teacher at a Madrassah in Pakistan, returned to Kandahar and formed the Taliban. Angered by the policies of secularization and the liberal movement, he sought to reverse the trend towards the modernization of Afghanistan. In August 1996, Bin Laden arrived in Jalalabad. He had founded the Al Qaeda in the late 1980s to support the *Mujahideen* war against the Soviet Union. Both leaders used Afghanistan to train and indoctrinate their fighters. The US did not have a clear policy toward Afghanistan but supported Pakistan which, under President Zia, sent arms to the Taliban. This changed in 1998 after the bombings of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Bin Laden was indicted for his part in the bombings. US and the UN placed sanctions on both Bin Laden and the Taliban. Ahmed Shah Masood, a Tajik nationalist, and Dostum created a United Front, the Northern Alliance, against the Taliban. It included Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazaras, and Pashtuns. They pledged to work for an ethnically balanced Afghanistan under the exiled Muhammad Zahir Shah. They received support from Russia, Iran, Tajikistan, and India. The George W. Bush administration pledged support for the new alliance and Massoud, who called important leaders of the different ethnic groups to a *Jirga* to discuss their differences and resolve them. In early 2001 he and other leaders of the new alliance addressed European leaders, requesting humanitarian help in their struggle with the Taliban. On September 9, Ahmed Shah Masood was assassinated. The *Al Qaeda* attack on the US on September 11, 2001 was the direct origin of the long war in Afghanistan. Nineteen *Al Qaeda* men carried out four coordinated attacks on the US, causing some 3,000 deaths.

The US response, *Operation Enduring Freedom*, was launched on October 7, 2001. It was joined by forces from the United Kingdom and other countries. They drove the Taliban from power and built army bases. Bin Laden and his *Al Qaeda* retreated to the mountain regions and Pakistan. In December 2001, the UN created the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) to help the Afghan government keep security. Hamid Karzai was selected to head the Afghan Interim Administration and later elected President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in 2004.

As the Taliban insurgency regained its force, having embarked on a policy of guerrilla warfare in 2003, NATO assumed control of ISAF. A coalition of some forty-six countries under a US commander faced the Taliban. There were many tactical victories but the Taliban was not defeated. The longer the war continued, it was almost predictable that its image as a just war would change from that of fighting terrorism to an imperial war reminiscent of the British- Afghan wars in the late 19th and early 20th century. News broke in 2007 that US marines had killed 12 civilians and injured 33; Polish forces had fired machine guns into a wedding. Angered by these deaths of civilians and by airstrikes, foreign fighters joined the Taliban. The US response to the resurgence of the Taliban was called the surge. In 2008 the number of US troops increased by 80%, bringing the total to 48,200. In 2009 there was a further increase of 17,000 troops. Accompanying news about the surge was the fact that the funds for development and reconstruction would be reduced.

In November, 2009, Karzai made a plea for direct negotiations with the Taliban and made it clear that Obama had opposed him. When President Obama announced that the US would send 30,000 more troops, anti-war protests broke out. The year 2010 saw both an American – British offensive and Afghan peace initiatives. More troops were deployed and there was a six- fold increase in special force operations. More Taliban fighters were killed. General Petraeus commented: “We’ve got our teeth in the enemy’s jugular now and we are not going to let go.” In July 2010, the Wikileaks Organization made public 91,713 classified documents which showed the cover-up of civilian casualties caused by coalition forces, and Pakistan’s collusion with the Taliban.

On May 2, 2011 Osama Bin Laden was killed in a raid by the CIA and Navy Seals in Pakistan. On June 22 President Obama announced that 10,000 troops would be withdrawn by the end of 2011 and an additional 23,000 would return by the summer of 2012. NATO announced troop reductions as did Belgium, Norway, Spain and France. On May 2, 2012 President Obama and President Karzai signed a strategic partnership between the US and the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and agreed to transfer combat troop operations from NATO to Afghan forces by spring 2013. Bilateral agreements were concluded that combat operations would end in 2014, and that all US forces with the exception of a normal embassy presence would be removed by the end of 2016. On Dec. 16, 2016, US troops withdrew from Afghanistan leaving behind 8,400 troops.

