



*Centro Internazionale di Studi e Documentazione  
per la Cultura Giovanile - Trieste*

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# **WORLD YOUTH FORUM RIGHT TO DIALOGUE**

## **X EDITION**

Debates, Cultural-historical Events, Friendship

**SEPTEMBER 28TH, 2017 / TRIESTE (ITALY)**

CAFFÈ DEGLI SPECCHI - PIAZZA UNITÀ D'ITALIA

**SEPTEMBER 29TH – OCTOBER 1ST, 2017 / TRIESTE (ITALY)**

Department of Legal, Language, Interpreting and Translation Studies

UNIVERSITY OF TRIESTE - VIA FABIO FILZI 14

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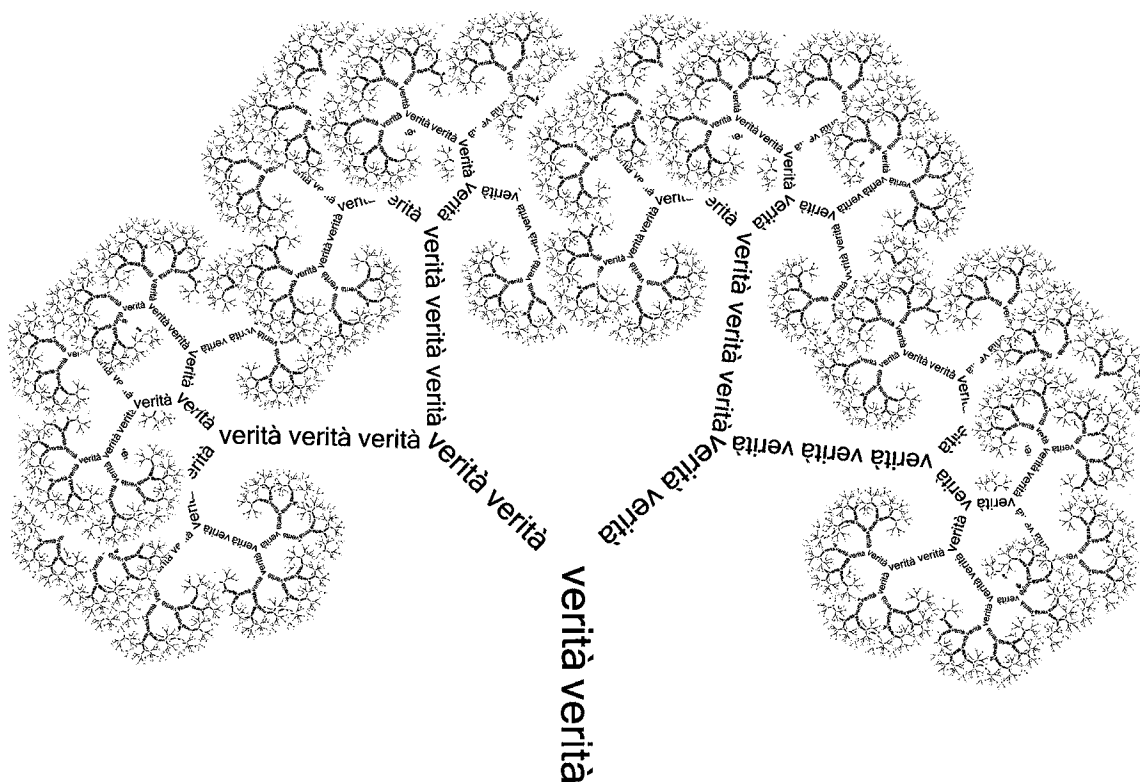
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## ***The “dialogic condition”***

*Dialogue means work according to rules, a values-producing relationship; it's not just a mediation or a communion, but the **formation** of social, economic and political spaces **through subjective rights and cultural expressions**.*

### **PROGRAMME**

**Thursday, September 28**

6,00 pm - **Caffè degli Specchi, Piazza Unità d'Italia, Trieste**

**IGNAZIO LICATA**

*Theoretical Physicist*

“Little Variations on science”. A Talk conducted by Lucia Burello  
(open to the public)

Musical variations by **Mariia Iemeljanenko**

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Friday, September 29

8,00 am

Foyer of the Department of Legal, Language,  
Interpreting and Translation Studies  
Registration of the participants

I.

Dialogue and relational networks: the dialogic condition

Generating and transforming values, relationships,  
spaces to exercise the “capabilities”,  
ways of storytelling, focus on the future.

Auditorium

(Chair: **Gabriella Valera / Ana Cecilia Prenz**)

9,15-10,00 am

**Gabriella Valera**

Introduction

**Ekaterina Tcarapina** (Russian Federation)

*Graduate student (MA) at The Higher School of Economics,  
Moscow*

The dialogic condition in the World Youth Forum Right to  
Dialogue”.

**Alessandra Coppola** (Italy)

*APICE European Trainer and Project Manager - National  
Coordinator of No Hate Speech Movement Italy*

Towards a European framework on Youth Rights: the ENTER  
Recommendation of Council of Europe.

10,00 - 11,00 am

Debate

**Break 11,00 - 11,25**

11,30 am - 1,30 pm - Parallel Panel

(**Dialogue and relational networks...**: follows)

I, 1

**Hall A1** (Chair: **Alessandra Coppola / Francesco Querin**)

11,30 am - 1,30 pm

**Olga Matveieva** (Ukraine)

*Ph.D., Ass.Prof., Dnipropetrovsk Regional Institute for  
Public Administration, NAPA under President of Ukraine*  
Dialogue with a time as a category of public administration:  
essence, evidence, objectives

**Martina Domina** (Italy)

*Medicine student at University of Perugia, member of the  
European Youth Forum of Umbria*

The importance of dialogue: the ability to be understood by  
Institutions and students at the same time

**Daria Siedykh** (Ukraine)

*Member of Ukrainian Parliament Olena Sotnyk's assistant,  
MPA student at Ukrainian Catholic University*

Dialogue between youth and government: who leads?

**Najaada Kurti** (Albania / Italy)

*Educatrice professionale, docente di lingua italiana l2 e  
mediatrice interculturale*

Il dialogo nella scuola interculturale

**Akintunde Akerele** (Nigeria / Germania)

Masters student of Geomatics Engineering at the University  
of Stuttgart

*Dialogue and news flow/publication: the press between “the  
government” and “Nigerians”.*

Debate

I, 2

**Hall G1** (Chair: **Gabriella Valera / Antoine Cid**)

11,30 am - 1,30 pm

**Rina Arllati** (Albania / Kosovo)

*English and literature student*

Religious tolerance at the Albanian people; a rich diversity  
based on peace

**Bora Arllati** (Albania / Kosovo)

*Literature student at public university “F. Agani”, Gjakova*

Cultivating friendly relations among young people from  
different communities in Kosovo

**Artem Matveiev** (Ukraine)

*Co-founder of NGO ‘Ukrainian Expert Foundation’*

Consensus oriented dialogue as an instrument of social  
conflicts overcoming for the purposes of sustainable  
development

**Tatyana Lipai** (Belarus)

Networking project: Project “What YOUth believe -  
Interfaith Dialogue in Youth Work”

Debate

I, 3

**Hall A3** (Chair: **Dario Castellaneta /Francesca Luise**)

11,30 am - 1,30 pm

**Marija Tičić** (Croatia)

*Psychology student at University of Zagreb, University  
Department for Croatian studies*

The healing power of the “I-Thou” contact as the key of  
Gestalt psychotherapy dialogue

**Rossana Gargiuolo** (Italy)

*Psicologa, volontaria e coordinatrice area progetti presso  
“Associazione malati rari Feimar onlus”*

Rare Sharing: la complessità del dialogo tra rarissimi (Rare  
Sharing: the complexity of the Dialogue among “very rare  
subjects”).

**Kristina Khutsishvili** (Russian Federation / Italy)

*PhD candidate at Scuola Superiore Sant’Anna, Pisa, Italy*  
Intergenerational dialogue as Bakhtinian open-ended

process. Memories, myths, and identities

**Rustem Tahkirov** (Tajikistan)  
*Public figure and executive director Republican public organization “Youth of new century”*  
Understanding main values, principles and factors of volunteerism for development of multilateral dialogue on volunteer base to involve civil society and officials.

Debate

**II.**  
**Dialogue condition and dialogue between cultures: knowledge, beliefs, forms of expression and cultural languages**

**II, 1**  
**Hall E (Chair: Riccardo Vecellio Segate / Mila Lazić)**

11,30 am – 1,30 pm

**Aliaksandr Shuba** (Belarus / Germany)  
*Early Stage Researcher, UrbanHIST project at the Bauhaus-Universität, Weimar*  
Interactionism in urban landscape: cultural heritage and interaction with Soviet urban landscape

**Yuliia Kozhukhovska** (Ukraine)  
*PhD student at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*  
Dialogic condition: poetry and society in terms of journey metaphor (a case study of modern Greek poetry)

**Nishtha Paliwal** (India)  
*Communication Officer at Centre for Catalyzing Change, Delhi*  
Indian theatre - evolved culture

**Matilda Miraka** (Albania)  
*Student at Human Studies Faculty (University of Tirana)*  
Dialogue between knowledge and power

Debate

**Friday, September 29**

3,30 pm - Auditorium

Opening Session. Welcome address:  
**Maria Cristina Benussi,**  
*Delegate of the Rector of the University of Trieste*  
**Lorenza Rega,**  
*Head of the Department*  
Authorities

Opening session

**New languages: understanding and communicating complexity**

Chair: **Enrico Maria Balli**  
*(GEO SISSA Medialab)*

4,00 - 6,00 pm

Lecture by **Ignazio Licata**

*Theoretical Physicist at Institute for Scientific Methodology (ISEM) Italy; School of Advanced International Studies on Theoretical and Nonlinear Methodologies of Physics, Italy; International Institute for Applicable Mathematics and Information Sciences (IIAMIS) Italy; B.M. Birla Science Centre, Adarsh Nagar, India.*

Against the “Dismal Science”. A physicist among economists

Debate

**Francesco Querin** (Italy /Germany)  
*Process and Integration Manager*  
Customer service as an opportunity for integration. Some cases of the relationship between cultures in corporations

**Saturday, September 30**

9,00 am – 1,00 pm

**III.**  
**Dialogue and complexity: language, knowledge, science**  
An open understanding of “science” reveals it as a constitutive factor of every space of life. Therefore, the access to complexity as its method and substance is an essential element of the dialogic condition.

**III, 1**  
**Hall A1**  
(Chair: **Dario Castellaneta / Francesca Luise**)

9,00 - 10,30 am

**Alina Virstiuk** (Ukraine)  
*Author of AwesomeKyiv.com*  
Dialogue and bilingualism: one of the biggest challenges in Ukraine

**Maryia Anishchankava** (Belarus / Italy)  
*Conference interpreter, co-founder of GBL/AEGEE-VR, TEDTalks subtitler, Biz4All mentor (ODB Brussels)*  
Hardships in translating, understanding, accepting.

**Ekaterina Matveeva** (Russian Federation / United Kingdom)  
*Linguist, teacher, coach, memory athlete, CEO of Amolingua*  
Language alter ego as a dialogic cognition and dialogue between cultures

**Cristina Teodora Stoica** (Canada)  
*MA Student at the Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto*  
Language barriers and the dialogic condition: understanding the effect social and cultural norms have on the exile experience

Debate

**Break 10,30-10,55 pm**  
(Dialogue and complexity... follows)

## III, 2

## Hall A1

(Chair: **Marija Tičić / Alessandra Coppola**)

11,00 - 1,00 pm

**Johnathan Ordonez** (Nicaragua / Italy)*Ph.D. Candidate, University of Milan / Research Fellow at the CEA, Argentina*

The role of science in the 21st century: searching for an open dialogue between cultures

**Aparna Tiwari** (India)*Masters Degree student in Social Work at Delhi School of Social work, University of Delhi*

Dialogue: an institution having social, cultural impact and its chronology

**Hammou Brahim Ouaisa** (Algeria)*Master student on timber industry engineering at the Sopron University / OGV's Manager on Aiesec*

Dialogic condition and dialogue between «cultures»: knowledge, beliefs, ways of expressions, forms of cultural languages

**Mariia Iemelienenko** (Ukraine)*Media consultant for short-terms projects at WHO CO in Ukraine*

The role of the media in intercultural dialogue.

Debate

## IV.

## Crisis, Integration, Institutions

9,00 am – 10,30 pm

## Hall G, 1

(Chair: **Marcin Piekalkiewicz / Riccardo Vecellio Segate**)**Viktor Miloshevski** (FYROM)*Consultant for European educational and cultural projects*  
The dialogue condition in the Europe's new reality of integration**Mark Emil Aguinaldo** (Philippines / Italy)*PhD student at Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna & Visiting PhD student at Lund University*

Dialogue between cultures: insights on diversity capital amidst nationalism and migration crisis in Europe

**Natalia Ustinova** (Russian Federation)*Project manager at STAR Spb*

Bringing up uncomfortable social issues: how to make peacebuilding dialogue efficient

**Sarala Moursupalli** (USA / India)

Dialogue without engagement? The social/cultural global consequences of dominating and disengaging political narratives

Debate

**Break 10,30-10,55 am**

## V

**Journalism, Media and Post-truth: from popular Science to the faked news through new media**

The role of the press in the “public” elaboration of the information

11,00 am - 1,00 pm

**Auditorium** (Chair: **Gabriella Valera / Antonella Rizzo**)(Credits **Ordine dei Giornalisti**)**Olga Shestopalova** (Ukraine)*Freelance journalist, marketing specialist and self-employed lawyer*

Genetically modified dialogue: from Trojan horse to Trojan virus

**Oksana Maslova** (Ukraine)*Co-owner and editor in the citizen journalism project The Culturemeter*

The role of the press in the public elaboration of information

**Olga Pyshkina** (Russian Federation / UK)*Research Assistant, Master in Public Administration, University of Birmingham (UK)*

Truth and politics in Russian mass media

**Nadia Ahmad** (Australia)*Student of Economics from Quaid-i-Azam University*

Raising a voice for Syria

**Inna Travkina** (Russian Federation)*International delegations coordinator at Plekhanov Russian University of Economics (Moscow)*

Popular science in mass media. Does it create a dialogue in our world today?

Debate

## VI.

**Dialogue between border cultures**

Border literatures and cultures, intercultural exchanges in different parts of the world, particularly in those realities that are in contact with each other and that have experienced common and/or conflicted stories.

## Hall E1

(Chair: **Gabriella Valera / Johnathan Ordonez**)

9,00 - 10,30 am

**Olena Ianytska** (Ukraine)*PhD student and an assistant-professor in Rivne State University for Humanities, Ukraine*

Multicultural and social dialogue through social networking sites: Facebook and Twitter as tools of globalization

**Antoine Cid** (France)*Literature professor*

One belt, one road... many brigdes

**Manasseh Gowk** (Ghana)*Business Development Officer at PFL Education*

Traditional and digital storytelling: telescoping the communication barriers and exploiting emerging cultural opportunities

**Arun Gunasagaran** (Malaysia)  
*Bachelors degree in Accounting and Finance at Curtin University, Malaysia*  
Demolishing cultural barriers to ensure coherent and comprehensive communication between border cultures

**Mark Veznaver** (Italy)  
*Undergraduate Student of Foreign Languages and Literatures, University of Trieste. Member of the International Study and Documentation Centre for Youth Culture*  
Mary Rowlandson: Dialogo e contraddizioni in un episodio della storia statunitense”  
Debate

Break 10,30 – 10,55 am

VII.  
Intergenerational dialogue: culture and history, continuity and breaks, memory and critical elaboration of the past.

9,00 – 10,30 am

Hall D1  
(Chair: Ornella Urpis / Giovanni Delli Zotti)

**Trang Vu Hong** (Vietnam / Germany)  
*Master student and social activist*  
Dialogue of justice – Public apologies for past crimes in the recognition and restoration of victims’ dignity.  
**ParthVaidya** (India / USA - Graduate International policy & Environment student at Columbia University, New York, USA) - **Aayushi Panchal** (India / USA - Graduate student at Stevens Institute of Technology, USA)  
Historical reconciliation in East Asia: need for youth & dialogue

**Aqeel Malik** (Pakistan)  
*Barrister-at-Law | Partner at ANZ Partners*  
India and Pakistan - Building bridges through cultural diplomacy & dialogue

**Karem Saad** (Tunisia)  
*Forest Engineer, Head of Forest Division in Zaghouan / member of The YaLa Young Leaders movement*  
Pluralistic democracy through dialogue: Tunisia case study

**Sina Rahimi Motem** (Iran)  
*Co-Founder of Nordix Earthina - an Entrepreneur who have the E-commerce Business point of view*  
Humanitarian dialogue

Debate

Break 10,30 – 10,55 am

VIII.  
Dialogue and National / International Institutions, Dialogue and Diplomacy

11,00 am – 1,0 pm

Hall D1  
(Chair: Riccardo Vecellio Segate / Olesya Dovgalyuk)

**Valeriia Zhdanova** (Ukraine)  
*Head of international relations department at Students’ League of Ukrainian Bar Association, Kharkiv branch*  
Ukraine v. Russian Federation in the International Court of Justice as a form of legal dialogue.

**Natalia Kiseleva** (Russian Federation)  
*Paralegal*  
Instruments for fostering a dialogue in contemporary international humanitarian law

**Olufemi Mirth Adenitan** (Nigeria)  
*(Bsc, MA, LLB) Coordinator, Green House Resource Center (GHRC), Nigeria*  
Conflict resolution under international law: utilising dialogue and diplomacy in the UN’s R2P doctrine.

**Bronislav Totskyi** (Ukraine)  
*PhD student at Koretsky Institute of state and law; attorney-at-law at IPHR*  
Dialogue as a key method of peace-keeping in the hybrid war

**Somayeh Bahrami** (Iran)  
*Department of International Relations, Allameh Tabataba’i University, Tehran*  
From monologic condition to dialogic condition and solving the crisis of Iranian nuclear dossier.

Debate

3,30 - 4,00 pm - Auditorium

Chair: Enrico Elefante

Dialogic condition in cyberspace: the dilemma of Internet Governance

Presentation of a research by  
**Olesya Dovgalyuk** (Russian Federation / Belgium)  
and **Riccardo Vecellio Segate** (Italy / UK)

4,30 - 7,30 pm

General Debate  
Chair: Gabriella Valera  
Results, Doubts, Work Hypothesis, Future

Sunday, October 1st

until 4,30 pm - Free time

**Casa della Musica, via Capitelli 3, Trieste**  
“Gift of Cultures”: Music, Poetry, Stories... from the world.  
Proposal and performance by the “forumers”  
And...

**Cinzia Platania** (artist and art therapist)  
“Little” variations on Truth: Istallation and e performance.

**Saleem Mustaf** (violinist)  
Musical performance



## INTRODUCTION

***Dialogue means work according to rules, a values-producing relationship; it's not just a mediation or a communion, but the formation of social, economic and political spaces through subjective rights and cultural expressions.***

We want to face this challenging definition, which far from being abstract and just a theoretical one, elaborates itself problems and practices that shape our cultural and intellectual history, our relational world.

Every component of the proposed definition (work, rule, value, relationship, subjective rights, cultural expressions) indicates a “*material*” element, a “*constituent*” of our life.

I propose the terms *relation/relational*, *value* and *work* as **key words** not only of our speeches, but in general as representing the shape of our life, and the *dialogue*, analogous to the *right*, as its principle.

From this perspective, we become capable to try a “critical” discourse on the abstractions offered to us by the “normalized” languages of some academic disciplines and some technical-organizational fields, crystallized and codified in traditional discourses.

We use the words society, structure, culture, values and many others almost without thinking about, without a clear awareness of their particular scientific identity, their particular functioning as tools of analysis, as well as ways to delimit and link the spaces we live in, turning them into bricks of a solid cultural building.

Let me express, as an introduction to our debates, some few thesis explaining very briefly and therefore open to questions my own position and the work hypothesis of the forum.

Dialogue is **work**: that means a **practice producing values**.

Every work, intellectual work or handwork, produces **values**. **Values are nothing else than qualified relations** between people, things, or between people through the mediation of things.

Each work produces *values starting from other values*. All together shape the relationships between co-operating subjects and objects (in-form their organization, in-form our life).

Dialogue is a practice, just like every work it refers to a *materiality* from which it starts. The workers of the “dialogue firm” could not enter the production process, without knowing this materiality, the raw material of their work: content of the discourses, system of relationships (values), forms and resulting organizations, circumstances, necessary or anticipated variations, aims proposed, difficulties to overcome, ability to imagine, model, or produce new forms and new relationships, to produce or reproduce values.

Then dialogue is a work *according to rules*. The rules of the game are not there a priori. Every value (excluding ethical abstraction incorporated in the philosophy of values) is a relation between subjects and objects based on roles, **recognized** in the continuous cultural-historical movement or on the basis of cultural crystallizations.

**Recognition of values and creation of roles** produce rules; changing values and roles turns into changed rules.

The foundation of the rules have to be found in the acknowledged values and relations between people (or things and through things with their materiality). Values relations and roles are the texture of complexity.

Nobody and nothing taken in its absolute singularity make problem.

Problems are the relational aspect of complexity.

The rules that guide the “dialogue” are not relativistic but relational. Their objectivity in the complexity of relationships in which the “dialogue enterprise” operates is also the object, the raw material, of dialogue production process.

Relativism (and Individualism) remains at a pre-dialogue stage.

Dialogue, as a work, takes into account the plurality of data



to be linked, of their multidimensionality, observes, delimits, organizes, models, so that the workers of the dialogue business can confront something that is known and recognizable.

Some important corollaries follow:

1. The mode of dialogue cannot be “secret”: Not anonymity but “parresia”, the free expression that is ready to be “public”, establishes “dialogue” in *recognizing / knowing* the subjects and objects involved.

If an interlocutor of the intricate dialogic enterprise feels the need to hide his identity, this can be done for several reasons

- a) The interlocutor is afraid to be despised, punished, hated, or persecuted for his ideas and for his identity. In this case, we are much ahead of a dialogic condition. In this case, neither the freedom of speech nor expression is recognized as much as the anonymity granted gives rise to illusion. We are at stage 0 of freedom of conscience.
- b) Or the one who seeks anonymity (nothing having to fear) despises his interlocutor, considers him incapable of arguing, considers useless the confrontation, put the premises for deceit. Without “public speech” (which is more than free speech) “in-formation” is deformed.

“Modern” Politics has adopted as its *Form* the *Secret* in opposition to *Law* which is for essence *Public*, has its form in the “recognition” of the subjects, bearers of the rights, and the “publicity” of the rules.

In this contradiction, one can see the moving of diplomacy and the whole game of negotiations at different levels and in different spheres of action.

2. The dialogue defined in the terms above described has the same nature as the *Subjective Rights*.

If dialogue can not take place in anonymity, adopting the characters of the modern “politics” of secrecy, then all the “materiality” from which it originates (interlocutors, places, forms, circumstances, rules) must have its *status* of *recognition* always reported in a possible well known and respected relational model: what is publicly known and recognized can

be publicly re-worked and re-formed. Only if all this is given it is possible to speak of a “dialogic condition”, that is, of a *status* in which the workers of the “dialogue firm” are located. This “right to dialogue” is a fundamental right. Human life, human values are relations. Complexity, that is our vital fluid, is woven with values with which we accomplish our operations and relations.

As bearers of a fundamental right to “dialogue”, and inhabitants of a dialogic condition, humans can hope to govern the complexity (to respect each other) from the smaller spaces to the wider ones out from the rhetoric of the global.

Dialogue is not naive between individuals: promoting it means promoting a fundamental right to knowledge and recognition. There is an indissoluble link between rights and dialogue, between the dialogical condition and the juridical status of freedom.

Our dealing with “the dialogic condition” during the days of the forum becomes then oriented and concrete. How can we put people in a status, where dialogue is possible? How can we respect the themes in question, the choice of relevant themes, the diversity of places and contexts, take into account the diversity of people, the knowledge and the acknowledgment of each one, their elaborating relationships, their intertwining and constituting relational values, without falling into relativism? On the other side, what prevents the establishment of such a condition?

We will enter into complexity. We will have a look on some particular problems (problems are always particular, also the “theoretical” problems are in fact particular questions), will see some proposed solutions, we will consider a way to think and to be. Nothing more. More is not possible. But this is the seed I hope we will cultivate.

Dialogue generate dialogue, it is its nature. For me every forum has been a starting point. I hope for you as well.

*Gabriella Valera*

## CONFLICT RESOLUTION UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW: UTILISING DIALOGUE AND DIPLOMACY IN THE UN’S R2P DOCTRINE

**OLUFEMI M. ADENITAN**

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Nigeria



### ABSTRACT

Over time, the world has been confronted with conflict and violent political movements, resulting in myriads of humanitarian crises. In pursuit of global peace and international security, it is imperative to seek a sustainable framework to protect the vulnerable from resulting challenges. To this end, Resolution 1970 of the UN obliges the body to take curtailing mechanisms to protect civilians in conflict times. In effect, International law affirms that cultural diversity characterised by rich heritage and tolerance is imperative to guarantee a peaceful society. Therefore, there is need to facilitate intercultural dialogue as a strategic approach to promote social awareness, reconciliation and tolerance, in order to prevent conflicts, ensure integration and cohesion. An interdisciplinary perspective on culture and dialogue is trite to stimulate peace and security. Hence, this paper serves to give a narrative of UN’s doctrine of Responsibility to Protect (herein after; R2P) and the application of dialogue and diplomacy in conflict resolution. The paper reconceptualises the nexus between culture and dialogue while exploring the challenges encountered in the implementation of the R2P in conflict zones. It argues that dialogue and diplomacy should be utilised to provide stability in international order. Given that culture provides much clarification and gives an in-depth knowledge of legal doctrine, institutional designs for dispute settlement are of utmost usefulness.

*Keyword: International Law, Dialogue, Culture, Conflict, Peace*

### INTRODUCTION

A cursory look at the world stage in the present era as much as recent times shows much to worry about given myriads of violent conflicts, humanitarian disasters and terrorism. As cited in Pearson, F. S., & Rochester, J. M. (1998) such disturbing situations made Valéry Giscard D’Estaing observe that “the world is heading for disaster aptly.” More often than not, the world has experienced many problems manifesting in humanitarian challenges and violent movements, with different terrorist groups adopting various deadly strategies in carrying out their attack on civilian population.

This can be linked to a failed effort by governments in ensuring the safety of its population. Affected victims experience numerous challenges range from rape to human trafficking in IDP camps, to mention among other factors. To this end, the need to operationalise the concept of R2P is trite due to the violent situations and brewing conflagrations in the world today. As stated by Osumah (2013) the managers of state affairs have slacked in their responsibility to protect their citizenry. Egbeleke (2013), identified that terrorist and violent groups derive their mode of attacks from the global network of terrorists like Al- Qaeda, the Taliban, and Isis.

They engage in mass killings, the bombing of religious institutions and massacre, among other heinous acts. Such tragic events continue to put the government’s responsibility to the test. The unfolding events have resulted in families forced to flee their homes, in search of refuge and subsequently becoming Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) (Mirth, A. O. 2015:9-15). Terrorists and violent groups adopt guerrilla warfare strategy; their attack records a systematic violation of social justice and repudiation of fundamental human rights, which the government should guarantee the citizens of their country, as entrenched in their constitutions (Osumah 2013).

No doubt, there are regular reports of gross violation of human rights: mass abduction, massacre in communities, sexual offences such as rape committed against women and underage girls coupled with the growing rate of Internally Displaced Persons across the countries. The National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) of Nigeria gave the number of IDPs in Nigeria to be approximately 981,416 IDPs in 2015 (NEMA Report, 2015) While reflecting on the traumatic situations of children and in IDP camps across the northeast of Nigeria, violation of the United Nations Convention to Rights of the Child (UNCRC), 1989 (Mirth, A. O. 2015). Karin Art (2014) noted that article 38 of the UNCRC Provision covers the protection of the child mainly to ensure and secure the safety of the children in cases of armed conflict.

### PROTECTION OF CIVILIAN POPULATION IN CONFLICT SITUATIONS

The UN as much as states holds a legal obligation to ensure the safety of civilians; McCorquodale (2004: 479) rightly observed that from the laws of nations, state have to surrender to the international body which is obliged to protect human rights from abuse. Human rights protection should be her central focus since the UN charter indicates a common interest in which the lives, liberty and dignity are prime concerns. The Principles of Generic Consistency (PGC) as posited by Alan Gewirth advocates the protection of individual welfare; that human rights must be protected given that they are like personal property that ought to be well secured. In line with this position Marcus G. Singer (2015) also added to the understanding of human rights and protection through the lens of universal principles. Protection goes to establish a range of freedom to participate in the political and economic activities without threat to lives, which is in line with UNHR which espouses the collective effort to protect rights and prevent any violation of human rights.

## OPERATIONALIZING THE R2P PRINCIPLE IN NATIONAL CONTEXT

Two dates are usually cited for the emergence of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) - the ICSS Report of 2001 and the World Summit Report of 2005. The ICSS Report was partly but mainly necessitated by the grave human rights abuses that had characterized the crises in Kosovo and the UN Security Council's inaction. It was basically about "reconceptualising humanitarian intervention in the wake of the Kosovo crisis and the [challenge before the UN to] resolve the tension between sovereignty and fundamental human rights" (Bellamy 2008). Deng notes that the primary obligation to protect IDPs lay with the host government and such responsibility can be complemented or judiciously exercised when a host government seeks international aid where the concerned local authorities were "unable" or "unwilling" to provide the necessary assistance.

In the ICISS Report's attempt to elaborate on the R2P concept, it is instructive to note two salient points concerning a state's primary responsibility to protect persons within its territories. First, while the ICISS report tends to confer on the UN Security Council more powers to determine and act in situations- large-scale loss of life and scale ethnic cleansing- that necessitate intervention, nothing should be construed as unclothing host states of its primary responsibility towards the protection of its citizens or people living within its territory. Even the UN Charter pretends to recognize this principle in Article 40. This may be excused on the premise that at the time the Charter was drafted, what was clearly on the front burner of international concern was the need to vehemently address the extreme and dastardly referral to sovereignty which characterized the Holocaust events and the Nuremberg trial.

Consequently, in empowering the Security Council with the power to intervene, it was perhaps expedient at the time that not much in the Charter is made to clog the wheel of the Council's powers to break through the sensitive issue of state sovereignty, a feat that the then League of Nations could not achieve. Indeed, within the context of the R2P principle, any modicum of doubt as to a state's primary responsibility to protect persons within its territory can be said to have been laid to rest by the Resolution at the 2005 World Summit Report adopted by the General Assembly. Specifically paragraphs 138 and 139 are worthy of note as the sections of the Resolution touching on R2P. They are as follows: 138 is to the effect that all states hold the duty to protect its population from human right abuse, 139 States that the International community also holds the duty to protect against ethnic cleaning or conflict situation

Unlike the ICISS Report of 2001 which was vociferous of a militarized form of intervention, the 2005 Resolution encouraged the use of "appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means" in resolving situations of human rights violations. Of course, this is not intended to whittle down the grave effect or consequence of gross human rights abuses in an attempt to soft pedal on perpetrators of crimes through soft approach remedies. Hence, paragraph 139 stipulates that these peaceful means of protection must be following the chapters VI and VII of the United Nations

Charter, which provide the basis for sanctions on erring states. But peaceful means entail employing various methods that might appeal to one's human conscience to forestall human rights abuses and failing that, more forceful methods will be adopted.

The state's primary responsibility to protect persons within its territory is further recapitulated here. However, this responsibility is not necessarily in favour of a host state's citizens alone. It covers every person within the territory of the host state. Paragraphs 138 and 139 of the 2005 report employs the word, "population" while the ICISS report of 2001 uses the terms, "people" and "population." Thus, a state is obligated to protect both its citizens and foreigners within its territory per time from grave human rights violation. Thus, we see a variety of R2P related platforms- ranging from Deng's works, the ICISS Report of 2001 to the World Summit Outcome of 2005 and the Security Report of 2006 among others- that re-echo state's primary responsibility to protect its population from gross human rights violations.

## PRACTICALIZING R2P PRINCIPLES IN CONFLICT ZONES

While we have re-emphasized the recurrence of states' primary responsibilities to protect their populations within the context of the R2P, it is also true that much emphases on the international front with respect to the concept have centered around the Security Council and the scope of its decision to intervene when the thresholds- genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity- are broken. For instance, before the conflict that occasioned the Rwandan genocide of 1994, there were UN forces present in the region that would have at least significantly mitigated the disaster that endured. However, the Security Council failed to take action. In the Kosovo crisis of 1999, the Security Council also refused to act. All these events necessitated the ICISS Report of 2001 on the "Responsibility to Protect" and its central focus on the Security Council as the bastion of authority that protects (Alston and Goodman 2012).

## UTILIZING DIALOGUE AND DIPLOMACY IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

In the midst of conflict situations, strategic dialogue and diplomatic approach can be deployed for resolution of conflicts. In most cases, military intervention and courts do not always produce lasting peace needed for protection of life and property and reconstruction of the nation hence dialogue and diplomacy serve as veritable tools for conflict settlement (Kegley, C. W. C. W. 1997). The importance of dialogue and diplomacy in conflict resolution could be seen in the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), following the outbreak of the conflict in 1998 (Koko, S. 2007). Actors in the conflict were urged to enter negotiations and dialogue and find a political solution to the problem. The number of shuttle missions, heads of state meetings and summits between governments and special envoys were clear indications of the level of diplomacy worked in the DRC (Naidoo, S. 2000). The diplomatic and negotiation processes contributed in restoring peace and guaranteeing the protection of the population. Diplomacy and dialogue manifested in, among others,

the Signing of Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement (LA), the appointment of a mediator for inter-Congolese Dialogue and the implementation of the United Nations Observer Mission in the Congo (MONUC) (Naidoo, S. 2000).

It was the diplomatic mediation signing and subsequent implementation of the Green Tree Agreement at Green Tree, New York on 12th June, 2006 that brokered an agreement between the two presidents-Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and Paul Biya of Cameroon and necessitated the withdrawal of Nigerian troops from Bakassi Peninsula, thus, halting further aggressions and saving lives and property (LeFebvre, R. K. 2013). A diplomatic approach brought an end to the violence by implementing a power-deal between the two camps. It is therefore contended that a fundamental shift to utilizing more peaceful methods of dialogue and diplomacy is a right step in the right direction in observing the United Nations doctrine of R2P both at national and international stages.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the doctrine of the R2P is subject to critical limitations ranging from the passiveness of states regarding their security situation to the sometimes indifference of the international community towards its implementation. The international community failed to abate the Burma Crisis and Rwanda genocide. Despite prior information that the Security Council received, the body did not take necessary action to protect the Rwandan citizenry. The same was witnessed in Bosnian Massacre, Somalia, and Kosovo.

Consequently, if the R2P must bear much relevance to curb the menace of conflicts in countries of the world, there is the need to nationalize or operationalize the concept in the national context. In due course, states have faced the responsibility of guaranteeing the fundamental rights of their citizens from scores of humanitarian violations. The precarious situations in Syria under Assad is an apparent show of the failure of the Syrian government to protect its citizens and the relegation of the R2P doctrine to mere paper work, where neither law nor dialogue nor diplomacy has been effectively utilized to end the humanitarian scourge. Headway can be made through reemphasizing, re-prioritizing and strategizing on states' primary obligation to protect their people. To this end, the use of truth and reconciliation committees in post-Rwanda conflict, Liberia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, among others, is helpful steps. Although the committees made some excellent achievements, they could work better under neutral supervision, evaluation and assessment. Fundamental attention to the utilization and importance of dialogue and diplomacy under the doctrine as shown in the case of DR Congo, Nigeria, among others, is a more viable way to protect the citizenry and ensure a level of lasting peace than force and bullets.

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**DIALOGUE BETWEEN CULTURES: INSIGHTS ON DIVERSITY CAPITAL AMIDST NATIONALISM AND MIGRATION CRISIS IN EUROPE**

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**ABSTRACT**

How can the growing discontent on globalization sweeps the European continent in the backdrop of nationalist upsurge and looming migration crises be remedied by the prospects of dialogue between cultures? Finding the answers to this question is the overarching aim of this paper, and the ensuing analyses will be mirrored through the accounts of a foreign student from the ‘Far East’ finding himself in common and conflicted stories and intercultural exchanges in Manila, Pisa, and Lund.

**RAISING A VOICE FOR SYRIA**

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**ABSTRACT**

My paper is mostly going to be based on the second theme regarding the dialogic condition of the press. In my paper, I would like to discuss a salient issue that is the Syrian War. According to a study by UNICEF, 2016 has been the most horrific year for the children of Syria. More than 600 children were killed during a year and more than a 1000 children under the age of 14 were recruited to fight in the battle field. This is just the children’s story; more than 400,000 men and women have lost their lives to this war and many more have been displaced from their homes.

The question is why is there a silence on the Syrian war? Social media and the press are perhaps not playing the role they are entitled to play in this situation. As a citizen of Pakistan, I feel that we are granted only a limited dialogic condition as our press, nor our social media are able to raise a strong voice against the atrocities taking place in Syria. Perhaps it is so because of the alienation of the general public from state

matters such as war. I believe that with the freedom of dialogic condition with regard to social media and press, the world altogether can raise a voice for the sufferings of the people of Syria and can spread awareness. We can see social media and press promoting so many ills yet a matter of such grave importance is not being brought into light. The role of press and social media is being underestimated with regard to the war condition in Syria. If liberated in terms of dialogic condition, I believe a great change could be brought about.

**DIALOGUE AND NEWS FLOW/PUBLICATION: THE PRESS BETWEEN “THE GOVERNMENT” AND “NIGERIANS”**

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**SUMMARY**

- 1. Introduction and background to study
  - 2. History of press in Nigeria
  - 3. Influence of culture on press
  - 4. Influence of government on press
  - 5. People and contemporisation of media
  - 6. Conclusion
- References

**1. Introduction and background to study**

The press, being the “fourth estate” of government in Nigeria and even most modern democracies either overtly or covertly, is the lens through which the populace sees, evaluates and validates governance. This tier of social consciousness should be independent in the discharge of its responsibilities, and beyond that, hold a moral obligation to the people it serves to allow for objectivism. Whether the press has fulfilled its primary objective is yet to be seen considering the myriad of problems that it is faced with. Globalisation today has not only influenced press/media, and how dialogue emanates from the discharge of this sacred responsibility of being the soul of society. It has also moulded culture’s reception to the new reality as much as it has helped history reconciled it. Societies today are more fragmented than ever before, it is this vulnerability that is continually being exploited by the press today to infiltrate and project ulterior interests in the form of rationale dialogue. Along this social line of fault disguising as schools of thought, ethnicity, political party, religion, race are dissemination of information and dialogue to reflect the different persuasion.

To fully understand the dialogue scenario of the press, the



people and government in Nigeria, it is important to get a glimpse of the history and cultural diversity that has plagued it at some point and also contributed positively to its present state of development. This paper also examines the influence of government on the media space, people's perception of the press and how the gap between traditional and contemporary media is bridged.

## 2. History of press in Nigeria

Press in Nigeria has evolved from circumstantial needs at different epoch of the nation's journey to statehood. Press in Nigeria started historically with the publishing of "*Iwe Iroyin*" which literally means "*A Newspaper*" on the 3rd of December, 1859 by Reverend Henry Townsend, a Christian Missionary in Abeokuta, Ogun State, Nigeria with the motive of evangelising and also to promote literacy in South-western part of Nigeria (Aro, 2011). The crumbling of *Iwe Iroyin* heralded the establishment of Anglo African Newspapers like *Lagos Times*, *The Gold Coast Advertiser*, *Lagos Observer*, *The Eagle*, *Lagos Critic* among others which were published in English (Akpobo, 2012). The message of the Anglo African Newspapers was a departure from the evangelical pursuit of *Iwe Iroyin*, then much broader issues were covered to reflect local news, foreign news and other socio-political prevalence in the area of coverage. The history can in short be classified into four epochs, which include the Missionary (1846-1863), foreigner dominated press era (1863-1914), quest for nationalism through indigenous press (1914-1960) and the contemporary era (1960-till date) (Ogunsiji, 1989). There are other various contending classifications of the historical press era by academia which will not do this paper much relevance because it amounts to over-emphasising it. Rather, we have to look at the area of relevance in which the history has helped to shape the press and its platform as a formidable springboard for modern day social dialogue.

The periods where the press serves as a voice to project nationalism is of huge importance, it is very important because not only was it pre-independence era but has continued to be the model and standard of traditional journalism in Nigeria today. The voice of nationalism was not only amplified through Newspapers; the period also saw the establishment of Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) by the British colonial government in 1957 which served their imperialistic ends. At about the same time in 1959, the western part of the country established and commenced Western Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation for both television and radio broadcast. This greatly influenced the Northern and South Eastern part of Nigeria to follow suite in the establishment of regional broadcasting corporations (Aro, 2011).

## 3. Influence of culture on press

Nigeria being a complex web of cultural diversity in terms of ethnicity, religion and political affiliation has in no small means influenced the press and how it has metamorphosed to what it is today. Even the historical anecdote allude to how the different geopolitical zones resorted to magnifying their voice at various level of the society by the establishment of broadcasting corporation which does not only identify with them but also reflect their cultural identity in its broadcasting style.

The fragmentation of Nigerian society along culture has seen broadcasting bias on the basis of religion, national discourse politicised and even at best distorted on the ground of ethnicity. Culture has permeated through every layer of our society and it is through this garb that we want our identity to be represented in the media, a departure from that is an aberration which can even be seen as sacrilegious in some geopolitical zones.

It is no surprise that the most regional broadcasting platform espouse the norm and value system to which is peculiar to that region. A northern newspaper will most likely not splash on its front page a picture of a model clad in swim suit, or on their television stations content that are deemed to portray supposed immoralities. This is due largely to their conservatism and also because the people are predominantly Muslims. This is the identity they want the world to associate with them and if you are going to engage in dialogue with them it has to be within the confines of that belief system. The uniqueness of different cultures is evident in the broadcasting content and style.

The Nigerian cultural system has been blown out of proportion to the extent that it has interfered with the operation of the press at all levels. The communal system which sees families as related one way or the other has helped advanced the solidarity where the value system of family over any other thing undermines the real freedom of press. Even when one tries to exercise that autonomy that should be the hallmark of press and reportage, these conflicts of cultural solidarity impedes the line of due diligence.

For the press with an outlook that undermines culture in order to elevate objectivism, there has always been a clash of interest between them and the people that feels the reportage infringes of their cultural norm. Even when the clash of idea is not explicitly verbalised, there is mistrust and mutual suspicion. The polarisation of the press along cultural predilection or proclivity has led to quite a few number of communal clashes.

## 4. Influence of government on press

Nigeria operates a Federal system of government in order to cater for the interest of the diverse ethnic groups both major and minor alike, with a national government at the centre responsible for wider national interest and autonomous state government which is mandated for state development. There is always a strive for dominance by the different ethnic groups for leadership or relevance at the national level. The polity has always had to deal with this since the independence from British colonial government. The press at the centre of it all from pre-independence has always had a partisan approach to reporting agitation for nationalism, which continued even after independence along the different line of regional cum ethnic sentiments. It was this partisan influence of regional government on their respective tribalistic press that made pitching secession to the South Eastern people with a catchphrase of "Ethnic Marginalisation" result in the civil war between the Igbos and the Nigerian state from 1967 till 1970.

Like it exists today in different parts of the globe, polarisation of the media space today is multi-lane, but it is sharply divided between two more significant ideologies of the conservatives and the liberal. Evidently, the present spate of conflict between these contrasting perspectives across different countries and continents is a vindication of the bipolar media struggle. The

Nigerian media space is no exception, this leads to the reality that the news flow and dialogue that exist in a society is a mirror of the socio-political reality. Dialogue in reality is a reversible directional engagement of minds, that seek to establish and possibly reconcile terms of differences or to strengthen areas of commonality with a view to prospering relationships. This is the reason why government invest time, authority and resources in the press to articulate how their messages is passed across to the public, so that they can enjoy the public vote of confidence through a cosmetic portrayal of government. In as much as different privately owned media outfits in Nigeria tries to keep their dissemination of information independent of interference and prejudice, there is still always a minute bias that are infused on the premise of the inclination of the proprietor. Then it is safe to say that attainment of objective press is relative.

**5. People and contemporisation of media**

The people’s perception of media in this age cannot be described specifically in a single word, as the perception are as broad as the fragmentation of the Nigerian society. One thing that is evidently accepted consciously or otherwise is that there is mutual suspicion on the part of the people of the lack of credibility of the media. People are constantly on the lookout for a closure that provide them with the true picture of the society and how governance can improve their lives. This dialogue is covertly resonating on their minds, unfortunately the media is not sensitive to bridge the gap of sincerity or at least hear them out. In the search for that spot where conversations can be genuinely held amongst the populace irrespective of cultural or political persuasions, people took solace in the media that let them engage in profound dialogue without the preying eyes of censorship or regulation that is disguised to eliminate objectivity- social media. This new found reality is disruptive; manifested in the last election in the country. The ruling political party, People’s Democratic Party (PDP) that ruled the country since the return to Civilian rule in 1999 was ousted in 2015. That was a turning point to the outlook of future dialogue in the nation. No party will ever take for granted the will of people.

This contemporary social media is a departure from how we communicate as people, more also our dialogue with government. It provides us with a platform to vent our opinions on governance as we deem it fit without any filter. This has started yielding results like that of 2015 election and other issues where government now see the need to ensure that the channel of dialogue with people either through the traditional media or social media articulate succinctly the need of the people. Social media is potent; it can be used to achieve positive or negative results depending on the user, for what purpose it will serve and the audience. Through the new media that is lacking in standard; people have been let loose at expressing views without decorum. This medium too has been hijacked by people behind the traditional media to polarise it, some have even used the medium to peddle fake news to unsuspecting public. Like every human endeavour which is open, abuse is inevitable but the fundamental objective of social media which is having the voice of people heard has been achieved.

**6. Conclusion**

In the present day Nigeria, one of the most common word on

the News media is restructuring. This in a nutshell is to have the different geopolitical zones of the country come together to dialogue and reconcile their grievances. To discuss allocation of national resources, governance and development. Such dialogue in the past has not really yielded any result, but these talking point has helped to spark a new wave of optimism across the political spectrum that if this discussion can be raised, our common challenges can be resolved. The press plays an important role in the formation of political opinion in Nigeria, and as such is the basis for political discourse. They are to help in the portrayal of socio-political cum economic situation in the nation. These roles should be geared towards nation building, through a robust social dialogue where the press serves as an unbiased umpire between the government and the people. Feedbacks will not only help the government understand the demands of the people, it will also place obligation on the people to serve as stakeholders in helping to attain an egalitarian society.

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**DIFFICOLTÀ NEL TRADURRE, CAPIRE E ACCETTARE**

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Com’è che la nostra lingua madre, il nostro senso d’umorismo e la nostra cultura influenzano il nostro vedere del mondo? Perché spesso facciamo fatica ad accettare gli stranieri e ad adattarci in un paese estero?

Sono fortunata, lungo i miei 29 anni sono riuscita a frequentare 3 diverse università, in due delle quali ho pure insegnato. Viaggiando e vivendo all’estero, ho incontrato rappresentanti di molte culture. Alcune volte questi incontri erano piacevoli, altre volte abbastanza tesi e quasi mai questa tensione era provocata da poca conoscenza di lingua.