Ethnicity in Afghanistan, 1992-1996

For Professor Raghav Sharma, the challenge was to understand terms like “nation” and “ethnicity” in the Afghan context. Like many developing nations, Afghanistan has struggled to make its multi-ethnic society a nation state. In the earlier narrative of its political history, the more modernist, progressive political parties have defined their state as more a secular republic; the more traditional preferred the title of Islamic. But ethnicity still played a major role historically in that the Pashtuns were favored by the monarchy. With the victory of the *Mujahideen* in 1992 and their rule from 1992 to 1996, Islamic identity became more “strident and aggressive.” Yet it was during this period that ethnicity became a “formidable political instrument of mass mobilization.” Earlier intervention by the Soviet Union and later by the USA and European allies intensified the sectarian, ethnic development to such an extent that a US diplomat, Robert Blackwell, argued before the Council on Foreign Relations that Afghanistan should be partitioned. Sharma admitted that ethnicity gradually became a more powerful force than Islam, but affirmed that “ethnicity’s ability to subdue the deeply shared adherence to Islam and shape the sense of legitimate Afghan nationhood testifies both to the dense historical entrenchment of social heterogeneity, as well as socio-political transformations engineered in recent years by conflict.”

What caused this development? The Soviet intervention of 1979 and the armed conflict that ensued undermined the old hierarchical social relationships. The withdrawal of the Soviets in 1989 and the overthrow of Najibullah’s government by the *Mujahideen* in 1992 led to a cycle of armed warfare between Islamic factions. The collapse of order and the ensuing violence “fostered a sense of discrimination and deprivations – perceived and real – determined by ethnic differences.”

Sharma presented early in his work the sources, both primary and secondary, that he used. This will be very helpful to scholars and students of the US war in Afghanistan. He mixed available primary and secondary sources with field research, interviews with individuals and focus group discussion sessions in the provinces of Kabul, Panjshir, Badakshan, Balkh, Jowzhas, and Bamian. (pp. 7-9) Explaining his emphasis on the necessity of the distinction between the concepts of ethnicity and nation, he said that his intent was to bring “certain conceptual interventions into conversation with primary source materials and field research so as to tease out what constitutes the idea of ethnicity and nation in ...Afghanistan’s still unsettled and unfolding encounter with modernity.” Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the relation between the ideals of the nationalizing state, its actual practice of favoring Pashtun ethnicity, and the consequent response by other ethnicities that the government in Kabul was an unfair nationalizing state.

There is an interesting section on the changing conceptions of the Afghan “nation.” The first constitution, promulgated by King Amanullah in 1923, affirmed the equality of all Afghans with equal rights and duties. It was the exemplar for later constitutions of Afghanistan. Sharma argued that it was the sense of the heroic struggle in the three Afghan wars against the British – 1839-1842, 1878-1880, and 1919- that inspired the first constitution. Following his European tour in 1928, King Amanullah proposed reforms in marriage laws, taxation, and other modern reforms, action that provoked anger among the tribal leaders who saw the reforms as a threat to their power and prestige. Article 4 of the 2004 Constitution declared: “National sovereignty in Afghanistan shall belong to the nation...the nation of Afghanistan shall be comprised of Pushtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Turkman, Baluch, Pachaie, Nuristani, Aymaq, Arab, Qirghiz, Qizilbash, Gujur, Brahwui, and other tribes. The word Afghan shall apply to every citizen of Afghanistan.” Almost all the many constitutions emphasized the social heterogeneity of Afghanistan. But, since its history was not shaped by European imperialism, it escaped colonial rule. “Its traditional Islamic faith remained strong and modern capitalism remained distant.”

Returning to the theme of the importance of ethno-political salience in the advanced industrial and the developing world, he argued that although it seemed to confirm the power of ethnicity in the making of a nation, the truth was that many multi-ethnic states have managed to function humanely. Taking the Tajiks as an example, he said that although the Tajiks were considered the dominant minority against the Pashtun majority, yet a unified identity of Tajiks has been weak. Indeed, the category of ‘ethnicity’ did not exist in Afghanistan history until 1937. Citing the scholar Anthony Smith, Sharma affirmed that the foremost attribute of a nation rests on the notion of common rights and duties. Sharma gave a thoughtful analysis of the relation between the notions of nation and ethnicity. Mere belief in a common ancestry did not necessarily translate into the fact of nationhood.