1) Nel 2010, dopo essermi laureata dall’Università linguistica di Minsk, mi sono iscritta all’Università degli studi di Ve-



rona, inoltre ho fatto il trasloco permanente in Italia. Del mio italiano non avevo dubbi: l'avevo studiato per 4 anni e credevo di potermi esprimere liberamente, ho inoltre superato decine di colloqui e finalmente ho vinto una borsa di studio che mi ha permesso di frequentare l'Università. Pensavo di aver superato il peggio, il problema era che in Italia ogni piccolo paese vanta del proprio dialetto: cambiano radicalmente moltissime parole, cambia la pronuncia, l'intonazione. Si sa che gli italiani sono un popolo allegro. Anche io in Bielorussia ero molto ben accetta nelle compagnie. Qui però gli scherzi italiani non capivo, non riuscivo a controbattere ad uno scherzo -- ed è una cosa stra importante in Italia, perché se non capisci gli scherzi sei automaticamente fuori dalle compagnie.

In Italia bielorussi, ucraini e russi sono considerati paesi dell'est... Come mai? Per noi l'est sono tutti i paesi asiatici. Ed io nemmeno vagamente somiglio ad una ragazza asiatica. 2) Nel 2011 vinco un'altra borsa di studio che mi permette di passare un semestre negli USA. Vado in America e sono convinta che lì non mi può andar male, giacché studio l'inglese dall'età di 12 anni. Eppure l'America è un altro continente, con la percezione del mondo del tutto particolare. La maggior parte non sa cos'è Bielorussia, alcuni si azzardano a dire che facciamo parte della Siberia. Poi però non sanno nemmeno dove si trova la Siberia.

In inglese ci sono delle domande, che in realtà non prevedono alcuna risposta. Per esempio: What's up? How do you do? - In italiano si traducono in 'Come stai?', con l'unica differenza che nessuno è realmente interessato a come effettivamente stai, se soffri di pancreas o se ti fa male la cavaglia. Io invece raccontavo delle mie cose. Non capivo a che serve fare una domanda se non vuoi sapere la risposta.

E anche in quei casi dove siamo simili con gli americani... Pure lì eravamo diversi:

Noi diciamo 'essere al settimo cielo dalla gioia', gli inglesi dicono - to be on cloud nine. Cioè la gioia inglese è due gradini più in su rispetto alla nostra.

Proprio negli Stati Uniti ho conosciuto tante persone diverse da me. Lì ho saputo che i latino americani hanno la percezione della puntualità del tutto loro. Per loro tardare di un ora è una cosa normalissima, anche se si tratta dell'appuntamento con una ragazza.

I vietnamiti arrossivano quando chiedevamo la loro età: la loro cultura dice che l'età parte dal momento del concepimento, e non dalla nascita vera e propria. Specialmente le ragazze vietnamite erano tristi -- diventavano automaticamente un anno più grandi rispetto alle altre. In più tutti gli asiatici mangiano con la bocca aperta, grufolando.

Gli studenti coreani alle lezioni si presentano con una giacca e cravatta, mentre gli americani alle stesse lezioni vengono vestiti in pigiama. Gli italiani, essendo seri nelle loro intenzioni di immergersi nell'ambiente anglofono, prima o poi comunque finiranno per creare un gruppetto di compatrioti e troveranno un buon ristorante italiano.

Infine, qualcuno dice che la lingua russa è complicata. Pensiamo al fatto che nella lingua degli zulu africani si trovano più di 30 parole che descrivono color verde.

Dunque, io ho subito lo shock culturale 2 volte, e sono state le volte dure. Ho smesso di essere il nocciolo della compagnia, non sempre ho saputo mantenere un dialogo, non sapevo

controbattere gli scherzi e spesso mi sentivo fuori luogo. Di sviluppi ce n'erano due:

1) chiudermi e respingere tutti.

2) andare a fondo, capire e accettare.

E ho deciso di andare a fondo. E' venuto fuori che ogni cosa ha una sua logica.

A cosa pensano i latino americani quando tardano ad un appuntamento?

Al fatto che il tempo non scompare, è ciclico, come le stagioni. Prima o poi tutto tornerà al punto di partenza. Ecco perché la vita va goduta. Non c'è bisogno di aver fretta perché possiamo far tornare tutto, possiamo ripristinare. La vita dei latino americani è molto meno caotica e qui gli possiamo solo invidiare.

Perché i vietnamiti hanno un anno di più rispetto a noi? Perché il feto per loro è un essere vivo, un piccolo essere umano che si sviluppa, magari in modo inconscio, ma esso cresce definendo così la propria età. Perché gli asiatici grufolano al tavolo? Perché i loro piatti sono talmente stratificati, contengono molte spezie piccanti ed erbe aromatiche che per far aprire tutta la 'tavolozza' dei gusti bisogna aspirare l'aria non solo tramite il naso ma anche la bocca, grufolando.

Perché per gli italiani Bielorussia è un paese dell'est? Perché ogni nazione nel suo piccolo si trova al centro. Qui possiamo addirittura parlare di una egocentrismo nazionale. Ecco che tutto quello che è a destra rispetto a noi è dell'est, tutto quello che è a sinistra - è dell'ovest.

Perché un italiano all'estero cercherà un ristorante sempre italiano? Perché è convinto che non c'è niente di meglio della cucina italiana. Su internet addirittura si trova una mappa, sulla quale il mondo è diviso per settori in base al cibo vero, cibo da considerare dubbioso e cibo tossico. Trovare un buon ristorante per un italiano tipico diventa spesso una questione di sopravvivenza.



Perché agli americani serve la domanda How do you do?

Perché così ci fanno capire che siamo stati visti, accettati. Ci è stata prestata dell'attenzione. È ora compito nostro interessare un americano a tal punto che ci chieda come stanno effettivamente andando i nostri affari.

Perché gli zulu hanno bisogno di 30 parole per descrivere il colore verde? Perché storicamente vi era un impero, ed era così grande che per arrivare al punto B dal punto A bisognava attraversare grandi distanze. All'epoca però non c'erano

cartelli stradali. Quindi con parole speciali si andava a descrivere alberi e piante che capitavano lungo il percorso. Ecco perchè hanno una parola per il verde bagnato, una parola per un verde al tramonto. Ci chiediamo se dietro a queste cose c'è una certa logica? Assolutamente sì! Ci meravigliamo di altre culture, altre lingue. Ci siamo mai chiesti quanto anche noi siamo complicati per gli altri? Come spiegare l'espressione italiana: per forza! Quanti significati ha la parola ALLORA? Perché noi slavi d'inverno ci buttiamo in un buco del fiume ghiacciato e d'estate mangiamo minestre calde? A cosa ci servono così tante variazioni di nomi propri? In Bielorussia mi chiamano Maria, Masha, Manya, Mashen'ka, Mashka, Mar'ya... Parliamo tanto dello shock culturale e di quanto siamo diversi da altre nazioni. E' questo che ci rende unici? E' questo che ci rende miopi? Perché spesso non siamo disposti ad andare a fondo, trovare la logica dietro le cose, capire quanto sono belle, uniche e speciali le nostre lingue, culture e modi? Ci è più semplice lasciar perdere e chiuderci in noi stessi. Sarà per questo che la storia umana è accompagnata da incomprensioni che diventano conflitti armati?

**CULTIVATION OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS  
AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT  
COMMUNITIES IN KOSOVO**

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**ABSTRACT**

The peoples of the Balkans have historically had a problem in their neighbors' relations. Wrong reports have sent to conflicts and wars, which have left indelible traces to the population. The latest is the recent war of Serbian's policy against Kosovo in 1999, which left many in death, burning and destruction, but above all in the hostilities. For this reason, today in Kosovo there are big differences between how Albanians think and how Serbs think. Today even though about 18 years have passed, perjury between people seems clear. But, young people seem predisposed to building peaceful relationships as anger and hostility always produce hatred and wrangling. In this regard, there are some forums among young people in Kosovo and Serbia, but they are rare and adults are very sensitive to these beginnings. It is imperative to push from the strongest sides to help the dialogue between the young. Only then, different ethnicities in Kosovo can live peacefully, promoting tolerance and peace.

**RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE  
AT THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE;  
A RICH DIVERSITY BASED ON PEACE**

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**ABSTRACT**

Religious tolerance at the Albanian people; a rich diversity based on peace. The coexistence of different concepts. When it comes to Albania, we're talking for one of the oldest people in the Europe, and still has lived such in peace, it is well known about religious tolerance. Since the ancient times, even today, different religions which are present in the people, three most common religions: Muslim, Christian and Orthodox. If you once visit Albania, (including Kosovo) you'll see mosques and churches in almost every street you walk. Most of the people dedicate their lives to God in their own belief, but they live in understanding and tolerance with each other where no one hindrance no one. This atmosphere has been representative of Albania, as a good performance, and an example on how religion should be kept. This was globally proved, attracting maximal attention of medias, when the Prime minister of Albania, Edi Rama, with four leaders of religions (Muslim, Christian, Orthodox, Bektashi) defiled together in Paris after the tragedy of Charlie Hedbo. Youth is especially learnt to built their personalities on safe steps, based on tradition of their parent and previous generations.

**FROM MONOLOGIC CONDITION TO DIALOGIC  
CONDITION AND SOLVING THE CRISIS OF  
IRANIAN NUCLEAR DOSSIER**

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**SUMMARY**

Examining how the shift from monologic condition to dialogic condition (independent variable) influenced the problem solving process of Iranian nuclear conflict (dependent variable), this study is aimed to test the hypothesis that "the possi-

bility of free dialogue in Iran is in direct relation with promoting the reformist party and weakening the conservative party; therefore, reformists are trying hard for recognition of right to dialogue inside Iran and in the regional level". In other word, foreign politics continues to adhere to domestic politics; there is the possibility of extending the right of dialogue from within countries to transnational levels.

## Introduction

Islamic Republic of Iran has negotiated with world powers over its nuclear program since October 2003 until July 2015. 8 years of this period belong to the presidency of Mahmood Ahmadinejad from the conservative party leading to the Iranian dossier to be referred to the UNSC, severe international and multilateral sanctions to be established against Iran and negative economic growth in Iran. Saeed Jalili, the leader of Iranian nuclear negotiators for 69 months, was a hardliner and inflexible diplomat who believed in resistance against west. During this period one-way positions, speech to introduce Islam and even anger at the negotiating table have left no space for dialog with the 5+1 group in order for the nuclear conflict to be released. However, since the 2013, after the winning of the Hassan Rouhani in the presidency competition, the new government from the reformist party focused on dialog bargains rather than monolog speeches and mostly negotiations tended to go towards professional meetings. In fact, Mohammad Javad Zarif, the head of the Iranian negotiation team, was an experienced and intelligent diplomat who could release the Iranian nuclear conflict while maintaining the vital interests of his country by utilizing Dialogic diplomacy and respect to the other party's perspectives.

This study is to find answers for two interrelated questions; first, considering the continuous negotiations of 13 years between Tehran and world powers over the Iranian nuclear dossier, what factors and developments finally helped solving the crisis and led to the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA)? Second, what is the relation between domestic and foreign policies of the conservative and reformist parties in Iran and monologic or dialogic condition?

This research utilizes descriptive-analytical methods and the inferential methodology will be used to reach the goals. Data is collected by using library and internet sources on the basis of objective and historical data. The hypotheses have been examined through the theoretical concept of "fear of loss of power or position" connected with the concept of "Metathesiophobia or metaphobia" and focused on "Resistance to Changes- Fear of Changes".

## 1. Theoretical framework; Fear of Loss of Power or Position

Aung San Suu Kyi's famous quote "It is not power that corrupts but fear. Fear of losing power corrupts that who wields it and fear of the scourge of power corrupts those who are subject to it" is greatly applicable to many closed or semi closed political systems. The most common basis of resistance to change is the fear that with a new learning, a new position will come that will be lower in the position hierarchy or less powerful than the current position. Such concept has been utilized to test the hypothesis of this research.

## 2. Brief Introduction on Two Reformist and Conservative Factions in Iran

Since the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979, until the death of Sayyid Ruhollah Khomeini, the founder supreme leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1989, the political factions competed only at high levels of power. However, since the leadership of Seyyed Ali Khamenei, political parties in Iran have become more serious as all the economic, cultural, social and military arenas as well as citizens have also been affected by political parties. The principlist party formerly referred to as the Right-wing is one of two main political camps inside post-revolutionary Iran. The rightist party, since the death of Seyyed Rouhollah Khomeini, held four administrations under the leadership of Hashemi Rafsanjani (1989-1997) and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (2005-2013). However Rafsanjani separated from the right camp (the conservatives / principledists) for the last years of his life and approached the left camp (the reformists). The leftist party of the Islamic Republic of Iran has also held four administrations since 1989, under the leadership of Khatami (1997-2005) and Rouhani (2013-2021). The difference between the two reformists and principlist parties in Iran can be recognized as follows (Solingen, 2012: 222; Keynoush, 2012: 131-142; Kazemzadeh, 2008, p.191-210; Wright, 2010, p.37):

- a) Principlists have a traditional conception of the principles and ancillaries of Islam and issues such as veil, the presence of women in society and the implementation of Islamic law while reformists have a revisionist attitude.
- b) Principlism advocates more religious rigor in society (for example, compulsion to observing Sharia law) while reformism believes in freedom in obeying religious orders.
- c) Principlism means conservatism; therefore principlists are mostly inflexible against changes; while reformism tends to deconstruct and is trying to stay away from traditionalism. Principlists behave mostly according to the Islamic revolution ambitions; on the other hand reformists focus on the role and power of people in leadership.
- d) When it comes to foreign policy, principlists believe in confronting the west and rely on eastern powers including china and Russia; reformists, on the other hand, believe in equal relations with both western and eastern countries.

## 3. Dialogue condition empowers the reformist faction

With Mohammad Khatami winning the seventh presidential election competition held on May 23, 1997, reforms and reformists developed. About 80 percent of eligible voters took part in the election, an unprecedented figure in an Iranian presidential election (Abrahamian, 2008: 186). In fact, the significant participation of the Iranian people in the election led to the victory of the reformists. Otherwise, principlists' supporters are a steady population who strongly believes in the fulfillment of the duties defined by Islamic revolution including participation in elections. Therefore, the principlists' vote basket is almost constant for every election. On the other hand, the victory of the reformists strongly depends on attendance of grey voters in elections.

Propaganda of the principlists in the election is mostly based on the speeches by the candidates and their supporters in large gatherings and religious platforms. However, But reformists

have always tried to establish mutual relations with the people. anian presidential election of 1997 took place on 23 May 1997, which resulted in an unpredicted win for the reformist candidate Mohammad Khatami

In the 1997 election leading to the emergence of a reformist movement in the political arena of Iran, Mohammad Khatami's propaganda had a surprisingly positive effect on people. Mohammad Khatami helped reducing the gap between government and society. People believed that they are able to affect their own destiny.

In addition to emphasizing mutual communication with the people inside the country, Khatami called for interaction and talk with all countries of the world, including the United States, what had been taboo in Iran until then. In response to a question about the possibility of Iran-US relations, in an electoral debate, he said "relations with this country is not impossible and could be practical if required circumstances is provided", his perspective on this issue attracted supports from some open minded people. During his presidency he insisted on the idea of dialogue, in this context he presented the theory of "Dialogue among Civilizations". Khatami offered the idea of a dialogue among civilizations in response to the theory of the clash of civilizations by Samuel Huntington, presented in 1990s.

However, this theory was not confined to the academic and theoretical fields, and was utilized as a political doctrine in Khatami's administration, what improved International relations with Iran and was welcomed by many international societies. In September 1998, on the recommendation of Khatami, 2001 was named the UN Year of Dialogue among Civilisations by The General Assembly of the United Nations (Petito, 2004: 12-15).

In February 1999, khatami's administration established the International Center for Dialogue on Civilizations in order for coordinating civil dialogue activities and named Sept. 21 "the day of dialogue among civilizations". However, later Mahmood Ahmadinejad's principlist administration removed this day from the official calendar of the country.

The reformist faction lost the 2005 electoral competition against principlists due to the people's refusal to vote and the inability of the faction to persuade people to vote. By the way, due to the top-down approach applied by principlists and the regret of the people of lack of participation in the last election, the participation of people in the 2009 controversial election was very broad and pre-election gatherings also showed the victory of the reformists but the announced results were against expectations. Reformists accused the regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran of widespread fraud in the election. The regime also severely suppressed protest rallies of a population of 3 to 4 million people. This caused the reformists to turn away from the competition for the 2011 parliamentary elections and it gave the principlists a parliamentary majority. People reacted once more and the Moderate candidate Hassan Rouhani, in 2014, secured surprise victory in race to succeed Mahmoud Ahmadinejad with just over 50% of the vote.

During his first administration, Hassan Rouhani tried to strengthen the dialogue inside and outside the country, mostly obvious in international equations. Therefore, the nuclear negotiating team was able to achieve a nuclear deal with the West during this period. From the principals who have elected and non-elected government institutions. However, those

principlists, who have control over unelectoral institutions of the government, have tried to hamper the reformist attempts.

#### **4. Monolog condition empowers the principlist faction**

The Islamic Republic of Iran is a political system that can be considered neither democracy nor authoritarian. Meanwhile, the principlist (conservative) faction seeks out its survival in light of the poor participation of people in elections, to rely on a democratic feature and to maintain electoral institutions. Principlists also prefer one sided confront with people. In spite of pretending to be interested in mutual interaction in political affairs, they practically benefit from one sided confront. This feature is mostly obvious in the government's appointing institutions under the control of the principlists as only few appointed seniors have direct and bilateral confront with representatives of popular institutions or journalists.

On the other hand, as mentioned above, the principlists prefer conditions under which only religious groups would go to vote. It is their only chance to win the electoral competitions. For example, the principlist Hamid Resayee, believes that "Hashemi Rafsanjani did not want the participation in the elections to increase. He argued that a high participation does not guarantee our favorite outcome. Keeping the participation in a low or middle level, the voters will mostly be religious people who follow our interests". Trying to keep the levels of participation in presidential election as low as possible, the principlists followed this strategy in 1997 (ANA, 2016).

#### **5. The dialogue environment of the reformists, the monologue environment of the principlists and the process of the nuclear deal**

During the eight years of talks between Tehran and the world powers under the Ahmadinejad's principlist administration, Iran was subject to severe sanctions by the United Nations Security Council. In the course Saeed Jalili was negotiating Iranian nuclear issues, four sanction resolutions of (1803) (March 2008), 1835 (September 27, 2008), 1887 (September 24, 2009), and 1929 (June 9, 2010) were issued by the United Nations Security Council against Iran. Three resolutions had also been issued against Iran during the period when Ali Larijani was Iran's top nuclear negotiator (Ashwarya, 2017: 354). Such sanctions were mostly the outcome of the principlist politicians' behavior in the international arena. In other word, comparing the international arena with the domestic situation, the principlists expected to achieve their goals in the international level by utilizing monologic condition, just as they do in the national level. Not only the reformists but also some principlists confirm this approach. Ali Akbar Velayati, a principlist who was the minister of foreign affairs for more than sixteen years from 1981 to 1997, in an electoral debate with Saeed Jalili strongly criticized Iran's approach for nuclear talks with world powers and the offensive foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran during the period when Jalili was at the top nuclear negotiating team. Velayati, also senior adviser to the Supreme Leader in international affairs, said that nuclear negotiations has not had any outcome but sever sanctions against Iran under Jalili's leadership. He mentioned that "diplomacy does not mean giving speech on the negotiating table but it means interaction. Some proposals were offered in Almati talks that were negotiable but Jalili deny them. I mean we have to go forward step by



step. Negotiation is not a philosophy class". In the mentioned debate, he continued criticizing Jalili asking him why there has been zero progress during the period he has been responsible for the nuclear talks (ANA, 2015).

On the other hand, Mohammad Javad Zarif, the foreign minister of the Rouhani's reformist administration mentioned that "our goal is to properly engage in resolving the nuclear debate". He called for a solution that would respect the indisputable rights of Iranians and, of course, could also address the concerns of some members of the international community. He argued that "we believe that we can come up with a solution that is acceptable to all parties" (jamnews, 2013). He practically relied on dialogue condition and bilateral interactions with world powers including the representatives of the United States to help resolving the Iranian nuclear dossier. The reformist's actions sparked intense criticism from the conservatives. They believed that mutual interactions between the foreign ministers of Iran and the United States are against the ideals of the Islamic Revolution. However, given to trump coming to power and his severe approach against Islamic Republic of Iran, Zarif stated in an interview that "he has met his new American counterpart but Iran is not opposed to the possibility of a meeting between with Secretary Tillerson if it is necessary for the implementation of the nuclear deal" (Radiofarda, 2017).

### Conclusion

As it comes from the findings of the research, reformists coming to power in 2013 and the great leap of the Iranian nuclear negotiating team from monologic condition to dialogic condition are the most significant factors that have contributed to concluding the JCPOA. The reformists rely on the approach of dialogue in regional and international levels since they need dialogic condition in national level. In fact, political life of the conservative faction depends on monologic condition but for the reformists a dialogic condition is determinative. Therefore, increasing the freedom of speech is in direct relation with promotion of the reformist party and weakening of the conservative faction. Therefore, reformists are strongly in the process of recognizing the right to dialogue within the country. Coming to power they support extending this right at the regional and international levels in order to guarantee their political presence.

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## DETERIORATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN MOROCCO AND ALGERIA

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### SUMMARY

1. Introduction
2. History
3. Main point
4. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction

Since years ago humans fight for their lands, the desire for power and control was the fuel that lead people to take wars and invade new area of the world.

The world has become a small village, where people can connect with each other from different places without even traveling, but there still wars and conflicts between many neighbors, wars of dominating and preserving the territories that have been inherited years ago, is this is the only reason behind that conflicts, or there are more hidden realities that should be discovered and addressed? Are we pushing the governments towards peace settlement and opening debate and dialogue in order to figure out a common solution, or we are just letting the media to add more fuel to the fire?

The land borders between Algeria and Morocco has been closed for about twenty years now, Despite their history as allies under the french colonial rule, the two have since been embroiled in serious territory disputes, They even began building separate walls in the past few years to further segregate themselves. So, what happened? Why Algeria and Morocco hate each other, and why the land borders are still closed between them for more than twenty years?

2. History

Well back in the mid 1800s and the early 1900s France controlled Algeria and Morocco, Algeria was a French colony, while Morocco was protectorate state defended by France, it wasn't until the mid 1900s that France relinquished its authority over the region, and that's when Morocco tried to reinstate its pre colonial land claims, which extended across parts of Algeria.

In 1963 Morocco invaded Southern Algeria, in what's known as the sand war, although a ceasefire was reached in 1964, they were already a hundreds casualties, and the war had a large effect on the two nation's diplomatic's attitude towards each other.

A decade after the ceasefire, Morocco again attempted to reinstate its pre colonial claims. Back in the 1975 after the withdrawal of Spanish occupation in 1975, the Moroccan king Hassan II ordered a "green march" of over a 300.000 Moroccans to the Western Sahara territory.

While the polisario front called for the establishment of a separate state in the region of the Western Sahara, the proclaimed the Sahrawi republic by the polisario front in the february 1976 and formed the first government of the desert, lead by Mohamed Ahmed in March 6, 1976.

Morocco attempted to annex the region known as the Western Sahara, when Sahar inhabitants rebelled, Algeria supported them against Morocco, today the conflict is still ongoing, with over a hundred thousand Saharans people still living in the Algerian refugee camps.

Morocco accused the eastern neighbor Algeria of supporting the polisario front against the kingdom which create a conflict between the two countries.

3. Main point

Morocco and Algeria started an arms race sharp and significant between the neighbors, where not only the struggle for the acquisition of weapons, but they also compete on the rehabilitation of the human factor and technical modernization. Algeria started to development of their weapons and acquisition of new weapons from various countries in particular war-planes Russian, from the other part Morocco also tend to rely on the united states on the availability of military equipments and modern aircraft, and other deals to promote their respective fields of weapons.

Algeria insisted to support the case of Western Sahara by all the way for reason to help Sahrawi people in their freedom, but there're other serious causes: Algerians considered the border war with Morocco in 1963 "sand war" the begining to expand the Marocan lands so they founded the Sahara case which create a problem to Morocco for stop and destroy their plan.

the Moroccan planned or "great Morocco" was to incorporate part part of the neighboring countries, a large part of the west of Algeria, part of West Mali and all the Mauritanian this plan became a Moroccan old dream which is the real cause of the conflict (historical root).

Toward the end of 1980s, tension cooled between Morocco and Algeria when both entered the Arab Maghreb Union, but in 1992 a civil war broke out in Algeria and after two years later an alleged guerrilla attack in Morocco, that was blamed in Algeria.

In 1994 Algeria Morocco border was closed began with a stick-

er on a hotel in Marrakech, Morocco announced that the Algerian secret service has directed the attack. Crisis followed and visa were imposed, borders shut, and thousands of Algerians tourists expelled.

4. Conclusion

Border still closed and increased to freeze the Maghreb Union countries and its impact on the economy of frond, missed the opportunities that this union was to have an important role in the region, if the politicians in the both countries were fair and put aside their political differences and focus on their common interests. Finally Algeria and Morocco remain at odds with each other, over territorial and political conflicts, and although the United Nations and the United States encourage both countries to cooperate and overcomes their differences, they are currently in a state of diplomatic stalemate.

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«ONE BELT, ONE ROAD... MANY BRIGDES»  
CHALLENGING FUTURE AND DIALOGIC  
CONDITION THROUGH THE PHENOMENON OF  
CHINESE INTERNET LITERATURE

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ABSTRACT

The emergence of a new literary field in China since the 1990s challenges practices and definition of dialogic condition both of Chinese people within mainland and diaspora abroad. While the right to dialogue of individuals lies on the confluence of historical, linguistic and legal realities,

this paper will discuss the development of digital spaces as an opportunity tending towards innovative forms of storytelling, creative linguistic registers and renewal of aesthetic traditions, tainted with the expectations of an avant-garde of novelist and poets. Therefore, new technologies and new ways of storytelling has to be considered as one of the many possibilities promoting digital interactions and embodying the tremendous growth of literary communities, which dovetails with the gradual opening of chinese society to the western masterpieces of literature.

Athwart an acute portrait of users practices, genres of writing, mutual influences between printed and online literature, we will seize the momentum of this paper to question, through a reasoned approach of dialogic condition, the capabilities of writers and readers to emancipate from traditionnal forms of storytelling.

### THE IMPORTANCE OF DIALOGUE: THE ABILITY TO BE UNDERSTOOD BY INSTITUTIONS AND STUDENTS AT THE SAME TIME

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#### ABSTRACT

I have been the first female President Of Consiglio degli Studenti at University of Perugia for a year and a half and when I accepted this role I had no idea of what challenge was awaiting for me. Having the responsibility to represent someone and to fight for something among the political institutions is very helpful to understand the importance of communication and dialogue. In fact, even if you think you are fighting for a right instance, unless you are good at making it popular with clear messages and attractive actions, you will hardly succeed in your aim. Even the register you use is very important and should be different according to your interlocutor: when I am referring to people of University administration I try to be more formal and the dialogue is very neutral and calm, while when I talk to students I am more informal and passionate to demonstrate to them my will to stand for them and for their rights.

Nowadays, there are a lot of means of communication and each of them is useful to let your message arrive to as more people as possible. Social networks play a fundamental role and help people to reconstruct an idea of yourself. But, even if I believe in the utility of social media, I think that spending time talking and listening to people face to face remains the best way to approach if you want to make part of the institutions.

### DIALOGIC CONDITIONS IN CYBERSPACE: THE LEGAL DILEMMA OF INTERNET GOVERNANCE

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Our 30-minute speech will build on the conceptualisation of Internet as a hybrid spatial dimension where private and public actors are forced to establish formal and informal channels of dialogue. Amidst the formal ones, institutional confrontation and cooperation for a through supranational judicial mechanisms are arguably the most rapidly evolving, while challenging not only traditional understandings of legal issues, but also the institutions more suitable to address those concerns. Underpinned by the alienation between the practical perspective of the original community of engineers who designed Internet to be open, and the ethical perspective of the social-sciences academia who expect Internet to be both unconstrained and secure, our contribution will assess "institutional dialogue" as a necessity for a harmonisation of laws which is able to lead towards a diffused and consistent regime of regulated e-governance.

Following some broader discussions on the matter, we will focus on the case-study of cyber-terrorism to give auditors a picture of the current "state of the art" in the complex relationship between two opposite (?) trends: the globalisation of cyber-crimes and the increasing regionalisation of Public International Law.

Our presentation will be primarily based on the article *Regional Courts in Regional Organizations: An enhanced judicial cooperation, or the failure of international law? The*



**counter-terrorism case-study, amidst field particularisms and globalised cyber-attacks**, published online by FiloDiritto (Bologna, Italy) in two parts in May and September 2017. This is an ambitious, in-depth analysis aimed at updating and enriching the scholarly debate on the topic, by linking 450+ sources which belong to practitioners and academicians from all over the planet. Our analysis is freely available on [https://www.filodiritto.com/documenti/2017/vecellioabstract-cyberterrorism-\\_-first-part.pdf](https://www.filodiritto.com/documenti/2017/vecellioabstract-cyberterrorism-_-first-part.pdf) [introduction and first part] and [https://www.filodiritto.com/documenti/2017/vecellio-final-regional-courts\\_part\\_2.pdf](https://www.filodiritto.com/documenti/2017/vecellio-final-regional-courts_part_2.pdf) [second part and conclusions].

Additionally and tangentially, the presentation will touch upon other recent contributions, among which:

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## INDIA-PAKISTAN DISRUPTED CULTURAL DIALOGUE: A HISTORIC CASUALTY

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### ABSTRACT

Amidst all the tensions that our world is facing right now, two nations in the third world region are facing an existential crisis for their literature, arts, cinema, theatre and culture. Both these countries were very much the part of each other until

the past 70 years. Their people still can't really differentiate themselves except for the fact they have different coloured passports. The cultural dialogue between the two is so closely knit that if untied shall result into a fabric torn apart- never to be mended again.

In a season of jingoism, stupidity with generous doses of intolerance and not patriotism rules the roost. Like our Pakistani counterparts, Indian music, poetry, television and literature have acted as a bridge between generations, cultures and nations — our nations.

All of a sudden, art and cultural cooperation look like becoming a casualty in the latest confrontation between India and Pakistan. We must not let that happen.

Recently, both the nations have started in the spur of nationalism- banning the exchange of cultural products that we very much share. Which have been a part and parcel of people's lives ever since the history started to get recorded. The people pro to this mindset are the real threat makers. What the threat-makers forget is this — culture humanises what politics demonises. Banning artists, writers, actors and poets will give victory to the terrorists and extremists who don't want people-to-people contact and dialogue. They only want to create fear.

Notably, despite the trauma of Partition, our history of conflict and the pain of the present moment, there still remains, miraculously, great love, friendship and a deep spiritual harmony between Indians and Pakistanis, which elders to current generations.

In the 21st century, we live in an interconnected world. Whether it's appreciating music and film or fighting polio, the joys and sorrows of life are increasingly shared. After Partition, we have three armies, three cricket teams, two jingoistic medias and two nuclear-armed states. And it seems as if the only people who want to work together are business leaders, artists and doctors.

It doesn't have to be that way. The circle of light can grow wider.

Despite close-knit cultural affinities that linger nearly 70 years after a bitter divide, Indo-Pak culture wars have worn out the old fabric. More often, though, the exchanges have been fraught with anxiety, uncertainty and tension.

Crude, virulent jingoism has spread widely in India due to a combination of factors: deeply cynical politicians; a baying television media that routinely defaults to craven or hysterical; but also very real anxieties stirred up by unprecedented social churn and runaway globalization.

By preventing people-to-people dialogues—through culture, trade, travel, sports, and the arts—each side demonizes the other. In democracies, people do ask their leaders questions, and the communication with the leader is not stage-managed, but a two-way street; it is a dialogue, not a monologue.

### Introduction

India and Pakistan have been neighbours since 70 years and before that, well they shared the same house. While one brother has seen democracy ever since being independent, the other went through a period of turmoil of dictatorship for 33 years. However, Pakistan and India share the same and common cultural history and are tied with the upheaval of the invaders

and colonial powers of the past as well. After the Independence, both India and Pakistan had fought three wars (1965, 1971 and 1999) along with the time to time border tensions and clashes, military confrontations and blaming each other for assistance to non-state violent actors. But, despite all the tensions which may prevail on both sides of the border, the common people still find ways to be connected to each other via common history, culture, language and ethnicity. These bonds, although woven of simple fabric, contain with them, much value which both the worlds tend to notice. Whatever is valuable, happens to be fought over, and hence these domains have as well not been spared, especially in the recent past.

Everything has its place, the aphorism goes, and there can be found in this a fair bit of wisdom. For when knock-on effects start to accrue, unintended and adverse consequences can occur. Currently, nowhere is this more applicable than in the context of the cultural ties between Pakistan and India, which appear to increasingly have become a casualty of the two countries' pugnacity. It was in September last year that Indian security forces in Uri, India-held Kashmir, came under attack, with the Indian government losing no time in 'detecting' — without evidence — some shadowy Pakistani connection. As far as Bollywood is concerned, which is India's Movie industry, also producing the most number of films in the world, reacted to the situation in a surprising yet predictable fashion. Pressure started building by the right wing, Nationalist hindutva leaders who by force wanted the Pakistani artists working in the industry to be expelled with immediate effect. The giants of movie industry were threatened of cinema halls being burned down, if they still were indulged in any commercial activity with the Pakistani superstars in their films.

In the wake of the above incident, Pakistan retaliated as well, which was seen coming. The cinema owners — no doubt worried about the safety of their infrastructure and reputations in an atmosphere in which India-bashing was actively being stoked — decided to suspend the screening of Indian films. Subsequently, Pakistan's electronic media regulator, Pemra, issued orders that all Indian content be taken off television and radio, while in India, the airing on television of hitherto highly popular Pakistani soaps was halted.

Although, later, in a welcome development the Lahore High Court scrapped down the notification by Pemra last year regarding the Indian dramas being broadcasted on Pakistan's privatised television channels. But, there is still a long way to go. Over the years, Pakistani actors and singers have managed to avoid and be safe from the after-effects of such terrorist attacks, which would earlier only hinder the functioning for a few days or weeks before they came up again. But, that was before the rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party government at the Centre, the exponential growth of Nationalist meme armies on social networking sites, the war-mongering journalists and panels on TV channels like Times Now and CNN News 18, and the polarisation of the movie industry into liberals, centrists, and proud ultra-right-wingers like the actor Anupam Kher among various others. Partition saw a flight of talent from India to Pakistan and vice versa. Indian films were still being released in Pakistan after 1947. But by the mid-1950s, severe restrictions began to be placed on their distribution to boost the growth of the local film industry, known

as Lollywood because it was headquartered in Lahore. “The restriction on Bombay films opened a new free and non-competitive market for local productions,” writes Mushtaq Gazdar in *Pakistan Cinema 1947-1997*. “1956 proved to be the most fruitful year of the first decade in terms of box-office returns from indigenous cinema.”

The cultural heritage threat the two countries share is priceless and there have been numerous artists and works on both sides of the border which have been appreciated by the other. The motive of the paper is to highlight the fact that, it is not always the trade or defence diplomacy that works out in the field because there have been instances where Cultural diplomacy has proved to be of much use especially in a case like this and others involving cultural conflict over shared heritage.

### Cultural Diplomacy

Cultural diplomacy means a system for diversity, which can be divided into both strategic short and long term planning. The NGOs play a vital role in taking forward the agendas. The undeniable role of past cultural heritage is omnipresent. It is not easily achievable alone but by the strong presence of the like-minded actors who want the same results. Some believe Cultural Diplomacy involves limited politics, and advocating, promoting and interacting culture beyond national border. Often historically it was considered Cultural Diplomacy to be an aid towards diplomatic policies. One understanding shall be, different regions may take the term “Cultural Diplomacy” differently according to their systems. Instance, for England, they have a British council to take up this role. So can it be a positive edge for India and Pakistan being together geographically and what they interpret about “Cultural Diplomacy” is similar. So arts, music, sports and global issues do form certain amount of mutual linkages between India and Pakistan.

The phenomena of cultural diplomacy using the state's culture in support of its foreign policy goals paved a way for the possibility of peaceful India-Pakistan relations. But, as Kermani (2010, p. 34) rightly a point out that in the case of the India-Pakistan relations, cultural diplomacy is. Kermani further reiterates that the efficacy of culture to act as a connecting link between the two countries is higher and more feasible compared to the use of coercion and threat. The former can bring friendship, peace and brotherhood between India and Pakistan while the later can inflict the two nations with death, destruction and sorrow.

The discourse of world politics can in no manner be complete without inquiring about how the question of culture and identity has impacted the political understanding of numerous communities. Cultural forces have been studied in international politics to understand the stability or instability of world order (Cumings, 2003). Culture attracts attention towards a country's ideas and values and hence plays a vital role in displaying the positive image of a country. Many of the leading economies and world powers have resorted to this plan of action to take their motives further and realise them in a place which is so very distinct to them. There has been an immense contribution of artists and sportspersons in promoting peace and amity between India and Pakistan. They along with scholars, students, actors, musicians and writers act as emissaries of peace and goodwill (Faiz, 2007:32).

An elitist culture that involves exchange of ideas through books and novels has also played out a major role in the knowledge dissemination between the two countries.. However, here it needs to be underlined that popular culture (including movies) among the two countries has a wider reach because of the availability on the internet and the fact that anyone can freely access them online. Sheema Kermani, one of the most prominent theatre and cultural artists from Pakistan, works and writes extensively for the promotion of cultural diplomacy between India and Pakistan. She is a strong proponent of culture and its use as a tool for diplomacy between India and Pakistan. Kermani (2010, p. 277) elucidates, *India and Pakistan share the same history, language and since centuries shared the same culture and thus it is an important tool which can be used for the improvement of the relations. Culture is the only medium that can help India and Pakistan to come together as culture overcomes barriers of language and geography.*

#### **Welcome Developments: Cultural exchange (Pak's view):**

Analysing what the people in power on the other side of the border have to say is that recently, Pakistan National Council of the Arts (PNCA) Director General Tauqir Nasir in his exclusive talk to Pakistan Today said that "cultural ties between India and Pakistan were ready for a new chapter."

After his return from India on a weeklong official tour to sign a cultural pact with the two sub-continent ideological rivals, Nasir said, "India-Pakistan pact for exchange in music, dance, theatre and visual arts could become reality next year with the Pakistan National Council of the Arts (PNCA) renewing a dialogue with the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR)."

It is gestures like these which generate hope and subsequently peace in both countries and initiatives like them have to be encouraged every now and then, because not many of them see themselves coming to reality, and that's a reality!

The PNCA chief said: "Like we have been pushing bilateral trade, culture is also trade. We want to push it. India and Pakistan have so much in common. The two countries share a link of civilization since ancient Mohenjo Daro and Harappa era," he said. Nasir said while having informal discussions with Director General of Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) Suresh K Goel about signing a cultural pact between the two nations he said he was hopeful that a pact would materialise soon.

"There is an MoU, which is in progress. I hope we can materialise those things. In simple terms, it is almost agreed from both sides. There is no problem.- We want this cultural pact should be done. We can do it in practical," Nasir said.

#### **Saddening facts**

From the Indian point of view, The radical Islamisation in Pakistan is something which gravely concerns the matter being discussed and it came with Zia appropriating political power on July 5, 1977, after dislodging the elected prime minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Till then and in spite of the three wars the two countries had fought, the people of Pakistan believed there were no cultural differences between them and those on the other side of the border.

The general, by being at the highest seat of the country, used the right-wing politics and radicalisation in the country by distributing loads of money among the proponents of the right-wing through the much defamed (then) International Intelligence of the country. Classical Indian music and dance were banned and colleges were told to close down their music societies.

It has been unfortunate to know and live in an era when the same ideology were taken forward by the successors of the disgraceful Zia era-- Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif. Not only Indian films and plays are banned from the official media, but even renowned Indian poets such as Ali Sardar Jafri and Kaifi Azmi were not allowed to appear on Pakistani television. Can there be a greater mockery of the fact that while Urdu is Pakistan's national language, the most prominent names in Urdu poetry in the whole of the subcontinent are treated with contempt and disgrace?

*Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, the popular Sufi singer who died in London, was termed a kafir for his remark that both Allah and Ishwar spoke through the swara or sur. A section of the Pakistani press has lately described Zee TV as "far more lethal than Prithvi" because it is trying to invade "the cultural and ideological boundaries" of Pakistan by telecasting Indian programmes through satellite. (rediff.com)*

In the larger context, culture, literature and democracy correspond to the heart, soul and mind of a nation. I am definitely against the view that any of the two countries who are a part of this dialogue should bring down politics to such a shameful level and start banning artists or artworks from across the border. It will not be a welcome move from either of the parties and also, both should understand the fact that retaliation by the other is inevitable if one of them sets foot forward in this direction.

#### **Suggestions**

There should be cultural exchange programs between India and Pakistan.

The artists should be allowed to freely work in each other's TV programs and films and there should be no ban on telecasting each other's programs in both countries.

The Indian Cultural Center should be established within Pakistan and Pakistan's Cultural Center in India to bring the people together by understanding each other's customs, traditions and values.

There should be inter-cultural dialogue between the activists, students, writers, scholars, historians to promote peace and harmony between two nations.

Directing funding towards cultural peace projects like: Marathons (Walk/Cycling) for violence against women and children, aids and other diseases should more often be encouraged.

More autonomy should be provided to the civil society and the government should refrain from creating hurdles rather should just have a monitory role.

Very important; visa processes shall be made flexible at both ends, many of times artists and other non state actors have waited too long to be granted with permission for entry.

#### **Conclusion**

People and the various civil society organisations working towards making peace on both the sides of the border are of the

view that to withhold the notion of animosity is very expensive and is draining away both the country of their rich culture and resources which they once shared. There is no gain to be seen in maintaining such animosity between the two. But this mutual distrust and apprehension will always remain if there happens to be no interaction between the two countries in the form of cultural dialogic exchange. Why culture, because it is very much manifested in the diplomatic measures that can be withheld between the bilateral talks of both the countries. Then, socio-economic cooperation and cultural exchange are necessary measures to be taken to understand each other's culture and hence bridge the divide. There should be developed a research agenda that may well explore the effects of culture on the national foreign policies of both the countries. "It (cultural dialogue) becomes difficult sometimes, invisible, perhaps inaudible sometimes, I propose that the dialogue never ceases. That dialogue must never cease," Vajpayee, the former Prime Minister of India, urged.

Congress leader Mani Shankar Aiyar echoed similar views, asserting the path of cultural exchange "is a way of retaining the human element to facilitate the process of peace".

Time and again, not governments, but people of both the countries have stood up and shown that it is not always the government which fosters a healthy dialogue, but we as civilians can also do it. The observation of birth centenary of noted Pakistani writer/poet Faiz Ahmad Faiz, which was celebrated across both the countries is one such example. I urge, through this paper, that it should become a movement rather than just being a spark and dying out in the monologue of the political diktats on both the sides. There requires to be a cultural uprising, and that will happen once we establish conditions of dialogue, between the people, the governments will eventually follow.

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## ART AS DISCOURSE: READING THE POTTER'S POETICS IN SELECTED WORKS FROM THE IFE ART SCHOOL, NIGERIA

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## ABSTRACT

"Art as Discourse" examines the work of art as a product of human intuition and responses. As noted by Lazzari and Schlesier (2008), none except human beings, makes art to better understand life or to communicate passions or ideas to others. This paper specifically explores the potter's poetics using the sculptural pottery of Michael Fajuyigbe, Michael Okunade and Segun Ajiboye as basis for interrogating their dialogic experience. Data for the study comprises 6 works

drawn from the three artists. Interviews, participant observation techniques and relevant literature are explored in data collection; while the data analysis embraces ideological art criticism. The study reveals that in every work of art - irrespective of media and style, there are specific ideas the artist seeks to share with his/her audience. The selected works show the artists' capacity to engineer discourses focussing on social and political issues through subjective creative expressions. The works also portray the intensive expressiveness and ideological grounding of the Ife art graduates in contemporary Nigerian art through consistent intellectualisation and objectification of ideas. This paper submits that art as an intellectual discourse is a product of a thinking and responsive individual, who presents viewers an alternate platform for imaginative contemplation, aesthetic education and pleasure.

**Key Words:** Dialogue, Pottery, Intuition, Contemporary Art, Iconography.

### 1. Introduction

*The artist is a solitary worker. The things that he creates from within - they are the visible manifestation of his observations, his impressions and his reactions*  
(Brown, 1966, p.65)

The most important function of art, as stated by Ogunor (1990), is that it is the visual representation of human thoughts or feelings in form of objects that satisfy one's craving for the good. A work of art contained within its form the capability to communicate ideas to viewers and generate discourses on issues that affect individual persons and the larger social environment. Battcock (1964) opines that a work of art is not a spontaneous occurrence, but an object produced by thinking, feeling, and responding individual who is part of a larger social environment. This means art is much more than intuition. Specifically, art "involves the hand, the eye, the intellect and the imagination in forming a concept and making two and three dimensional objects and environments which reflect the aesthetic, conceptual and expressive concerns of individuals or groups" (Read, 1961, p.23). Thus, art is not an end in itself; rather, it is a means to an end; an end designed by the artist to communicate, educate and create awareness regarding the social, cultural, economic and political trends in his/her world. This perspective is in consonance with ideological art criticism which perceives of "all art as being ideological and directly or subtly supporting some particular political agenda, cultural or economic/theoretical hierarchy" (Lazzari and Schlesier, 2008, p.135). Proponents of ideological criticism view all works of art, including pottery, as not just utilitarian or aesthetic forms but effective and spontaneous tools of social commentary that acquaint the public with the actions and inactions of the political class and their impact on collective social welfare of the citizenry.

### 2. Art as discourse

Art is a language of visual communication explored by artists to initiate, participate and contribute to discourses on social and political welfare of humans in a cultural context. Art is thus a silent but provocative tool that can draw viewers' at-

tention to artist's deepest thoughts and intention. Artists use their works (painting, sculpture, pottery, etc.) to create awareness, to stimulate and impact viewers' imagination. Truly, art reflects the historical, cultural, social, economic and political condition of a people. Hence, "to communicate effectively by way of art is to show real understanding and deep sympathy for the artist's felt experiences, material or physical and psychic" (Okeke, 2006, p.9). Therefore, the social, economic, political and environmental factors affecting artists cannot be separated from their creative outputs.

Works of art are tools for critical dialogue through which the artist respond to issues around him. The conscious dissemination of visual codes and innuendos by visual artists underscores their responsiveness to the world around them. To understand a work of art therefore, one needs to be acquainted with the 'original environment' of the work or else the observer cannot fully experience its meaning and purpose (Battcock, 1964). With respect to art as discourse, Bowman (2004) argues that the 'work' the artist produced is generated from a profound knowledge of the cultural context out of which it is produced, and in which it is subsequently placed. Hence, works of art are instruments of surveying and gauging the social order.