According to Sharma, the cycle of violence since 1978 has strengthened the idea of Afghan nationhood. Nearly six million refugees to Iran and Pakistan were confronted by an alien culture and environment. When asked about their identity, “most Afghans gave an answer referring to their Afghan origin, to the whole of Afghanistan, and rarely to a province, a tribe, an ethnic group, or town.” This feeling was not restricted to the refugee community. Describing an interview he had with an elderly villager from Bamian about his identity, the stranger replied: “I am an Afghan by nationality but I am Tajik by ethnicity. Within Afghanistan my Tajik identity is stronger, but outside the country my identity as an Afghan national is stronger.” For Sharma, the term ‘nation’ means citizenship with a common set of rights and duties within a constitutional framework, a clearly defined territory, and a “subjective sense-feeling of belonging to one nation with a belief in a shared past and common future.”

He warned that ethno-political conflict is not necessarily a battle unto death. If that were the case, he asked, how can one account for the support Ahmad Shah Masood's *Jamiat-i-Islami* party had among the Dari speaking Pashtuns? Or the support enjoyed by General Dostum's Uzbek *jumbish-i-Milli* among Turkmen and Arabs? He added in a footnote that during his research in Afghanistan Hindus and Sikhs who settled in Afghanistan for four generations were not only recognized as citizens of Afghanistan but were constantly referred to as "Afghan Hindus" and "Afghan Sikhs."

In conclusion, Raghav Sharma reiterated that the prolonged conflict has changed the dynamics of social and political relationships. He argued that the presidential elections of 2014 were significant in that they marked Afghanistan's first ever peaceful transition of power through elections and the socially heterogeneous composition of political alliances. He wrote with a sense of hope that "nation and ethnicity in discourse and as operational living realities did not negate ethnicity but seeks to transcend it beyond and above ethnicity." He dismissed the comments that the alliances were cynical and opportunistic and asked that we take note that leaders who had fought each other in the recent past were now attempting to work together within a common political framework. He emphasized the importance of the ethno-political key to open our eyes to the changed political-social climate and understand the present conflict and its challenges. There was a shift from the "cardinal pillars of tribe and Islam towards ethnicity." Looking back at the political stance of the Marxist Left tradition in Afghanistan, represented by the PDPA which split into two factions, *Khalq* and *Parcham*, of which the latter came to dominate the state from 1980 to 1992, he felt that tribe and Islam were "pillars of legitimacy," as were the *Mujahideen* when they were in power. Raghav Sharma has built a strong case for the socio-political importance of the changing role of ethnicity in understanding the long, violent conflict in Afghanistan. But will this new lens help all the leaders and people of Afghanistan, and external actors like the USA, put down their guns and return to their ploughshares and tables to hammer out a peaceful agreement? In praising the peaceful election of President Ashraf Ghani in 2014 and the National Assembly in 2010 as evidence not only of the value of the new socio-political role of ethnicity in establishing a democratizing tradition to resolve conflict, but he offered hope that the long war in Afghanistan that has cost so much blood, destruction, suffering, and death to the people of Afghanistan, the USA, and the many countries that sent their soldiers to fight in Afghanistan might be heading towards a diplomatic solution.

Raghav Sharma is a young scholar and Assistant Professor of South Asian Studies at the Jindal School of International Affairs, India. He received his Doctorate from the Willy Brandt School of Public Policy, University of Erfurt, Germany (2013); MA in International Relations from the Central European University, Budapest, Hungary (2008); BA (Hons) from St. Stephens College, University of Delhi (2004). He published a book, *Pakistan as a Nation State and Flag Bearer of Islam*, Verlag: Germany, 2009. He has also published several articles in edited volumes.

CCR Style Guide for Submitted Manuscripts

Begin the document with title, author's name, author's position (e.g. professor, lecturer, graduate student, independent scholar), author's academic department and affiliation, if any, and the article's abstract (maximum 200 words). Do not include page numbers, headers, or footers. These will be added by the editors. Do not utilize automatic formatting for indents, space following subheads and paragraphs, etc.