Generally, potters are endowed with indigenous ability and technical mastery of forms to portray ideas to better understand the transience of life and communicate deep feelings and graceful expressions. Brown's (1966) perception above is most appropriate to the potter: his life, works and poetics. This paper therefore is an inquiry into the aesthetic consciousness, imaginative contemplation and creative insight of the potter. The forms created are objectification of the sum total of the thoughts, inspirations and ideas the potter has experienced across time and space.

### 3. Ife Art School

The selected potters trained at the Ife art school, where students are exposed to independent and critical inquiry as the basis for artistic creativity and expression. Art training at the Ife Art School, Obafemi Awolowo University, a prestigious citadel of learning and culture in Ile-Ife, Nigeria encourages rigorous exploration, contextualisation and intellectualisation of materials and ideas. The end-products are therefore "received not as mere art objects but as visual documents that could be read, understood and appreciated by viewers irrespective of their academic and cultural background" (Fajuyigbe, 2017, p.26). Ife Art School advocates a methodology of art teaching which guiding principles involve a tripod concept of "teach, master, and be yourself" Ojo<sup>1</sup> (p.c. 2016).

The phrase '*be yourself*' emphasises the need for students to explore their limitless creative potentialities and individuality. In retrospect, Ololodi (2008) submits that the hallmark of Ife art school is its strong ideological position, creative vibrancy and intellectual fixations, as espoused by the Ona<sup>2</sup> artists.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. O. Ojo is a former professor of Art History and founding member of fine and applied arts department, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife.

<sup>2</sup> Ona is simply the exploration of Yoruba traditional motifs, structure, and concept using local materials." Azeez (2009) Ona focuses on the exploration of indigenous material, art forms and techniques based on the renaissance of Yoruba cultural philosophy and heritage.



In addition, the School encourages “ethnoaesthetics<sup>3</sup>” as a creative paradigm for exploring contemporary issues in their social, cultural, political, and aesthetic dimensions. The artistic ideals championed by the Ona artists have continued to be relevant to creative expressions in the school. There is therefore the need to explore the poetics of contemporary Ife academic potters.

#### 4. Methodology

The study uses qualitative method of art historical analysis. The focus pivots around the formal configuration of selected pottery, purposively drawn from three contemporary Nigerian artist-potters. Collected data are analysed using descriptive method (of formal and contextual analyses) in art history due to the context dependency of the selected works. The analysis was carried out to investigate the musings or poetics emanating from the potter’s mind, and specifically, the portrayal of the socio-political situations in Nigeria.

#### 5. Findings and discussions

The study revealed works of art, irrespective of media and style, as tools of dialogue, visual communication and critical inquiry. The potters’ capacity to engineer discourses focusing on social, economic and political issues through subjective creative expressions to shape the perception of the public is also noted. The works also portray the intensive expressiveness and ideological grounding of the Ife art graduates in contemporary Nigerian art through consistent intellectualisation and objectification of ideas.

#### 6. Ironu Amokoko: The Potter’s Poetics

The potters and their works draw viewers’ attention to exploring their deepest feelings and expressions as responses to the socio-cultural and political issues in Nigeria.

##### 6.1 Ayanbinrin (Female Drummer)

*Ayanbinrin*, a compound word consisting of *ayan* (drummer) and *obinrin* (female), typifies a legendary master female drummer in Yoruba culture. Her firm breasts symbolises her femininity, fecundity and sexuality, while her slightly raised shoulder indicates feminine pride and beauty. Entwined and intoned with the drum, *ayanbinrin*’s robes flow rhythmically with the music. She cradles the drum between her thighs, beating it with matchless dexterity. The form is a combination of rhythm, harmony and ecstatic gestures. The drum epitomizes celebration, ecstasy and entertainment, while the miniature gongs framing the drum’s rim are symbols of a woman’s spirituality, power, essence and royalty; and with respect to ‘*ayanbinrin*’ the drum and the gongs are the proof of her heritage - *Ayan Dynasty*. The slightly bent form of ‘*ayanbinrin*’ connotes her dedication, humility and submissiveness, despite her many endowments. The facial expression reveals her inner bliss and peace.

*Ayanbinrin* is a metaphor for gender balance, as well as a potter’s dialogue on equality and equity for all irrespective of sex. The female gender in Africa should be given the chance to contribute her quota and exercise her freedom to become

who and what she wants to be despite the limitations imposed by the society. The work is a critical inquiry into the age-long social boundaries of limitation, segregation and secrecy that blanket the female person in Africa: her womanhood, her sexuality and her endowments. What is good for the goose is also good for the gander; hence, the artist envisions the possibility of an egalitarian society, where justice and equity prevail.

##### 6.2 Onirese (Calabash Carver)

*Onirese* depicts a calabash carver in the traditional outfit of *dansiki* (top) and *fila* (cap) common among the Oyo Yoruba in Nigeria. The carver is enclosed, draped and projected from the bunch of skilfully decorated calabashes/gourds calabashes in various shapes and sizes. *Onirese* is a legendary Yoruba master calabash carver. He is ingenious and prolific; hence, the adage: “*Bi Onirese o ba fin’gba mo, eyi t’o ti fin sile o le parun*” - “If *Onirese* stops carving calabash, the ones he has produced will endure”, meaning ‘it pays to be prolific and enterprising in one’s profession’.

*Onirese* is a critical inquiry into the benefits of commitment, diligence and excellence in ones chosen profession. Therefore, one is expected to “make haste while the sun shines”; there is no room for idleness. As discourse on hard work, entrepreneurial skill, business acumen, and artistic creativity; the artist encourages constant exercise of human imagination to developing innovative ideas for better understanding of human existence. The lesson: Give your best at all time, for there comes a time when little or nothing can be done due to old age or sickness. Only by being enterprising and prolific can we be fulfilled as humans

##### 6.3 Mending fences

Social relations also present the artist with reflections. Olusegun Ajiboye grew up in the Mushin suburb of Lagos. Like any other heavily populated neighbourhood in Nigeria, Mushin is a theatre of actions, reactions and attitudes. Sometimes, neighbours are embroiled in altercations, hurling abusive words as a way of settling scores. *Mending Fences* is an invitation to peaceful dialogue: to settle quarrels amicably among warring parties and disgruntled individuals; to ensure better human interactions. Offences are inevitable in social interactions, in communities and nations, in mosques, churches, schools and organisations, and in family life. Nevertheless, there is the need for collective efforts to mending the fractured fences and restore peace, irrespective of whose vituperations are justified. It is by mending the fences fractured by hatred, ethnic/religious intolerance, and selfishness can we experience meaningful advances in our social, political, and religious life as individuals, corporate bodies and a nation.

##### 6.4 Slavery Series I

This work is an assemblage comprising the lid (head), a small pot that indicates the upper body and elaborate *agbada* attire of a politician, and a bigger pot with distorted heads/forms arranged round its rim. This piece is a critical discourse and inquiry into the relationship between the political leadership and the electorate (masses) in Nigeria. The artist emphasises the subtle, systematic and steady enslavement of the masses

<sup>3</sup> Ethnoaesthetics defines the use of ethnic criteria for the projection of aesthetic ideals (Okediji, 2002:205)

through selective appointments, award of contracts/projects, and lopsided distribution of democratic dividends among party loyalists. The mental slavery is more pronounced in the corridor of power, among party functionaries, in the armed forces, the civil service, the industry, and financial/academic institutions across the country. The piece also examines the social and economic annihilation of the poor and middle class irrespective of their status, and educational, religious and ethnic background. Those who ought to salvage the pathetic condition have become mute and impassive, as indicated by the caricature of people whose eyes are hazy and mouths have been padlocked through corruption (plate 6). Hence, they see nothing, they hear nothing and they say nothing.

6.5 Bamubamu (Who Cares)

The artist explores the formal properties of *oke* -a sack of money and cowries, both symbols of money economy in the days of yore in Africa. The piece is symbolic. The cowrie and the protruding sack with hands cradling it represent the corpulence and attitude of the wealthy in contemporary Nigeria. The work is conceptualised using the Yoruba adage: “*bamu bamu ni mo yo, emi o mo bi ebi n pa eni kankan*”. In literal sense, it means: “I am full and satisfied; I don’t care if anyone is hungry”. The artist, Michael Okunade, reflects on the ‘I don’t care’, ‘winner-takes-all’ attitude of the wealthy and powerful in Nigeria. What a disdain to the poor? What psychological trauma the poor go through daily? This piece describes the successful or powerful people, and the rich educated in Nigeria. It is an inquiry into the materialistic tendencies of the rich; some even flaunt their wealth and achievements to the envy of the less-privileged.

7. Conclusion

In summary, contemporary Nigerian potters explore pottery as tools of discourse; thus their works are evidences of a potter’s dialogic condition. The selected potters focused their poetics on a number of discourses: gender equality and equity; political leadership; diligence and resourcefulness, peaceful conflict resolution, mental slavery, and hedonistic tendencies of the rich. Michael Fajuyigbe’s pottery is stylised and figural; Michael Okunade’s form is symbolic while Olusegun Ajiboye’s pottery is expressive. However, the selected works are couched in philosophical and aesthetic tones. The work of art therefore is a product of artistic research when the artist engages his viewers in useful dialogues.

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Plates:



Plate 1a-c: *Ayanbinrin* - Michael Fajuyigbe (2015)  
Medium: Terracotta. Height: 17 inches.  
Photograph: Titobiloluwa Ogundipe





Plate 2: *Onirese* - Michael Fajuyigbe (2014)  
Medium: Terracotta. Height: 15 inches.  
Photograph: Titobiloluwa Ogundipe



Plate 3: *Mending Fences* – Olusegun Ajiboye (2016)  
Medium: Terracotta. Height: 6 inches.  
Photograph: Titobiloluwa Ogundipe



Plate 4: *Slavery Series I* – Olusegun Ajiboye (2017)  
Medium: Terracotta. Height: 10 inches.  
Photograph: Titobiloluwa Ogundipe



Plate 5: *Bamubamu* – Yinka Okunade (2000)  
Medium: Terracotta. Height: 20 inches.  
Photograph: Michael Fajuyigbe

**RARE SHARING: LA COMPLESSITÀ DEL  
DIALOGO TRA RARISSIMI**

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*“Il problema è capirsi. Oppure nessuno può capire nessuno: ogni merlo crede d’aver messo nel fischio un significato fondamentale per lui, ma che solo lui intende; l’altro gli ribatte qualcosa che non ha relazione con quello che lui ha*

*detto; è un dialogo tra sordi, una conversazione senza né capo né coda. Ma i dialoghi umani sono forse qualcosa di diverso?"*

ITALO CALVINO

La vita delle persone è perennemente orientata verso qualcuno e, attraverso lo scambio dialogico, l'altro assume un'importanza fondamentale nella formazione dell'io, affermando implicitamente che l'esistenza dell'uomo è coesistenza (Salgado et al., 2005), insita nella sua natura. L'interazione che si crea tra gli individui ha forma dialogica, sia verbale che non verbale (Hermans, 1996) e in questo modo si creano infinite trame narrative e quando il dialogo si sviluppa, una storia viene ri-scritta. Molto spesso accade che il dialogo venga riscritto ogni volta che si riattiva o nella nostra immaginazione o nelle relazioni interpersonali, pertanto la psicologia viene in soccorso, cercando di ritrovare un dialogo più flessibile.

La complessità del dialogo con le persone rare e tra le persone rare è caratterizzata dalla difficoltà nel risuonarsi. La complessità del risuonarsi si amplifica nella misura in cui il termine persona lo si consideri nell'accezione per-sona: attraverso i suoni. Esemplificativa del risuonare come possibilità di "cura" è la pellicola documentario *La storia del cammello che piange* (2003)<sup>4</sup>. Infatti gli attori, o meglio i protagonisti del docu-film, non recitano; semplicemente esistono, nella loro verità, nei loro rituali, e la macchina da presa cerca di coglierne la solidità dei gesti, dei movimenti, la concretezza degli sguardi, il loro essere corpo davanti all'obiettivo. I dialoghi hanno rilevanza minima; i rumori, il canto, il pianto straziante del cammello, il vento e il silenzio stesso saturano le immagini fin quasi a immobilizzarle, rendendole così statuarie nella loro immota bellezza. La diversità del piccolo nato spaventa la madre, che lo allontana e lo rifiuta, abbandonando entrambi al silenzio della solitudine. E' il "risuonare" che tocca le corde esistenziali ed emotive della cammella, le cui lacrime sono la rottura di quel silenzio stridente, e che ora le consentono di allattare finalmente il piccolo cucciolo, risuonando sul pentagramma della diade madre-bambino. *La storia del cammello che piange* evidenzia quanto sia difficile con-tenere la complessità dei suoni provenienti dal raro megafono del disagio esistenziale soprattutto quando la risposta attesa della per-sona malata è un: Ti sento, Ti vedo, Ti accompagno.

Inevitabile, in questa dimensione dialogica della cura, è il riferimento al pensiero filosofico di Martin Buber. Per il filosofo e pedagogista ebreo, il senso fondamentale dell'esistenza umana era da rintracciarsi *"nel principio dialogico, cioè nella capacità di stare in relazione con la totale natura,*

*con gli altri uomini, con le entità spirituali, ponendosi in un rapporto Io-Tu"* (Buber, 1991) e rischiando autenticamente se stessi.

Per le persone affette da malattie rare, la sofferenza può derivare proprio da una mancanza di dialogo tra le parti: perché ci si sente soffocati, assoggettati da una voce dominante, oppure perché non vi è una gerarchia e il dialogo risulta caotico, o ancora perché le parole posso essere incomprensibili o non spiegate adeguatamente, mancando di empatia e di chiarezza, e creando disagi nell'altro.

Una complessità dialogica è quella fra scienza, operatori sanitari, malati rari e familiari. Qual è il paradosso delle malattie rare? Sebbene siano rare, molti sono gli individui affetti, quindi non è così insolito soffrire di una malattia rara. Essere "colpiti" da una malattia rara presuppone che l'intero nucleo familiare ne sia colpito, e che quindi il vivere la malattia non si ferma al piano unicamente individuale, ma investe anche chi sta intorno. Ma, cosa significa ricevere una diagnosi o avere un figlio, un fratello, un padre, una madre con una diagnosi di malattia rara? In questo caso sono le parole a diventare rare, quando si è travolti dall'onda della rabbiosa impotenza. Parole che diventano quasi fragili, che si frantumano nel silenzio impotente della relazione dialogica con il malato raro che manifesta la sua completa fragilità. Anche nella sfera familiare, dopo la diagnosi di malattia rara, lentamente inizia a prendere forma la fragilità comunicativa. La famiglia diventa fragile e corre il rischio di frantumarsi, come fosse un'ampolla di cristallo, in bilico su di una corda di violino. Diventa prioritario, quindi, dialogare con la complessità della fragilità. Jay Haley (1963) afferma *"Il debole ha bisogno di qualcuno che si occupi di lui e che, in un certo senso, lo controlli ma, comportandosi da debole, egli definisce quale deve essere la relazione, cioè quella in cui l'altro si prende cura di lui"*.

Per prendersi cura di un bambino, di una persona fragile o dell'intera famiglia fragile c'è bisogno non solo di tutte le risorse di un intero ospedale, ma che esse lavorino in modo integrato, dialogando tra loro e con il territorio: e questo io lo chiamo welfare leggero. In aggiunta alla generale insufficienza in termini di trattamento e cura, il deserto psicologico circostante è particolarmente doloroso per i singoli pazienti e familiari. Non solo ci si sente inermi di fronte ad una malattia di cui si conosce davvero poco, ma ci si sente incompresi, come se l'altro non fosse in grado di capire la difficoltà di vivere questa quotidianità così dolorosa. Il sol sentire le parole "Ti capisco" ed essere in grado di condividere storie e situazioni della vita quotidiana può essere di incredibile aiuto. Talvolta, è persino possibile ridere insieme su realtà dolorose, per rimuovere la tensione intollerabile che è parte della vita di tutti i giorni per i pazienti affetti da malattie rare e per i loro familiari. Il dialogo diviene importante valvola di sfogo, possibile solo se ci si sente pienamente compresi, in assoluta sicurezza, in un ambiente protetto e senza pregiudizi. Di conseguenza, nella relazione dialogica con la persona rara, è di fondamentale importanza l'applicazione dell'epoché ovvero la sospensione del giudizio, concedendosi la possibilità fenomenologica di stare in quel che c'è nell'hic et nunc.

E' arduo, per gli operatori sanitari, sentire dentro di sé risuonare il grido di dolore, di impotenza, di solitudine, di rabbia

<sup>4</sup> "La storia del cammello che piange" è un film documentario del 2003, diretto da due giovani registi, Luigi Falorni e Byambasuren Davaa. La storia è ambientata nella Mongolia del sud, dove una famiglia di pastori aiutano una cammella a dare alla luce il suo piccolo. Il parto risulta terribilmente difficoltoso e dopo due giorni di travaglio, la cammella dà alla luce un piccolo cucciolo, un raro cammello albino, che rifiuta di accudire e allattare. Nonostante gli sforzi dei pastori, la cammella nega brutalmente il latte e l'amore materno. L'ultimo tentativo dei pastori è quello di chiamare un musicista. Il suono arcaico del violino e la dolce voce di una delle donne del villaggio arrivano al cuore della cammella, che si commuove e riscopre il suo istinto materno.

del malato raro. Risultano determinanti, pertanto, insieme allo studio scientifico e tecnico, la passione e la testimonianza di chi si mette in gioco nelle periferie non solo esistenziali, ma anche assistenziali locali e globali, come spesso è il caso delle malattie rare. E' la famiglia rara attualmente orfana di un sistema sanitario che spesso non "dialoga" con una diagnosi precisa, una terapia, una rete di supporto, che naviga nel profondo mare del disagio esistenziale. Ognuno però per navigare in questo mare ha i suoi precisi compiti. In primis la Famiglia. Stridenti tabù e silenziosi, ma assordanti segreti familiari (*"Non lo facciamo sapere, Cosa potrebbero dire gli altri"*) sono fattori che remano contro, rendendo di per sé rara la possibilità di dialogo e soprattutto di cura (ad esempio, il rifiuto di ottenere il codice per le esenzioni farmaceutiche). Inoltre gli operatori della relazione d'aiuto dovrebbero essere equipaggiati di umana professionalità, che consenta loro di "stare con" la Persona. E' importante navigare insieme al malato raro spiegando le vele del rischiare autenticamente se stessi. Ancor più complesso è il dialogo tra "rarissimi". Un dialogo tra persone affette da malattia rara che potrebbe rappresentare l'occasione per infrangere l'assordante ripiegamento in se stessi. Un ripiegamento nel rumoroso silenzio della vergogna per la propria diversità, vero ostacolo alla cura.

E' stata questa l'analisi da cui ha preso forma la mia esperienza associativa di volontaria e coordinatrice dell'area progetti presso l'Associazione Malati Rari Feimar Onlus di Trani. La quotidiana attività di ascolto psicologico e indirizzamento ai servizi del territorio dei malati rari ha permesso a noi della Feimar di intercettare i bisogni emersi dai tantissimi colloqui con i malati rari, e intraprendere una strada pilota seppur tortuosa: il progetto RARE SHARING, attenzionato nel 2016 anche dall'Osservatorio Nazionale delle Malattie Rare. Dal 27 maggio 2015, in convenzione con la ASL BAT, gestiamo quotidianamente il primo sportello aziendale malattie rare in tutta la Puglia, presso il presidio ospedaliero San Nicola Pellegrino di Trani, coordinati dal Dr. Nenna Saverio.

Dai tanti dialoghi e colloqui con i malati rari da noi assistiti nel progetto RARE SHARING è emerso il frequente e interessante uso delle metafore per esprimere, nella dimensione dialogica con l'operatore sanitario, il proprio disagio esistenziale. Secondo Lakoff e Johnson (1998), *"la metafora è considerata non solo un abbellimento linguistico, ma una forma di pensiero, uno strumento che permette di categorizzare le nostre esperienze. La realtà è definita in termini metaforici e le metafore incidono sul modo di percepire, di pensare, di interagire e giocano un ruolo molto significativo nel determinare ciò che è reale per noi"*. La metafora, quindi, come un mediatore dialogico capace di mettere in comunicazione gli aspetti sensibili e immaginativi con quelli logici e razionali, chiarificatore del binomio emozione-cognizione. E' anche da considerarsi, in base alla nostra esperienza sul campo, espressione artistica delle emozioni e dei vissuti. Non a caso Bateson (1995) la definiva *"la struttura che connette non solamente la mente e la natura, ma anche la mente e le emozioni"*.

L'uso della metafora rappresenterebbe la massima espressione del Sé terapeutico. È uno strumento elettivo di evoluzione, di cambiamento e creatività, capace di apportare continuo dinamismo alle strutture di pensiero. E' esemplificazione emo-

tiva di un contenuto verbale. E' la comprensione del modello del proprio mondo e quello dell'altro, e si può creare in modo naturale e inconscio dalla narrazione. Questo lo si può individuare in una definizione più costruttivista della metafora, fornita da Richard R. Kopp (1998) e cioè *"uno specchio che riflette le immagini che abbiamo di noi stessi, della vita e degli altri"*. L'autore suggerisce l'idea che in una relazione terapeutica sia il paziente stesso a generare le metafore e che il terapeuta debba guidarlo nell'esplorazione delle proprie sensazioni ed emozioni, che in un certo senso vengono condivise sotto diversa forma (Mattei, Mossi, Berisso, 2005).

Il linguaggio metaforico, pertanto, offre l'occasione di "entrare" nelle emozioni e talvolta di condividerle, essendo capace di rendere più fluente la comunicazione, favorendo anche l'apprendimento. Coinvolge, incanta, concede l'opportunità di un viaggio ai confini tra realtà e fantasia. Per i malati rari, la metafora è la possibilità di illuminare un campo finora ignoto, come quello doloroso e problematico dal quale emerge la sintomatologia (Mattei, Mossi, Berisso, 2005), per descrivere il proprio vissuto e disagio attraverso un canale comunicativo noto. Nella relazione dialogica-terapeutica instaurata tra psicologo/terapeuta e malato raro, l'attenzione si focalizza sull'importanza di raccogliere anche il più piccolo riferimento metaforico per poterlo ricollocare all'interno della sua storia personale e riutilizzarlo favorendo l'apertura di altri scenari narrativi. In questo modo, si crea un rapporto empatico e di fiducia, punto cardine per permettere al dialogo di svilupparsi senza costrizioni di alcun tipo, permettendo a noi operatori di comprendere appieno la loro richiesta d'aiuto e i loro bisogni. Il nostro progetto pilota, a fianco dei malati rari, ci sta consentendo di arricchire la nostra esperienza professionale, non solo di umanità, ma anche di una connotazione scientifica, per noi ulteriore stimolo nel dare forma e continuità al RARE SHARING.

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**TRADITIONAL AND DIGITAL STORYTELLING:  
TELESCOPING THE COMMUNICATION  
BARRIERS AND EXPLOITING EMERGING  
CULTURAL OPPORTUNITIES**

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**SUMMARY**

1. Introduction
2. The art of storytelling in West Africa
3. Synthetizing history and technology: pitfalls and progress of West African storytelling
4. Modern escapes, ancient values: understanding the bridges
5. New opportunities and technological leverage

**ABSTRACT**

While traditional techniques of storytelling are embedded in most West African countries cultural inheritances, a more compelling and interactive approach of digitalized storytelling reveals the loopholes in the former. Rather than being considered as an indecent and unrestrained new dialoguing method, digital storytelling dovetails into traditional or the pre-historic art of storytelling, acting as the modern extension of the older form of storytelling. This paper discusses the disparities, the need for digital storytelling affordance as an embodiment of the extant traditional methods; it expatiates the myriad types of digital storytelling adopted by various players and storytellers while trivializing the barriers posed by the old storytelling systems. In the new approach, we appreciate the criticisms, rhetoric and satire of contemporary storytelling, we emphasize media inclusion rather than stringent application of taboos and canons in our storytelling, we digitalize our shortcomings and dialogical uniqueness in a universally accepted way as a means of developing a relevant communication or dialogue system for accelerated growth in West Africa.

**1. Introduction**

One will deduce that idiosyncrasies of West Africa traditional storytelling evolved as part of its acculturation and heritages that survived several kindreds. The diversified yet intriguing component of storytelling underscores West Africa’s multi-cultural beliefs, ethics, and customs. Storytelling offered an oral tradition and performance of transmitting knowledge, experience and history from one lineage to another. The long-preserved values offered insight into diverse faith, goings-on, su-

perstitutions, festivities, rites, taboos, ordinances and pedagogical significance of stories and arts. These traditions couched in rich West African culture pose as cantankerous barriers to new and emerging dialoguing opportunities and reveals the modern gap created by digital storytelling. In talking about our cultural and dialoguing spaces, the West African new storytelling purview has come under criticism for losing its Afrocentrism, providing lucrative platforms for popular culture and continuous emphasis of American culture (Asante, 1987).

**2. The Art of Storytelling in West Africa**



Talk about griots as storytellers and custodians of history in West Africa, fables and folktales that made homes, families and society, riddles, proverbs, recitals and poems that inspired deep thinking and necessitated informalized learning of long history, beliefs and values; the dialogue condition of medieval West African storytelling offers distinctive meaning and strong relation between the present and past. Today’s dialogue, although interwoven with sophisticated approaches of storytelling, reveals a symbolic stature of Africa’s history and culture in the form of oral tradition (Fargion 2015). The ritual of storytelling grows with the West African, shaping and nursing their beliefs, conduct and ethics - “stories direct and accompany us as an escort does a blind person” (Achebe 2010, p.76). While technology has taken a great toll on African arts and oral culture, modulation of traditional storytelling in our modernized approaches and media of storytelling has provided a bridge (Ngoma and Greene 2003, p. 35); attempts to vanquish our appetite for these deep-rooted old-style of dialoguing which is characterized by traditional entertainment, morals and instruction in proper conduct, emphasis on nature as well as historical lessons about empires, conquest, heroism and migration seem to be well facilitated by rapid secularization, modernization and by rife Western fads which dominate digital technology. The nostalgia for old wise sayings or idioms, adage, late evening tales, dance and recitals, as part of our upbringing, quite often intercept our preferences for digital storytelling; today, rediscovering the pleasures of sharing old stories among West Africans has become an uphill task after trading the countless millennia of oral traditional storytelling for what urbane Western culture presents in today’s media (Sheppard 2012).

Mitchell (2013) asserts that story-meisters and adroit genealogists and custodians called griots in Mali and Senegal, in some cases chiefs in Ghana and Nigeria of prehistorical era, educated children, courtiers and folks around the fire over the moonlight in most West African communities, suffice it to say that preserved a culture which somewhat have been

jilted by young Africans in the age of advanced digital storytelling (Offodile 2001). Griots and griottes fulfill a variety of roles as historians, spokespersons, diplomats, musicians, teachers, praise singers, and advisors, narrating the story through verbal and musical art (Hale 2007). Griots kept records of the past and were entrusted with the memorization, recitation, and passing on of customs and cultural traditions of civilizations to future generations. Griots were called upon during festivities, coronations and burials where they recount important events or a family’s genealogy while playing Kora, Ngoni or Balafon (Keita 2014).

Storytellers dialogued, presenting and inculcating moral values through tales of mythical characters such as Anansi and Sunjata. Virtues portrayed by these stories offered insight into kingdoms, chieftaincies, heroism, beliefs, legacies and dynasties of tribes, empires, relations between man and woman, humans and the animal world as well as the independence of West African nations from colonial rule. Ananse stories for instance, endowed children with the values of wisdoms, patience and love.

**a) Traditional West African Media**

Music, dance and art forms an integral facet part of the West African storytelling. Masked men acted out stories of gods and ancestors, flute, kora and balafons served as oral culture instruments by which generations learned their history, dance-drumming and performances were displayed and interpreted by griots and narrators during ceremonies. The Dagombas of Northern Ghana for instance, possess intricate musical and oral traditions where communication is mostly done through dance and drumming. In Ashanti tribal setting, the *fontomfrom* drum ensemble communicate royal messages while *adinkra* symbols represented myriad aphorisms and maxims by which people conducted themselves.



**3. Synthetizing history and technology: pitfalls and progress of West African storytelling**

West African oral traditions rank among the most valued communication tools worldwide. Today griots perform in Europe, America, Asia, Australia, universities among others (YouTube video) due to the prominence digital technology has accorded them. *Speaking to the BBC in 2004*, Faada Freddy, a member of the Senegalese rap group Daara J, labeled African rappers as contemporary griots, harnessing digital musical niches like rock, rap, and Afro-pop to sharing their historical backgrounds in addition to their true identities. He insists that technology provide a linkage between oral traditional griots and modern rap music. Digital politics and showbiz have ena-

bled young females to break away from taboos posed by most West African traditional dialoguing which emphasizes the prerogative of male as custodians of its histories.



*King Ayisoba, a griot and his band from Ghana displaying his traditions during one of his tours in Europe*

**a) Background on digital storytelling**

Digital storytelling is the practice of merging still images with a narrated soundtrack including both voice and music (Bull & Kajder, 2004). According to the *Digital Storytelling Association*, it is the contemporary expression of the ancient art of storytelling. The advent of the worldwide web thrusts written and oral traditions around the world which African storytellers benefited greatly; technology provides media through which long-preserved memoirs and chronicles of events permeate into civilization other than Africa’s. The use of social media especially has boosted popularity of oral West African traditions which are being borrowed as universal communication tool like Anansi and griot stories.

Whitfield (2003) laments that the transmission gap of storytelling – preference for digital media as a readily available medium of communication and information may explain the unceasing preference by West Africans to acquire the habits and values of Westerners than take on their indigenous style. West African stories and anecdotes often drives at superstitions, witchcraft, dogma about relegation of women and children to non-influential positions against modern day digital stories’ rallying and clamoring for female empowerment, equal opportunity and child right. For most feminist and child activists, digital communication offers an escape out of the rigid traditional marginalization meted against them, through application of digitalized tools and media. Digital multimedia offers a powerful means in a relatively short amount of time for a relatively cheap fee which makes dialoguing easy and accessible to the youth” (Tucker, 2006, p. 54)

**4. Modern escapes, ancient values: understanding the bridges**

In recent times, the technological cultural cliché - its penetration into traditional dialoguing, its apparent and eruptive nature has provided efficacious routes for expressing our sentiments, sharing ideas, critiquing actions, inspiring societal policies and managing our cultural differences in a satiric and carefree manner. The fact that these emergent digital technologies provides unlimited podiums for further dialoguing and escapes from conservative communication to an unrestrained stature of free speech and expression drive young and adult Africans. In

Ghana, digital storytelling methods such as the use of Instagram, Twitter, Imo, Facebook and WhatsApp provide a voice to illiterates and struggling readers who might not identify with authentic means of expressing themselves. The accessibility of the internet coupled with easy-to-use smartphones, tablets and laptops, makes it possible for anyone to present their experiences in a unique and engaging way. This media has empowered more West Africans for social change. This media trivializes the dominance of witchcraft, the practice of black magic and the dread of superstitions such as abhorring fishing on Tuesdays as it is ill-fated; digital media ability to permeate cultural beliefs and canons have positively aroused interest for and participation in public agendas; the West African youth's strong knowledge of, and personalized application of digital technology tools makes him a key stakeholder in public policy.

Old dialoguing tenets continue to instill and animate moral obligations. The forces of traditional storytelling contend with the emergent digital dialoguing in West Africa. The usual impression created is that, the latter corrupts goodly behavior, defies youth respect for age, clandestine oral histories, mocks at deep-rooted ancestral prohibitions, promotes reprehensible LGBT and derides marriage as the use of dating or chatting sites is the reason for unsuccessful marriages and rampant divorces. To other West Africans, digital storytelling acts as a propeller of their histories, arts and customs. Take for instance Homowo festival in Ghana - which draws tourist worldwide for its annual festivity in recent times due to the viral and interconnected communication platforms of sharing, twitting, tagging and liking images, videos and excerpts from their annual events in recent times. These digitalized dialoguing media has set up some indigenous artists, painters, artisans, gymnasts, poets, dancers from some Ghanaian festival with multinational sponsors, managers and producers. Robin (2008) adds that these emerging technologies inspires creativity in dynamic, and often unpredictable ways by which users, especially youth, conduct business, entertainment, and build social networks. Traditional storytelling rather seeks to relive the past and to impart the fundamental values of its history.

#### a) Cinema

Cinema in West Africa has become a tool for socio-economic development; movie industries like Nollywood, among others in West Africa, has allowed film producers and audiences to explore their traditions through a modernized medium. Typically, these films offer some moral lesson, although many themes are left open-ended (Haynes and Okome, 120). Theatre in West Africa is evolving unto an international phase, with great cultural prominence. Africa's cinema has grown through technological lens, acting as a medium for social and political satire and development.

#### b) GIFs, emojis and stickers – Dialoguing with symbols

The use of GIFs and emojis has gained notable stature in modern West Africa dialoguing. Mostly preferred by the youth, GIFs and emojis, merges old West African storytelling images, scenes or excerpts with trending issues on social media to provide satire and escapes out of our political and socio-economic conundrums. Emojis, like traditional Adinkra symbols, lucidly represents our intentions, actions, values and feelings

through the usage of tiny graphical symbols. In this pictorial realm, we create a unique style for entertainment, working and transforming our African society.

#### 5. New opportunities and technological leverage

In concluding, technology has provided viable media for historical traditions of West African and oral culture to become ubiquitous and meaningful. As established, the abounding opportunities borne out of the synthesis of culture, history and technology – repels the deficiencies and limitations posed by customs and canons that hindered freedom and expression of self, which digital dialoguing provides through massive online and offline media. On another hand, concerns have been raised that the affordance of digital storytelling has resulted in the death of good morals, values and virtues which were originally embedded in African traditional storytelling. Granted, more emphasis should be placed on co-creating space for both traditional storytelling and digital culture to thrive for socio-economic enhancement.

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## DEMOLISHING CULTURAL BARRIERS TO ENSURE COHERENT AND COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN BORDER CULTURES

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### SUMMARY

1. Internet and modern technologies as a communication tool
2. Developing awareness of individual cultures
3. Cultivating mutual understanding

### Introduction

We are one race, and that is the human race (Winfrey, Oprah 2010). I have decided to set my mind on this topic for the World Youth Forum 2017 as I statistically believe that cultural difference is becoming more apparent in the recent years. As a teen, a student, a future entrepreneur, I truly withhold the values to demolish cultural barriers to ensure coherent

and comprehensive communication between border cultures. This is vital as the world is becoming borderless and smaller every other day. As a person of colour, I have personally came across a few encounters myself, and thus I believe we, youths, have to take the first step to curb this dilemma as its contagious and has been disrupting world peace.

### 1. Internet and modern technologies as a communication tool

I have been studying and researching in-depth in regards of cultural difference that hinders a smooth communication. It has come to realisation that cross-cultural communication in this modern era has become the new norm creating spaces for new market places to promote businesses in adverse geographical locations and cultures (Manktelow 2016). The internet and modern technologies like smartphones and tablets have created a bridge that connects us from different backgrounds (Moran 2014). Pointing out to those of us who are native-English speakers, it is fortunate English is, to-date, the language that reaches the widest audience (Cook 2016). However, sometimes cross-cultural communication between native English speakers from different countries can also be an issue due to mutual incomprehension reasons (Moss 2016).

### 2. Developing awareness of individual cultures

The importance of understanding and developing awareness of individual cultures is the seen as the key to resolve and reduce the cultural difference gap (Eyre and Jackson 2016). For instance, the Japanese culture is of unique and distinct from other cultures, and certain acts may be seen as rude or inappropriate (Triandis 1994). Therefore, basic level of understanding is important to engage in appropriate greetings or gestures, especially in business meetings (Reid 1995). Although multinational companies nowadays practice the implementation and learning of the cultures of the countries they operate in, the employees are responsible to go an extra mile to increase their personal understanding of the cultures they wish to indulge in (Moran 2014; Bishop 2016). In business, it is important to convey the messages in the proper manner especially if it is dealing with members of different countries and background (Jackson and Cook 2016). For instance, they may observe different hours of operation and different holidays (Eyre and Edward, 2016). In short, patience, curiosity and courtesy is the key for a better understanding of a foreign culture as respecting each other will lead to a smoother communication.



(Picture by Tan Yong Hui, 2015) This picture is to portray the different cultures that exist in my country (Malaysia) and how we learn and understand each others culture every other day. We consist of Kadazans, Ibans, Indian, Chinese, Malay and a lot more.



3. Cultivating mutual understanding

In addition, the cultivation of mutual understanding is seen crucial when associating with members of different cultural background (Manktelow and Jackson 2016) . However, it is also important to maintain certain standards of respectable behaviour (Moss 2016). It is encouraged to practice the “give and take” policy as mutual understanding is the key to a successful business or political relationship (Cook and Edwards, 2016). Keeping the conversation straightforward in a properly structured manner will ensure the messaged to be transmitted as the way the person wishes it to be transferred (Cook 2016). Therefore, personally, demolishing cultural barriers is not a one day process and requires effort, time, commitment and cooperation from all members involved. And an initiative today will lead to fruitful results tomorrow , thus, together as youths, I truly believe that cultural differences should be overcome to ensure a smoother and coherent communication.

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MULTICULTURAL AND SOCIAL DIALOGUE  
THROUGH SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES :  
FACEBOOK AND TWITTER  
AS TOOLS OF GLOBALIZATION

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SUMMARY

- 1. Dialogue in the era of globalization
- 2. Intercultural communication via social networking sites
- 3. Social dialogue on the web

1. Dialogue in the era of globalization

Over many centuries, human societies across the globe have

established progressively closer contacts. Recently, the pace of global integration has dramatically increased. Unprecedented changes in communications, transportation, and computer technology have given the process new impetus and made the world more interdependent than ever. Money, technology and raw materials move ever more swiftly across national borders. Along with products and finances, ideas and cultures circulate more freely. As a result, laws, economies, and social movements are forming at the international level. Many authors and researchers consider not only the globalization of the economy but also the globalization of politics, of culture and of law. We can explore the various manifestations of interconnectedness in the world, noting how globalization affects real people and places. (Bauman, Z. 1998)

Globalization often appears to be a force of nature, a phenomenon without bounds or alternatives. But peoples’ movements have shown that it is neither unalterable nor inevitable. Citizens all over the world—ordinary people from the global North and South—can work together to shape alternate futures, to build a globalization of cooperation, solidarity and respect for our common planetary environment.

There is no question that globalization has been a good thing for many developing countries who now have access to different markets and can export cheap goods. Dialogue between people from different countries and continents has become possible. We can easily meet people from all over the world and communicate with them. (Banathy Bela, H., Jenlink Patrick, M. 2004)

There is cultural intermingling and each country is learning more about other cultures. Most people see speedy travel, mass communications and quick dissemination of information through the Internet as benefits of globalization. “Globalization crosses boundaries of government and business, media and social movements, general and academic interest. As a political challenge, it crosses the ideological spectrum and engages social movements and politics at all levels. It involves a paradigm shift from the era of the nation state and international politics to politics of planetary scope.” (Pieterse J.N., 2009, p. 7)

2. Intercultural communication via social networking sites

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century social networks are a tool of globalization. Social networks are very popular. We create accounts and visit our pages at least several times a week. Social networking sites are an opportunity to communicate with family and friends who are away from us, they have become platforms for different types of dialogue. Social networks provide an opportunity to communicate with colleagues at work, relatives and friends who live in different cities and countries, as well as make new acquaintances.

- Social networks can be used as a tool for self-development.
- Along with this, social networks can help during the educational process. With their help, you can exchange lecture notes, assignments for laboratory work and other useful information.
- Social networks are a platform for business dialogue and development. Advertising can be directed to the target audience and people who might be interested in the products or services you provide are aware of your business.

Facebook and Twitter are among the most popular networking sites in the world.

Facebook has an impact on the perception of dialogue in the modern world. Scientists have suggested that the constant updating of personal detailed information, thoughts and feelings between friends from social networks creates a special feeling of unity with them. Perhaps it is social networks that provide satisfaction from a sense of belonging. At the moment, social networks are essentially a huge database with the most diverse information about hundreds of millions of people around the world, which is also well structured.

It is important to understand one thing: on the Internet, as in the real world, people unite in certain social groups (social masks) that do not overlap with each other. Social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter offer a possibility to discuss different topics and create a virtual platform for dialogue. The main global division occurs on projects within which the target audience is divided into informal interest groups, age groups and other characteristics. Moreover, there can be several social masks: in the daytime, a person needs business communication, evening communication with friends and family, on weekends communication, for example, related to a hobby, etc. Everyone will have a set of masks, however each of them will have its own features that will affect all behavior. That's why modern man is often registered in several social networks, in which he meets different needs and gives different information about himself, and recently many people even have several accounts in each social network to be able to «wear» different social masks.

People actively use the networks to work and every year they make it all more successful. Many people change their work through social networks, companies find employees, some groups of specialists have completely moved their professional activities there. In the near future, we can expect the development of specialized functionality that will create virtual jobs, in particular, this applies to professional networks. Facebook is the most popular social network in the world and the most visited site. Since its inception, it has continued to demonstrate tremendous growth, both of users and profits. The company constantly thinks out and introduces new ideas, conducts active integration with the outside world, creates its own «facebook-Internet». In the next few years, rapid growth will remain unchanged.

Twitter is a pretty young social network, based on microblogging. The idea is quite interesting: the creators took the old ideas of blogging, artificially limited the length of the message and greatly simplified everything that was possible, as a result, in the modern world, when life accelerates with each passing day, and time is short, a new popular social network has appeared.

Nowadays multicultural dialogue became possible through social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter. Our cultural environment is changing quickly and becoming more and more diversified. Cultural diversity is an essential condition of human society, brought about by cross-border migration, the claim of national and other minorities to a distinct cultural identity, the cultural effects of globalisation, the growing interdependence between all world regions and the advances of information and communication media. More

and more individuals are living in a "multicultural" normality and have to manage their own multiple cultural affiliations. Cultural diversity is also an economic, social and political plus, which needs to be developed and adequately managed. On the other hand, increasing cultural diversity brings about new social and political challenges. (Banathy Bela, H., Jenlink Patrick, M. 2004)

Facebook and Twitter help to fulfill the general objectives of multicultural dialogue:

people can learn to live together peacefully and constructively in a multicultural world and to develop a sense of community and belonging. This type of dialogue can also be a tool for the prevention and resolution of conflicts by enhancing the respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law. More specifically, in the era of globalization, social networking sites achieve the following goals in the multicultural dialogue (Benet-Martinez, V., Hongry. (eds.) 2014):

- To share visions of the world, to understand and learn from those that do not see the world with the same perspective we do;
- To identify similarities and differences between different cultural traditions and perceptions;
- To achieve a consensus that disputes should not be resolved by violence;
- To help manage cultural diversity in a democratic manner, by making the necessary adjustments to all types of existing social and political arrangements;
- To bridge the division between those who perceive diversity as a threat and those who view it as an enrichment;
- To share best practices particularly in the areas of intercultural dialogue, the democratic management of social diversity and the promotion of social cohesion;
- To develop jointly new projects.

Social networking sites fulfill at least six crucial conditions of multicultural dialogue:

- Equal dignity of all participants;
- Voluntary engagement in dialogue;
- A mindset (on both sides) characterised by openness, curiosity and commitment, and the absence of a desire to "win" the dialogue;
- A readiness to look at both cultural similarities and differences;
- A minimum degree of knowledge about the distinguishing features of one's own and the "other" culture;
- The ability to find a common language for understanding and respecting cultural differences.

Globalization, according to Albrow, "refers to all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society, global society" (ALROW M., 1990, p. 9). Nearly all societies in the world and many of the past are multicultural, that is composed of several cultural groups who understand themselves as distinct in certain respects but nevertheless interacting within the society. Multiculturalism consists of the assertion of normative principles that affirm the value of such cultural diversity in terms of equality between groups and the realization of these values in institutions and policies. Social networks can bring many benefits. Internet communication should complement life, and not be the basis of all our activities.

### 3. Social dialogue on the web

The use of social dialogue is an important component of the modern developed state, as well as an indispensable tool for maintaining good conditions and relations in the labor market. With the social and labor sphere, contradictions often arise, and it is social dialogue that can resolve them. Enterprises, regardless of location and type of activity, should strive to maintain partnerships between employers and employees of the company. In the era of globalization, Facebook and Twitter have become platforms for social dialogue between different groups of people.

The functions of social dialogue regulate the interests of the three social parties, namely: state interests, business interests and the interests of workers directly. These are the basic functions of social dialogue, the fulfillment of which ensures social peace in society.

Social dialogue via social networking sites is:

1. A powerful tool for managing change, company development, and policy-making.
2. It implies the exchange of information between the executive authorities, employers and employees of a particular company.
3. Based on the realization of the fact that the employer and the worker have both mutual interests and conflicting interests. In the world, the development of social dialogue is one of the most important factors for the development of regions and local governments, since successful business relations between the executive branch, employers and workers contribute to the development of the business environment and the infrastructure of the regions.

One can say with certainty that an effective social dialogue provides an incentive for developing policies and seeking compromise solutions that will take into account the working conditions, needs, and priorities of not only employers but also employees. This, in turn, will entail a long-term sustainable result, both for the company and for society as a whole. What issues are put forward for consideration in the framework of the social dialogue?

- 1) Issues of labor relations and employment - Establishment of an adequate level of labor remuneration, determination of the minimum wage; - Freedom of association;
- 2) Job creation
- 3) Labor market policies - Creation of jobs in medium and small enterprises - employment policy - a policy of continuing education and training «from scratch» - Migration policy.
- 4) Issues of economic policy - the principles of economic growth and macroeconomic policy; - Transformation and structural changes in the economy
- 5) Gender Equality - Elimination of gender inequality in employment
- 6) Working conditions - hygiene and safety of work; - duration of the working day; - work time; - measures that allow workers to combine work responsibilities and family responsibilities; - Holiday to care for the child.
- 7) Social security and social protection - protection of motherhood; - social protection.

All these issues are discussed via social networking sites, all members try to find appropriate solutions to these problems.

The relevance of social dialogue is increasingly recognized as the international community searches for appropriate responses to the challenges of globalization. Social networking sites become platforms for social dialogue where ordinary people can contact political and business leaders, communicate with them and involve them into discussion. (Robertson, R. 1992) With its time honoured tradition and competence in this area, Facebook and Twitter are well placed to play a leading role in fostering the dialogue, partnerships and participatory approaches to decision making. They help by:

- Promoting concerning social dialogue.
- Engaging every member to be active citizen.
- Explaining problems and helping to find solutions.
- Establishing a plan of action to operationalize the concerning social dialogue.
- By organizing meetings in different areas.

Freedom of expression, creativity, the world's knowledge available to everyone – all happening thanks to the internet and social networking sites. The current world is a world of globalization, information and multiculturalism. It involves the freedom, of trade, commerce, activities and speech. Localities being connected with the world by breaking national boundaries; forging of links between one society and another, and between one country and another through international transmission of knowledge, literature, technology, culture and information. The interconnectedness of modern world is established via social networking sites as platforms for communication and exchange. The world's largest social media network, is also one of the biggest platforms for different dialogues in the modern world. Social networking sites control the marketplace of ideas and that's a very powerful thing to control when you're living in the globalized, multicultural world. Hence, a culture of interdependence has been established between nations through social networking sites. They become platforms for a social dialogue, a place to discuss and exchange news, events and ideas.