Write your article in English. Submit your manuscript, including tables, figures, appendices, etc., as a single Microsoft Word or PDF file. Page size should be 8.5 x 11 inches. All margins (left, right, top and bottom) should be 1-inch, including your tables and figures. Single space your text. Use a single column layout with both left and right margins justified. Main body text font: 12 pt. Times New Roman. If figures are included, use high-resolution figures, preferably encoded as encapsulated PostScript. Maximum length of article is 20 pages including endnotes, bibliography, etc.

Do not indent paragraphs. A line space should follow each paragraph. Subheads are in bold, flush left, separated by a line space above and below. Long quotations should be placed in a separate paragraph with a .5-inch hanging indent, no quotation marks, and preceded and followed by one-line spaces.

Except for common foreign words and phrases, the use of foreign words and phrases should be avoided. Authors should use proper, standard English grammar. Suggested guides include *The Elements of Style* by William Strunk, Jr. and E. B. White; and *The Chicago Manual of Style*, University of Chicago Press.

Underlining in the text is discouraged. Whenever possible use italics to indicate text that you wish to emphasize. Use italics for book titles, movie titles, etc and for foreign terms. Using colored text is prohibited. However, we encourage authors to take advantage of the ability to use color in the production of figures, maps, etc. To the extent possible, tables and figures should appear in the document near where they are referenced in the text. Large tables or figures should be put on pages by themselves. Avoid the use of overly small type in tables. In no case should tables or figures be in a separate document or file. All tables and figures must fit within 1-inch margins on all sides, in both portrait and landscape view.

Footnotes should appear at the bottom of the page on which they are referenced rather than at the end of the paper. Footnotes should be in 10 pt. Times New Roman, single spaced, and flush left, ragged right. There should be a footnote separator rule (line). Footnote numbers or symbols in the text must follow, rather than precede, punctuation. Excessively long footnotes are probably better handled in an appendix.

The subhead References (denoting Bibliography, Works Cited, etc.) should appear right after the end of the document, beginning on the last page if possible. They should be flush left, ragged right. Use the format with which you are most comfortable, such as APA (American Psychological Association), MLA (Modern Language Association), Chicago/Turabian.



ISCSC: 7960 Soquel Drive Suite B 394, Aptos, California 95003 USA

CALL FOR PAPERS/ABSTRACTS
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF
CIVILIZATIONS

2018 Annual ISCSC Conference

Please join us for the 48th Annual Conference
of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations
to be held June 15-17, 2018

Suzhou (Soochow) University, Suzhou, Jiangsu, China PRC

<http://www.iscsc.org>

**Civilizational Analysis and the Enhancement of Inter-Civilizational
Understanding**

Thematic Sessions

- * Comparative Models of Economic Development
- * Comparative Legal Histories
- * Comparing Literatures in China and the West
- * Asian-American International Relations
- * Asian Culture, Values and the West
- * China, the West and Globalization
- * Comparative Environmental Protection and Survival of Civilization
- * Histories of Science and Institutional Development

Papers are invited on the above topics and any other topics with civilizational relevance. Send **Abstracts** of up to 300 words describing your proposed paper in MS WORD. *Abstracts submitted in English* are to be sent to ISCSC Executive Director, Peter Hecht at peter.hecht@iscsc.org. *Abstracts submitted in Mandarin* are to be sent to Program Committee Member, Shi (Irving) Yuanhui, Vice Dean, Xiangyang Normal University, at yuanhuishi08@aliyun.com.

Poster Session: If you are interested in submitting your Abstract as part of a Poster Session instead of a formal, program presentation, please make a specific notation of that information when submitting your Abstract. If a Poster Session is approved for the conference, guidelines, format, and instructions for posters will be provided.

Please see the ISCSC website <http://www.iscsc.org> for conference updates, details, registration, logistics and transportation suggestions. The website will be updated as new information becomes available.

Our hosts at Soochow University are Professors Fang Han Wen, Director of Comparative Literature and Comparative Civilizations, and Shi Yuanhui, Vice Dean School of Foreign Languages. Professor Fang is also ISCSC Vice President of Coordination to China.