Facebook and Twitter remain among the most effective social networking sites. They reflect all social changes, give possibility to create and develop civil society. Facebook has the ability to target specific interests, right down to incredibly detailed relevant audiences and localities. It is a content dialogue platform par excellence. Multicultural dialogue via social networking sites in the world is a sort of creation of a new world order with no national boundaries. Culturally, it means exchange of cultural values between societies and between nations and ideologically, it means the spread of liberalism and capitalism. Thus globalization goes hand in hand with localization, regionalization and multiculturalism.

Earlier, political ideologies and relations between nations have determined the fate of people over centuries; with economics being subservient to politics. However, in the new era, it is the economics, employment generation and public welfare that determine the need & strength of relations between nations.

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## THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE

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*"The media contributes to intercultural dialogue development. The media gives us the opportunity to receive information, make it accessible to different cultures and peoples"*

*"People can be in touch with a wide variety of people because of Internet development"*

*"The media is an instrument through which we can access the intercultural dialogue"*

*Annotation:* The article explores the place of communication as an integral part of any culture. Communication is carried out through sign systems and is necessary for the preservation and transfer of accumulated social experience. Communication can take the form of imitation, management and dialogue, all of it depends on the purpose of the interaction, the nature of the information and the specific communicative situation. The modern socio-cultural situation is characterized by a significantly increased importance of information, communication, intensification of intercultural contacts. The social, political and economic changes that have taken place in recent years, as well as the rapid media development, have led to the fact that more and more people have crossed the cultural barriers that separated them and entered into a process of interaction with representatives of other cultures. Nowadays intercultural interaction is carried out in the most diverse spheres: in interstate relations, in entrepreneurial, scientific and educational activities, at the level of interpersonal communication. Therefore, various aspects of intercultural interaction - interreligious dialogue, the identity of cultures in the era of globalization, dialogue as the goal of culture, the strategy of intercultural dialogue, etc. - become the subject of study of representatives of various fields of scientific knowledge.

Dialogue assumes partners and subjects relations, during which information is increased, enriched, expanded. In the process of dialogical interaction, the changes happen with both participants, while preserving the uniqueness of each. The goal of the dialogue is not just transfer information, but the acquisition of the participants a certain commonality.

Hence the logical question: are modern intercultural contacts realized in the form of dialogue and is dialogue possible in the context of modern intercultural communications? On the one side, due to the level of technical development of mass media in the modern communicative process, a wide audience is involved. Consequently, it opens up opportunities for intensifying intercultural interaction at various levels. In addition, the openness of borders creates a new transcultural space that exerts a large (and sometimes decisive) influence on the public consciousness and the nature of intercultural communication. On the other other, globalization at the information level has transformed the transfer of cultural models into a way of cultural expansion, which levels social and cultural processes in all countries of the world and forms cultural stereotypes. Such aggressive sociocultural politics makes us talk about the problem of cultural compatibility (the consonance of mental structures of interacting cultures) as an important problem of the modern world.

*The intensification of the processes of globalization, integration, transculturation, special opportunities of mass media that participate in these processes require additional research of the role of the media in intercultural dialogue. The aim of the article is to explore, at first, the importance of the communication process as a meaningful and structuring social space. Secondly, the need for intercultural dialogue as a priority strategy for interaction between representatives of different cultures at the present stage of development of society. Third, the role of mass media in the cultural and national politics of the modern state, which have become not just informers, but - mediators of intercultural dialogue.*

At the present stage of the development of culture, the mass media intensified their activities. Thus, the one who controls them, largely manages the public consciousness. The main mass media - radio, television, the press, the Internet - have their own merits and demerits, therefore the greatest effectiveness of communication is achieved through their comprehensive impact on the audience. A representative of modern society is immersed to the culture through the medium of mass communication. Culture, in turn, uses signs to model the characteristics of its perception of the surrounding world. Consequently, the mass media is not just a mechanism for transmitting messages, but also a means of producing modern culture.

The impact of the media on all spheres of personal and social life of modern mankind is multidimensional. They not only provide information, but have the opportunity to interpret, analyze, evaluate and, ultimately, bring it to the mass consumer in a special, often biased form. In this case, the question of objectivity is questionable. Often, in pursuit of sensationalism and commercial gain, the media are no longer aware of the importance of their socially-positive mission. Based on the knowledge of mass psychology, information theory, PR principles, the media have the ability not only to transmit messages, but to refract, interpret and make information more colorful, manage the consciousness of consumers. This is clearly demonstrated by their information-semiotic analysis. The results of such activities are global cultural stereotypes, the replacement of symbolic systems of culture, simplification of the interpretation of the texts of modern culture. Under these conditions, we cannot talk about intercultural dialogue, since the blurring of boundaries between representatives of different cultures is obvious. A mixture of cultures is observed not only in the lives of individuals, but becomes a characteristic feature of whole societies.

### Conclusions

Sociocultural changes that occurred at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries led to the intensification of intercultural interactions. For such changes are characteristic: belonging of the sender and recipient of the message to different cultures; signification of interaction process, conditioned by cultural originality; the possibility of communication at the interpersonal and group levels. In the frame of research of the mass media role in intercultural dialogue, an important intercultural communications was defined as an important condition for successful intercultural dialogue. Dialogue is a means of maintaining, maintaining and developing culture at the synchronic and diachronic levels. However, in the context of globalization, new principles of communicative and informational interaction are emerging, in which mass media play an important role.

Thus, every ethnos, state, society should perceive from the global system of general cultural ties and interactions what corresponds to their traditions, mentality, psychological make-up. In a single cultural space, the universally valid achievements of virtually all cultures should be accumulated while preserving their independence for solving complex global problems of our time. The single cultural space means, from one side, the possibility of involving peoples in the modern achievements of civilization in the spheres of science, technology, education, art; from other side - understanding the self-worth of the culture of each people, and seeking forms for their preservation and

development. And this is possible in the context of intercultural dialogue, which is based on the observance of existing legislation, competent information and cultural policies that promote cultural diversity.

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### BREAKING FREE

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In order to penetrate through the deep-rooted reason to why Pakistan is deprived of freedom of speech to such an alarming extent, one must be well acquainted with the country's socio- political historic climate. In 1977, General Zia-ul-Haq imposed martial law in Pakistan, setting back the democratic system of the country that was yet to politically stabilize as it had only been 30 years to its formation. He not only disturbed the democratic process but also had strong social implications of his regime. During his era, he imposed the most violent laws which took the country to a very drastic condition. Setting aback the democratic structure of a country is equivalent to snatching away their right to free speech. The word democracy is derived from the Greek's dictionary. Demo means the common people and Kratos means strength. Together, the word means the unanimous power of the common people. In this system, the power by default is to lie in the hands of the masses and the elected representatives instead of one ruler. But this is exactly what the militant ruler did; he took away power from the common masses and took everything under his control, taking away basic rights from his people, even the right to free speech.

General Zia-ul-Haq's regime is one of the darkest regimes regarding freedom of speech, where he banned the publication of daily Musawaat (Equity). This resulted in the hunger strike of "Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists". The strike paid off and the bar was lifted by the government. But this resulted in a reverberation from the government and thus many other periodicals were banned such as weeklies including Al-Fatah



and Meyer. After failure in the negotiations, the press workers again launched the strike but this time they were caught and sentenced under the martial law regulations for six months to one year of severe imprisonment. Three of the journalists- Khawar Naeem, Iqbal Jaferi Hashmi and Nasir Zaidi were flogged of meeting in personnel and raising their voices against the Military dictatorship. (Iqbal, 2012)

In his regime, Hudood ordinance was introduced by adding new criminal offenses of adultery and fornication, and few new punishments were introduced such as whipping, amputation and stoning to death. The Pakistani women's rights activists and lawyers alleged that this ordinance not only extremely made it difficult but also dangerous to prove an allegation of rape. As the ordinance went into effect, 70 women were held in prison and by the end of his regime in 1988, the amount mounted to 600. In 2003 the National Commission on Status of Women (NCSW) approximated that 80% of the women were confine as they have failed to prove rape charges and thus were made convicted of adultery. Women being treated as third-class citizen in Zia regime can be proved by "Diyat Ordinance" in which the "blood money" compensation for a women victim at half that for a man and thus implies an inferior legal status to women. These women raised their voices and provided an alternative interpretation of the Ayah (Verse of Holy Quran) and claimed that in other Ayah (Verses) men and women are assumed to be equal. These protestors were smashed by tear gas and "Lathi" (Baton) charges by the police. Their voices were given no importance and "Hudood Ordinance" went into effect till 2006 when it was finally amended.

Sectarian violence is prominent example of the violation of freedom of speech and expression. It was General Zia-ul-Haq's regime when the seeds of sectarian violence were sowed, beginning with the bloodshed in Khurram agency and the creation of "Sipah Sahaba" (declared terrorist group) in Jhang. This militant group is involved in the massacre of Shia population since then, which clearly violated the true ideology of Pakistan represented by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan. In his speech on Aug 11, 1947 to the first constituent assembly, he stated that "You are free, you are free to go to your temples, and you are free to go to your mosques or any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or cast or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the State... Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of everyone, but in the political sense as citizens of the State". This speech clearly indicates that Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah gave equal rights to all religious minorities of the country, and was an advocate of freedom of expression. (Wolpert, 1997)

The sectarian violence may have plenty of reasons which include lack of education, awareness, exposure, intolerance, role of clergy and the last but not the least the state policy. As in Zia regime the state policy was clearly formulated against the Shia minorities in Pakistan by formation of Anti-Shia groups such as Sipah Sahaba and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi.

In terms of religious text, historically, the clergy has always

misused the authority it has been assigned with for both political and personal gains. The clergy forbids logical reasoning and questioning of religious affairs and has mislead the society into following their version of Islam which has been molded into a form which advocates the suppression of the weaker segments of the society such as the poor, religious minorities and women. The fact that the Pakistani society realizes how the clergy has inflicted atrocities on the name of religion but, yet does not stand against the culprits indeed manifest the idea that freedom of dialogue is being oppressed to an alarming limit. Pakistan has been plagued by the feudal system which is more common in the rural areas as contrast to the urban areas. Although many countries have successfully eliminated the feudal system, Pakistan is still quite much in its grip. This system promotes the further widening of the power and income gap, making the prosecution and exploitation of the weaker segments of the society easier. Its just about where one is born. If you are born rich, you will die rich and if you are poor, you will die poor. Same is with freedom of speech. In Pakistan, the geographical belt of your domicile gives a rigid dictation to your rights. In particular; rights of speech. A person born in the federal or provincial capital of the country is more likely to be enjoying the luxury of freedom of speech. And as one moves away from these areas, this right fades and tapers to invisibility. Hence, it is safe to say that it's a trap which one cannot escape in the feudal societies. With the feudal system, bonded labour becomes an inevitable phenomenon because the poor are exploited for their desperation by the power-hungry landlords. The power gap tends to snatch away the rights from the labor and further empowers the landlords and threatens the rights of the lower class, including their right to dialogue. Due to the massive power of the landlords, it's blasphemous to raise a voice against the oppressors in the terror of being severely punished. The feudal lords on purpose maintain such a system in which the masses remain uneducated and unaware of the social system so that they are easily cajoled. They give rise to such systems which support slavery by creating both social and economic dependency of the poor masses. Since freedom of speech and education go side by side, the uneducated masses are not even aware of their right to dialogue, let alone take a stand for it. It is very unfortunate that the military too, behind doors supports and encourages feudalism. A journalist explains, the army also contributes to and benefits from feudalism, unconsciously. One of the benefits army officers get for their service is agricultural land, which they then rent out to larger landowners, which further empowers the cruel landlords and makes the peasants worse off. In a way, many of the problems faced by Pakistan can be solved by eradicating this one concept. If the poor will not speak up for their rights, how will they be awarded with their rights? Education is one part and freedom of speech is the other. On the other hand, to silent this probable voice, the counter part of this concept is used. To make the freedom of speech die its own death, hate speech is used. Causation and correlation are two statistical concepts that apply here and are linked to each other when it comes down to a debate.

While being a strong advocate of freedom of dialogue, freedom of belief and freedom of political expression, I would like to discuss the fine line between freedom of speech and

hate speech. While freedom of speech refers to having the liberty of expressing opinion without threatening the fundamental human rights of anyone, hate speech refers to the verbal demotion of an individual or group based on exogenous factors such as race, religion and gender specification. Indulging into hate speech in the name of free speech has now become a problematic phenomenon and the fine line between the two is often missed. In simplest words, the explanation of this concept could be as follows. Hate speech targets a group of people or a set of thoughts. The incentive is to hurt sentiments of express anything that would not be welcomed by the society or the people among whom one lives. On the other hand, freedom of speech does not target anyone. The incentive is only to be true to one's thought process and experience a feeling of being accepted. The outcomes of both can be the same of different. But it is the intention behind this that draws a line among the two concepts. Free speech, as long as it has a positive outcome, a clear cut purpose and most of all a genuine approach to it should be given a platform. But if a certain group based on its race, gender or faith is being generalized in the name of free speech then the society must be protected from it. In today's world where reaching the public has become so simple through social media, individuals must take responsibility of their words and its consequences. However, the problem is, with the encouragement of free speech, hate speech becomes an inevitable phenomenon. Moreover, it is very difficult to describe in black and white what lies under the category of hate speech and what does not; it cannot be put into binary terms. If hate speech is to be banned by the government, then the government will be given a power which it is quite likely to misuse for its own agenda. Politics will cause the banning of hate speech bring free speech under threat which again reinforces the idea that the fine line between the two form of speeches must be clearly identified along with its consequences. In context to Pakistan, protecting free speech can become quite tricky as it gives room for hateful speech. This is because the people have next to no idea about the underlining difference between the two concepts. To take the most popular example these days; that of media' we see that since a platform is provided to everyone and almost all the channels have their own viewership, people get away with saying anything. When the guests in a talk show express their views on an idea, it's the freedom of speech. But when a person is targeted, it's not. Similarly, when either of the aforementioned practices is adopted by the anchorperson himself, it is hate speech. What we don't understand as makers and takers of this is that the anchorperson is a neutral entity. His job is to conduct a session in which ideas are put forward; the ones with genesis in the minds of the guests and not the anchorperson himself. When media is used as a platform to castigate an individual based on their race, cast or faith, or even based on their religious or political views, there is no way out. There have been countless cases of public hate on individuals leading to some grave repercussions. When lives are lost in the name of free speech, it is safe to say that the line between free speech and hate speech has been crossed. The problem lies in the fact that this is not even considered as a problem. This is a vicious cycle we all have been stuck in and breaking it seems impossible because we as a nation need to

be educated on this front.

Societies and countries blessed with the right to free speech should surely not take it for granted, for it is a fundamental and very important right that everyone deserves to have but unfortunately, many societies are not blessed with it, such as the one in which I was raised. The right to express oneself without any sort of censorship by the government or other authorities liberates the society in every possible way and leads to an open door for the generations to come for it is only an unhindered speech that can confront abuse of power and authority.

## **INTERGENERATIONAL DIALOGUE AS BAKHTINIAN OPEN-ENDED PROCESS. MEMORIES, MYTHS, AND IDENTITIES**

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### **SUMMARY**

In Bakhtinian universe all the happening around us can be described as an open-ended dialogical process. This standpoint is deeply optimistic: nothing is ending, human beings and generations are replacing each other, and the world continues its existence, nothing is final, and there always will be place for a chance.

"To live means to participate in a dialogue – Bakhtin writes, – to ask questions, to heed, to respond, to agree, and so forth. In this dialogue, a person participates wholly and throughout his whole life: with his eyes, lips, hands, soul, spirit, with his whole body and deeds. He invests his entire self in discourse, and this discourse enters into the dialogic fabric of human life, into the world symposium" (1984).

We are used to think that for a dialogue you need at least one more person. Although Bakhtin emphasizes the importance of internal dialogue, dialogue with yourself, for him meeting with the Other is crucial for understanding yourself, first, for becoming complete.

"These meetings are necessary, because a person itself is fundamentally incomplete, is not able to independently review its being from all sides. Without the Other, man is doomed to the disintegration of memory and the oblivion of self-consciousness," – writes Bakhtin about us meeting each other. He connects memories with meetings, memory transmission and formulation with a dialogue. The lack of dialogue produces myths or false-memories: we create structures and give them meanings related to the past, let them influence on our identities, be "sources" of the Self, according to Charles Taylor's vocabulary (1989). But then we deal not with a mem-

ory itself, but with a reconstruction or over-construction of the past, with a "product" of a dreaming process instead of a process of remembrance – and we see it very well in current narratives of "the golden age," "good old days" in such different countries as Russia, Turkey, the United States, the United Kingdom, Poland, Hungary, with the list to be continued. We still have disagreements between Russia, Ukraine, Poland, and other East European countries concerning what was happening during the II World War. Without intergenerational dialogue, memories cannot be transmitted, they cannot be discussed, and we will again and again come to the point of reconstruction and over-construction the past and establishing myths suitable for the current political agenda, changing each other as soon as agenda changes.

Our identities are influenced by certain kinds of sources, including memories and myths. Current identity scholarship scrutinizes it as an open-ended process: identity is not fixed; it is constantly changing. Identity may be presented as a discourse, narrative, dialogue with the "significant other," as Taylor writes in his famous essay "The politics of recognition" (1992). From this identitarian perspective, an opportunity of intergenerational dialogue becomes vital: it is not only about understanding the past, it is about current times and the future. It is about who we are.

*Key words: dialogue, identity, generation, memory.*

Both philosophers, Mikhail Bakhtin and further Charles Taylor, had underlined a special meaning of dialogue in establishing the Self. In simple terms, personal identity is not something fixed or stable, it is constantly evolving, changing in time, and this change is influenced by dialogic condition. We are influenced by others through dialogue, and we change other people being in dialogue with them.

According to Bakhtin, dialogue never ends. "Reified (materialising, objectified) images are profoundly inadequate for life and for discourse. A reified model of the world is now being replaced by a dialogical model. Every thought and every life merges in the open-ended dialogue," he writes (1984).

Maybe this is a reason why in contemporary multidisciplinary scholarship identity is assessed as an open-ended process, having two dimensions – individual and collective. Individual identity, the Self, is influenced by many factors, and assuming its dialogical nature, we can mention memories, traumas, false-memories or myths –which we became aware of in a dialogue, including dialogue with ourselves, that is also Bakhtinian position. According to Benedict Anderson, collective identity has an "imaginary" estimation, with a nation being an example of imagined political community (2006).

Imagination enlightens the nature of the Self. Historically in many countries –including nowadays – we observe nostalgia about "good old days," "greatness," that often is estimated on a scale of victory, power, and domination. But what constitutes the meaning of "good old days," golden age? Significantly – dialogic narratives, that take place when we are told about the past. The other part includes an influence of imagination – reconstruction or over-construction of the past, presenting it in idealized and embellished way.

Is this process positive, constructive, does it lead to creation? This question is not easy to answer. Driven by a feeling of

humiliation or historical injustice, nation may make terrible mistakes. From another angle, feeling of supremacy may also lead to catastrophic consequences. Being realistic about the past seems to be the safest

way, however, it does imply the necessity of the truthful intergenerational dialogue – memory transmission through the oral history method, minimizing mythologizing.

"It is impossible to achieve greatness in one's own time. Greatness always makes itself known only to descendants for whom such a quality is always located in the past (it turns into distanced image); it has become an object of memory, phenomenon exists in its own peculiar context, with its own special rules, subject to conditions quite different from those we meet in the world we see with our own eyes, the world of practice and familiar contact," writes Bakhtin in "Dialogic Imagination" (1981).

This point is important in many estimations. What Bakhtin is saying may be expanded from a level of personalities to understanding the past as a whole. Probably with time issues of greatness become more clear and visible. However, there is a contradictory factor: if a generation of witnesses had gone, and intergenerational process of memory transmission was facing challenges in the past, there are risks of, on the one hand, repeating the past, and idealizing it through mythologizing, on the other hand, risks of oblivion of the past and its victims.

Descendants of the II World War participants in Russia are often saying a common thing about memories shared by their grandparents: there was a lack of memories to be shared, their grandparents were not open to tell any peculiarities of what they remember, briefly characterizing the war as a tough and terrible experience that should never repeat. Keeping in mind that the same notion is coming from descendants of different people, it is possible to make an assumption.

Possibly trauma prevented people to speak. How to categorize this choice – not an easy question to answer. On the one hand, there is an emphasize on an ugly and realistic side of any war, no matter of the reasons standing behind it, that is important for future generations to understand. Decades ago this idea was in the center of Russian literary discourse, provided by Leo Tolstoy in "War and Peace." War is always about horror, blood, death, it is a mistake to assume wars being beautiful and romantic, it is always about young boys never returning home.

This choice of people who faced the war is understandable, but it implies potential dangerous consequences – in the situation of the lack of memory, new generations tend to reconstruct or over-construct the past, turn to myths, romanticize them, especially if facing the lack of self-realization or social lifts. "Great old war," becoming a part of identitarian narrative, may literally provoke new conflicts through this identitarian estimation, through the lack of self-realization and need for recognition. This is a scary but quite realistic scenario. Sincere and truthful intergenerational dialogue is needed to prevent it.

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**INSTRUMENTS FOR FOSTERING A DIALOGUE  
IN CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL  
HUMANITARIAN LAW**

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**SUMMARY**

*Less than 8 % of the recorded history of humanity was peaceful<sup>5</sup>.*

*Current political background does not differ a lot from the aforementioned statistic data: 52 armed struggles happened in 2015, 49 – in 2016<sup>6</sup>. In such a way, international humanitarian law as a law of armed conflicts is applicable almost in the daily manner. One of the main purposes of the international humanitarian law is protection, and there shall be effective and useful mechanisms dedicated to the achievement of this purpose. This paper concerns such mechanisms from both legal and humanitarian perspectives. The project considers the most successful experiences of fostering the dialogue in the area of armed conflicts in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, precisely reviewing Red Cross principles and instruments. Outcomes of the research will show current trends in this area and new areas for development.*

International law is an area where we can't underestimate the value of a dialogue. Almost every issue in this field concerns a dialogue between states: states shall achieve a consent whether apply some obligations or not (of course there are norms like customs or *ius cogens*, observance of which is obligatory despite the will of a state; but not all of the norms are like these), whether to agree with some points or not (for instance, some states still have some unresolved border claims which have to be settled via dialogue) and other issues.

Unfortunately, if states don't reach a consensus regarding confrontation issue, there may arise international armed con-

<sup>5</sup> (Thequestion.ru, 2017)

<sup>6</sup> (Dupuy et al., 2017)

flict despite it is prohibited by International Law (a principle that States shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means was declared, particularly, in the UN Chapter, Resolution 25/2625 adopted by the General Assembly of the UN on 24.10.1970). Statistics regarding this issue is very discouraging: since 1945 our planet has never known peace<sup>7</sup>: for instance, in the end of 2003 there were 23 active armed conflicts.<sup>8</sup> Such conflicts cause human sufferings, and regarding this issue I am speaking about not only international but also non-international armed conflicts. Such branch of international public law as international humanitarian law (hereinafter – the IHL) aims, among others, to defend such persons who are prone to an existential threat of an armed conflict (civilians, injured etc.) – called “covered persons”. Despite the principle of humanity is a general principle which is required to obey (it is contained in a so-called Martens clause<sup>9</sup>), parties of an armed conflict are not always able to reach a consensus regarding their mutual behavior in armed conflict based on this principle – for instance, regarding exchange of prisoners; or a party can simply act out of accordance to the IHL and this basic principle of humanity. In such a way a third party is required to enter into the described relations to secure the observance of the principles and rules of the IHL.

Such intermediary is, first of all, the International Committee of the Red Cross (hereinafter – the ICRC). In accordance with the ICRC Statutes, the ICRC works for the faithful application of the Geneva Conventions 1949<sup>10</sup>.