Whether submitting an Abstract for presentation or not, you are warmly invited and encouraged to register and attend the 2018 Conference in Suzhou, China.

Sincerely,
Lynn Rhodes,
Lynn Rhodes, President, ISCSC lynn.rhodes@iscsc.org

In October 1961, in Salzburg, Austria, an extraordinary group of scholars gathered to create the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations. Among the 26 founding members from Austria, Germany, France, Switzerland, The Netherlands, Spain, Italy, England, Russia, the United States, China and Japan were such luminaries as Pitirim Sorokin and Arnold Toynbee.

For six days, the participants debated such topics as the definition of “civilization,” problems in the analysis of complex cultures, civilizational encounters in the past, the Orient versus the Occident, problems of universal history, theories of historiography, and the role of the “human sciences” in “globalization.” The meeting was funded by the Austrian government, in cooperation with UNESCO, and received considerable press coverage. Sorokin was elected the Society’s first president.

After several meetings in Europe, the advancing age of its founding members and the declining health of then president, Othmar F. Anderle, were important factors in the decision to transfer the Society to the United States.

Between 1968 and 1970 Roger Williams Wescott of Drew University facilitated that transition. In 1971, the first annual meeting of the ISCSC (US) was held in Philadelphia. Important participants in that meeting and in the Society’s activities during the next years included Benjamin Nelson (the Society’s first American president), Roger Wescott, Vytautas Kavolis, Matthew Melko, David Wilkinson, Rushton Coulborn and C.P. Wolf. In 1974, the Salzburg branch was formally dissolved, and from that year to the present there has been only one International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations (ISCSC).

The presidents of the ISCSC are, in order: In Europe, Pitirim Sorokin and Othmar Anderle; in the United States, Benjamin Nelson, Vytautas Kavolis, Matthew Melko, Michael Palencia-Roth, Roger Wescott, Shuntaro Ito (from Japan), Wayne Bledsoe, Lee Daniel Snyder, Andrew Targowski, David Rosner, Toby Huff, and current president Lynn Rhodes. To date, the Society has held 47 meetings, most of them in the United States but also in Salzburg, Austria; Santo Domingo, The Dominican Republic; Dublin, Ireland; Chiba, Japan; Frenchman’s Cove, Jamaica; St. Petersburg, Russia; Paris, France; New Brunswick, Canada; and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

More than 30 countries are represented in the Society’s membership. Its intellectual dynamism and vibrancy over the years have been maintained and enhanced through its annual meetings, its publications, and the participation of such scholars as Talcott Parsons, Hayden White, Immanuel Wallerstein, Gordon Hewes, André Gunder Frank, Marshall Sahlins, Lynn White Jr., and Jeremy Sabloff.

The Society is committed to the idea that complex civilizational problems can best be approached through multidisciplinary analyses and debate by scholars from a variety of fields. *The Comparative Civilizations Review*, which welcomes submissions from the Society’s members as well as other scholars, has been published continually since its inaugural issue in 1979.

Prof. Michael Palencia-Roth

Membership Information

If you are not a member of the ISCSC please consider joining for a \$70 USD yearly membership fee, plus \$8 USD for non-mainland USA postage. Members receive a one-year subscription to this journal, are invited to attend the annual conference, receive the ISCSC newsletter, and may participate in ongoing dialogues. Membership is open to all interested in civilizations. Visit www.iscsc.org for further information.

To Obtain Issues of This Journal

You may order back issues at www.iscsc.org/ccr.html for \$35 USD + \$8 USD shipping per copy. Availability is limited.

Online Access

This and previous issues published since 1979 may be accessed, searched by keyword or topic, as well as read, downloaded, and printed by going to the following website:

<http://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/ccr>

Or by going to this additional website:

<https://ojs.lib.byu.edu/spc/index.php/CCR>

We thank the Brigham Young University for providing this service for free to all who are interested in the topics our journal covers.

our website:

<http://www.iscsc.org>

our blog:

<https://civitasblog.blogspot.com>

**International Society for the
Comparative Study of Civilizations**