Despite this organization is a private organization governed by Swiss law<sup>11</sup>, its international role is enshrined in international multilateral treaties (the Geneva Conventions 1949 and their Additional Protocols). Due to numerous bilateral treaties with States regarding the ICRC Status, the ICRC receives privileges and immunities similar to the privileges and immunities belonging to international organizations<sup>12</sup>.

The ICRC is well-known for its “purely” humanitarian actions (provision of food resources, medical equipment, the reunification of family members separated by war etc.), but it also commits a very important role as a *humanitarian diplomat*.

Humanitarian diplomacy aim is to make voices of vulnerable persons be heard<sup>13</sup>. As defined by the ICRC, “*Humanitarian diplomacy is persuading decision makers and opinion leaders to act, at all times, in the interests of vulnerable people, and with full respect for fundamental humanitarian principles*”<sup>14</sup>. There are, in general, two areas for the development of humanitarian diplomacy: 1) support parties of the conflict in their negotiations and solution of reciprocal claims and 2) bilateral negotiations with a party in order to allow the ICRC to commit their humanitarian function and to persuade the party

<sup>7</sup> (David, 2008)

<sup>8</sup> (David, 2008)

<sup>9</sup> (Casebook.icrc.org, 2017)

<sup>10</sup> (Blank and Noone, 2013)

<sup>11</sup> (Icrc.org, 2010)

<sup>12</sup> (David, 2008)

<sup>13</sup> (Harroff-Tavel, n.d.)

<sup>14</sup> (ICRC, n.d.)



to obey the IHL provisions. Regarding the last mentioned area, a problem is that despite its internationally recognized role, before the ICRC act (even in the area of its “charity function” such as provision with food and medicines), it should always receive consent of the all parties involved. Hence, the ICRC staff shall always be ready to build and conduct a dialogue. Before speaking more precisely about humanitarian diplomacy, we would like to emphasize that during its work, the ICRC shall obey the Fundamental Principles<sup>15</sup>, which are not *stricto sensu* a part of the IHL, but shall be considered as a natural continuation of these norms<sup>16</sup>:

I. Humanity

II. Impartiality

III. Neutrality

IV. Independence

V. Voluntary service

VI. Unity

VII. Universality

Despite all these Principles are important for the ICRC activity, the ICRC bears the highest responsibility for the observance of the principles of impartiality, neutrality and independence. From our perspective, one of the most significant principle is *neutrality*: whether the ICRC is a defender of the Geneva Conventions 1949 observance, for successful implementation of the ICRC functions and building a dialogue, it shall never act as a judge or a police because it will defy a principle of neutrality, and the State may refuse the ICRC in access to the realization of the humanitarian function.

In addition, if we speak about *neutrality*, the ICRC role as a *neutral intermediary* (where this principle stipulates the possibility of this function implementation) is enshrined in the Geneva Conventions 1949. This role consists in the seeking of a dialogue with all actors of an armed conflict: the ICRC delegates act as a link between conflicting parties in purely humanitarian aspect. As the ICRC delegate, Michel Minnig, said, being a neutral intermediary is about “placing oneself voluntarily in the midst of a confrontation and lending a helping hand”.<sup>17</sup> Technically, in such a dialogue the ICRC acts as a provider of “good offices” or as a mediator.

As an intermediary, the ICRC can achieve, in particular, the following:

- enable civilians to cross frontlines (e.g., the conflict in Sri-Lanka);
- supply civilians with goods required for their survival (e.g., Asia, Africa);
- facilitate the hostages releases (Afghanistan, Ethiopia and Niger, Colombia);<sup>18</sup>
- reunion of families separated during an armed conflict;
- facilitate the dialogue between the parties involved in a conflict in order to obey the IHL provisions: exchange of prisoners, hospitals protections, security partition and etc.

In numerous cases this function – neutral intermediary – involves negotiations with the relevant parties concerning accessibility of the ICRC to humanitarian actions. Hence, some-

times the ICRC role may be a combination of neutral intermediary and neutral independent humanitarian actor.

All these elements of the humanitarian diplomacy function are an obligation to persuade, but never an option for the ICRC – it is a significant part of the ICRC humanitarian mandate implementation. The last mentioned starts from the humanitarian initiative – and there are 2 kinds of these initiatives:

- extra-treaty humanitarian initiative – they can be started without party of the conflict consent;
- those initiatives, which can not be started without states (or other actors) consent – treaties concluded by the ICRC and the state concerned – for instance treaties of the ICRC delegations establishment in the territories of the state.

If we speak about extra-treaty humanitarian initiative, it highly important to notice such function and concurrently acknowledged in the Geneva Convention-III, IV 1949 entitlement of the ICRC as a right to visit places (internment, imprisonment/detention and labor/work) where protected persons are (prisoners of war, civilians). Despite this is a conventional right, the ICRC still have to negotiate with state representatives in order to use this right (for instance, during a conflict between Iran and Iraq (1979-1988), the ICRC sometimes was deprived of an access to prisoners of war).

In such a way we have stated that conducting a dialogue is one of the most important parts of the ICRC work. Returning to the sample of the ICRC visits of places where prisoners are located, after the visit the ICRC has to find an appropriate method to discuss with the government outcomes of their visit in order to effectively reach humanitarian purpose of the elimination of any IHL violations. Basic principle of the dialogue here is confidentiality – and the ICRC as usual does not publish reports of their visits, but directly send it to the government of the state concerned. They do so because they want to conduct a bilateral dialogue – and give a chance for a government to correct the violations. Such way of diplomacy is highly appreciated, because it provides parties of the dialogue with required level of privacy and possibility for the ICRC to persuade the government representatives face-to-face.

However, if the aforementioned method does not work, the ICRC goes to the method of publicity. There are 4 requirements, developed by the ICRC, for this method application, in accordance with one of them the ICRC shall be sure that publicity corresponds interests of victims more than confidentiality. The ICRC used this method in some cases, but only due to exceptional circumstances (Iraq and Iran 1985, Israel and Lebanon 1996 etc.)<sup>19</sup>.

In order to successfully conduct a dialogue with a party of the conflict concerning fate of vulnerable people, the ICRC uses also some other methods. I would like to draw your attention to an example of the ICRC delegate’s behavior during a case where, from the first sight, he did not have any chance to achieve a success. I am speaking about a story happened during a civil war in Spain in 1936-1939, when the ICRC even without a special mandate released prisoners of war. This example is illustrated in a book of Marcel Junod. An ICRC representative was informed about a prisoner of war, who was sentenced to death in 9 hours. This prisoner was 19-years old

<sup>15</sup> (Icrc.org, 1979)

<sup>16</sup> (Swinarski, 1991)

<sup>17</sup> (Minnig, 1998)

<sup>18</sup> (Kraehenbuehl, 2008)

<sup>19</sup> (David, 2008)



aviator, whose the only fault was a forced landing in the enemy's territory. The representative immediately applied to the authorities of the party, sentenced him, and during this application he:

1. evaluated psychological characteristics of the interlocutor (a superior seemed as a kind person, however, with a heavy look);
2. every word he pronounced was full of respect;
3. he appealed to the international obligations, international treaties provisions of a party.

Unexpectedly during a conversation his opponent proposed him a deal – in the form of “services” exchange, and the delegate leaped at this chance. The delegate offered exchange of prisoners of war between parties of a conflict, and later, he persuaded other party in the necessity of this exchange. As a result, young aviator was saved as well as many other prisoners, involved in this exchange.<sup>20</sup>

Hence, I would like to emphasize that the aforementioned representative used few possible means of persuading: like appeals to humanitarian obligations in a soft manner, offer a mutually advantageous deal. During all the conversation the representative was highly patient and respectful. All the aforementioned led to a successful dialogue.

During negotiations, the ICRC shall, first of all, convince the counterparty in the necessity of the humanitarian actions committing by the ICRC. Unfortunately, that cannot be reached in all cases. For instance, during such incredibly rough period in human history as the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, the ICRC, trying to access the prisoners of war, met strong resistance from some States, and as a result, it was unable to help Soviet or German prisoners of war<sup>21</sup>.

However, in a case of such strong misunderstanding, the ICRC delegates has no choice but continue to maintain its position, as it was during the Lima hostage crisis<sup>22</sup>. In such a cases the ICRC can't act in a way other than apolitical intermediary, it can't act even in a more active way because it may lead to the ICRC responsibility for some political decisions, whether the ICRC role shall not go beyond the humanitarian concerns.

Another interesting example of the ICRC successful performance as an intermediary is a case in Mexico in 1999-2000, when the ICRC organized a forum for the dialogue in Chiapas between displaced persons and officials. The ICRC acted as a facilitator of a dialogue, but did not enter in it. Being a person, whom both parties trusted, the ICRC was able to commit this role and as a result of the dialogue, the parties achieved mutual understanding<sup>23</sup>.

In 1997, Eastern Slavonia united with Croatia and political situation was quite unstable due to territorial closure of Croatian refugees and Serbs, which quite recently were at war with each other. The ICRC role was, first of all, to exclude violence restoration. Thanks to its close contacts with the dominants groups of Eastern Slavonia, the ICRC was able to start educational projects pointed at youth in order to provide mutual help for the people in need. As a result, level of fear and hate

was significantly reduced.<sup>24</sup>

In a conclusion we would like to mention that there are a lot of options for conducting a dialogue in the area of IHL, but the ICRC always primarily remembers about neutrality and humanism. Our world is developing in a positive way of acknowledgement and respect of human rights, and the ICRC mandate is recognized in numerous international documents, so external conditions facilitate successful dialogue. Concurrently, we didn't notice any options for new ways of dialogue fostering; however we suppose that the first method – appeal to the obligation to respect the rules of the IHL – has more validity today than in previous years, and, hopefully, will gain more and more validity further.

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<sup>20</sup> (David, 2008)

<sup>21</sup>(Icrc.org, 2010)

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## **DIALOGIC CONDITION: POETRY AND SOCIETY IN TERMS OF JOURNEY METAPHOR (A CASE STUDY OF MODERN GREEK POETRY)**

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### **SUMMARY**

The paper focuses on a social change at the end of the XX – beginning of the XXI century reflected in the writer-reader dialogue (a case study of Modern Greek poetry). The study highlights the conceptual and lexical representation of identified concepts. Axiological analysis contributes to the determination of axiological constituent of metaphorization of social phenomena.

Labyrinth trajectory as a component of the concept JOURNEY finds bright manifestation in Modern Greek poetry of the XX – XXI centuries. Archetypal labyrinth symbolism is one of the richest for the expression of lack of stability and frustration; it objectifies, when heroes solve some problem [Matasova 2014, p. 95].

Main goal of the research is to identify the labyrinth trajectory in poetry as a reflection of social and cultural changes at the end of the XXth – beginning of the XXI century within writer-reader dialogue. The study uses descriptive, analytical, interpretive research methods and methods of contextual and conceptual analysis. The material includes poems by Modern Greek poets of XX – XXI centuries with a special emphasize on postmodern poetry. Postmodern labyrinth is directly related to the phenomenon of rhizome. It should be noted that rhizome as a principle of creative thinking is manifested in the fragmentation and imitation of chaotic character of the composition (the idea of rhizome symbolizes the creative chaos of the world), contamination of diverse genre elements, quotations, collage, syncretism of different areas of Arts [Kuchmenko 2014, p. 121].

The realization of labyrinth trajectory of journey in poetry is determined by the following phenomena:

1. Concept ROAD implies a system of space and time (including the Universe, state, society), and the structure of the hero's journey.

1.1. Lexical item “roads” is metaphorized as “bright dark octopus” and has the cognitive feature “omnipresence”: in the poem L. Poulyos “Roads”. It is noted the implementation of three main types of roads: above-ground (lexical item asphalt), underground, air tunnels, as well as many other types of roads, which are the means of realization of chronotope that is the framework of the reality: metaphor “the future walks”.

1.2. Lexical item road in plural – in our roads – contributes the objectification of the concept SOCIETY with complicated labyrinth structure in the poem by P. K. Tasytis “Diary”. It bases on obstacle presented by phenomenon of mass media: out of the balconies of newspapers / some terrible Sirs write in the sky big black letters / and go away.

2. The non-linear trajectory is objectified through the interaction with other components of journey structure, such as “obstacle” in the poems “Ithaca” by K. Cavafy, “Our own Ithaca” by V. Fotiou. These two examples demonstrate the metaphorization of mythological characters as obstacles in terms of allusion to “Odyssey” by Homer.

The type of obstacle “Defect of social organization” creates the non-linear trajectory, objectified in the antithesis of the existing structure of the state (that is presented by the concept GOVERNMENT MACHINERY) and personality (presented by the line “protecting [...] your last word”): T. Sinopoulos “Essay 73 – 74 XII”. Time appears to be the coordinate, situated in the heart of the journey: metaphor “canceled time” demonstrates the absence of time in the poetic space.

3. The trajectory of path is constructed, basing primarily on the semantics of verbs that lead to the unreal world or signify backward movement as a metaphor of rethinking in poetry of postmodernism: for instance, escape, swirl, [the shocked shadows] pass, [the trees] fall. The last two examples present the conceptual space “world outlook in the context of technologies and technological progress of the society” (“The automobile” by Y. Kotsyras). The effect of speed-up is achieved by the means of movement of stationary objects that contributes to the objectification of cognitive metaphor FORM IS MOTION. The hyperbole imagery

creates a post-modern vision of reality and the further discovery as a result of the “journey” with the verbalization of concept CHAOS.

4. The collection of poems “Mr. Fogg” by Y. Varveris presents the type of journey round the world in imagination and dream or inner journey that acts as antithesis to the journey of realism (particularly to the novel by Jules Verne “Around the World in 80 Days”). The novel by Jules Verne features an external form of life: dangers, adventure, constant movement, pursuit, inventions, descriptions of various vehicles, while the postmodern poetic collection “Mr. Fogg” contains events occurring in the inner world of the hero: e.g. two – three pages and then he continued / for eighty days / the journey round the world / in his dream. Labyrinth trajectory is verbalized by means of postmodern techniques, such as:

4.1. Intertextuality. The collection of poems is an answer to Jules Verne, it gives a new meaning to the character Phileas Fogg, and therefore the journey finds a new comprehension.

4.2. The principle of rhizome. For example, the poem “Phileas Fogg” has intricate structure: non-linear story with multiplicity of interpretations and references with the attention focused on the text.

4.3. Labyrinth. The metaphor of “invisible vast library” is in the center of the poetic collection, being the reinterpretation of the image-model of Borges outlook. The character, however, keeps to only one book “Around the World in 80 Days”.

4.4. Fabulation. Fictitious often verges on real.

4.5. Allusion to the novels by Jules Verne is in the titles of poems “Around the World in 80 Days” and “20,000 Fogg under the sea”.

4.6. Fragmentation. The collection presents the fragmentation of portrait – “Delivered to the sky”, of landscape – “Pictures of an exhibition”, composition – “What Mr. Fogg said about the fog”.

4.7. Theatricalization of the text and play with the text. Kostas Papageorgiou noted the similarity of poetic space by Varveris to the theatrical stage. Theatrical space appears at the inner level: language of the lyrical hero often leaves an impression that he speaks from the stage, in such a way interacting with the audience, for example, in the poem “Complaint of the Wave”.

4.8. Irony. The finals of poems by Varveris often have ironic or nontrivial nature (e.g. “Mr. Fogg contemplates a shipwrecked person”). The meaning is usually concentrated at the end of poem; it is expressed in some cases by the last line or word of a poem (“Mr. Fogg goes on vacation”). Along with the irony, absurd is objectified, for example, the image of photography without picture – “for years he glances through the white photos”.

4.9. Time distortions: the space of time is not determined. If the novel by Jules Verne presents the exact period of 80 days, the poetic collection “Mr. Fogg” by Varveris demonstrates the ambiguity of personal time that runs slowly: Mr. Fogg expected the waves for years, sitting in a chair by the sea. Eighty days are metaphorized in a line “in eighty languages your words said”. The poet studies the time theme from different perspectives. The poem “Sundial” uses unusual approach to identification of time. Mr. Fogg decides

to determine what time it is and looks at his reflection in the water: beautiful past melancholy ten seconds / gentle and majestic forty seconds / sad and sad precisely. That is, the time vocabulary indicates the transience of life and describes the sorrow of the hero. The poem “What the Cloud said about Mr. Fogg” implements the time oxymoron “to get older, growing younger”, emphasizing not only the topic of time, but also the specifics of the character. The time distortions are objectified in the poem “Complaint of the Wave”, where Mr. Fogg is characterized as “always young”, since he doesn’t travel and therefore he leaves the real world, particularly, the laws of time, and moves to the level of inner fantastic world. At the same time, the waves grow older, and finally commit suicide. The destruction of time structure opposes to the temporal accuracy of the novel by Jules Verne.

4.10. The destruction of the sign system. The collection’s poetry has a form of free verse: there is no rhyme or metre. The poems are simple and short and tend to minimalism: the language is concise and economic; the style is precise and accurate. The minimal volume of a poem is one distich.

Nonlinear journey has a complex structure in Modern Greek poetry. Trajectory is evaluated as positively (as a plus to the spiritual “luggage” of a character) and negatively. The trajectory is objectified depending on the concepts implementation.

1. Labyrinth trajectory is formed through a lot of events happening in a journey within the concept SOCIETY: St. Zafiriou “The age of language”. The route of a journey doesn’t imply linearity and consists of a set of travel points through parallelism “which part of the country, I would not have travelled”, “which country, I would not have travelled”. Labyrinth is verbalized through the conflict of the hero with realities of journey’s places within the concept TOURISM: metaphor and parallelism “feeling hungry and not eating bread, / feeling thirsty and not drinking water”.

2. Postmodern journey around the city is objectified in the form of a labyrinth in the context of the concept PERCEPTION (e.g. metaphor the poetry of death): in the poem “Walk” by Hr. Liondakis. Journey around the city is based on the verbs: goes, sees, comes, that form the type of aimless journey. The perception of the reality is at a forefront of a poem, basing on the lexical-semantic group that also includes vocabulary with the semantics of concealing of the identity and reflection.

3. The precondition of a journey is conflict with the society that leads to the realization of the concept ESCAPISM (within postmodernism: conflict of hero and consumer society) in the poem by Hr. Valavanidis “I’ll go there”. The labyrinth trajectory implies the type of journey – an escape from the realities of the society (presented by the metaphor – ants, lizards and scorpions are everywhere), and antithesis of concepts DEGRADATION (specified in the cognitive metaphor CONSUMPTION IS A STAGNATION) and DEVELOPMENT (with the structure: DEVELOPMENT IS A JOURNEY, KNOWLEDGE IS A JOURNEY). Allusions to showcasing and commercials (hairdo cream) as long as neologisms (TV, fridge, canned food, cement) reflect the protest against the “new” reality.

4. Journey is an inherent part of life by means of the con-

cepts POETRY and TIME: Hr. Katsiyannis "Travelling". Types of journey, that are closely interrelated, are identified through anaphora – metaphor: time journey – "travelling in bygone centuries", a journey in imagination – "travelling in the pages of books", inner journey – "travelling day and night in his inner world".

5. The journey type "wandering" is verbalized within the concept ITHACA in the poem by Y. Ifandys "Destiny of Odyssey". The wanderings also find realization on the metaphorical level introducing the inner journey: the emotional experience forms the labyrinth trajectory of the hero: "Days of King Odysseus, son of Laertes" by St. Vavouris. Ambiguous journey to the inner world has the labyrinth trajectory: lexical items "devastated", "tired" describe the state of the hero.

There is a group of poems with non-linear trajectory that contains the idea of circular mythopoetic journey.

1. Return to the starting point of a journey (through the concept ITHACA) forms the circular trajectory in the poem by Y. Moleskis "If I looked like Odyssey to find you". Chronotope objectifies the labyrinth trajectory: metaphor "returning from the long outland", which finds verbalization in the concept DISTANCE. As a result, the time becomes materialized in a metaphor "here where time has left its rust" and leads to the achievement of the journey's goal.

2. The circular trajectory is objectified through the concept ESCAPE, and the following return: D. Hristianopoulos "Ithaca". The types are determined: escape from oneself and escape from the society (fundamental principles, traditions, Christian values). The metaphor "I swim from road to road" also contributes to the formation of the trajectory. It signifies the emotional state of the hero: "I carry Poseidon / that keeps me always afar".

3. The antithesis of foreign and native is realized within the frame of metaphorical return home with negative evaluation in the context of determining the essence of poetry in the poem St. Bekatoras "Description of own room". The labyrinth trajectory is specified by the verbalization of the concept WANDERING, which finds realization in the metaphor "roaming the streets".

4. Antithesis of foreign and native constructs the mythopoetic trajectory of circular journey in the poem by M. Anagnostakis "These are not these roads". The circle transforms into the spiral trajectory, as not only the hero had changed on return home, but everything that the hero had known before: the metaphors "these are not the roads that we had known", "other people are crawling along the avenue now". The sequence of concepts finds realization HOMELAND – OUTLAND – ABSENSE OF HOMELAND.

5. Spiral trajectory receives positive evaluation in the poem by S. Koumourou "Return". The script of the departure and further return to the starting point finds realization. As a result, there is a transition to the new level as a part of the concept PERSONALITY. Concept RENEWAL interacts with the concept BEAUTIFUL, basing on the metaphor "unknown verbs and dazzling-white fragrances of flowers".

6. Mythopoetic function of circular trajectory as an absence of shelter is objectified in the poem by Y. Themelis "Travelers". Absence of grave and homeland constructs the script of a journey without return, as well as the script of wander-

ing around the world by means of metaphor "we are without grave and homeland" in the context of the concept COSMOPOLITISM. The labyrinth trajectory is reflected in the simile "as strolling musicians"; the poem presents the type of inner journey.

As can be seen from the above, labyrinth journey is a metaphor of protest against some factors in modern society, including consumption, realized in writer-reader dialogue in Modern Greek poetry. The labyrinth trajectory of journey receives both positive and negative evaluation, and often reflects the emotional state of a hero. It puts emphasis on the subjective, internal and crisis outlook of the characters. The non-linear trajectory as a message that comes from author to reader is formed by means of semantics of verbs and lexical item road in plural (at lexical level), interaction with other components of the journey structure (such as "obstacle"), hyperbole, cognitive metaphor FORM IS MOTION and postmodern techniques (principle of rhizome, theatricalization of the text, destruction of sign system, etc.).

Concept ROAD structures the system of space and time and receives cognitive feature "omnipresence". Road finds bright metaphorical verbalization within the concept SOCIETY and becomes the basis of its structure. The labyrinth trajectory is also objectified as part of the concepts WANDERING, ESCAPISM, CHAOS, PERCEPTION, DISTANCE, GOVERNMENT MACHINERY, TOURISM, the antithesis of concepts DEGRADATION – DEVELOPMENT. Journey as an integral part of life is comprehended within the concept TIME that becomes materialized and leads to the achievement of goal.

The research distinguishes travel in geophysical space, as well as travel in imagination, time travel and dream travel, and at another level: aimless journey, escape, wandering (within the concept ITHACA). The labyrinth contains the subgroup of poems – mythopoetical circular trajectory with the types of journey: return to the starting point, escape from oneself, escape from the society with the eventual return, script of wandering around the world as an absence of shelter, as well as spiral path with positive axiological assessment (concepts RENEWAL and BEAUTIFUL). The transformation of the idea of home takes place: the absence of homeland shapes a script of journey without return point.

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## NETWORKING PROJECTS: PROJECT “WHAT YOUTH BELIEVE – INTERFAITH DIALOGUE IN YOUTH WORK”

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### SUMMARY

Project “What YOUTH believe – Interfaith Dialogue in Youth Work” established in 1993 to propel a paradigm shift in from a nation that is divided along religious, political, socio-economic, and ethnic lines to one where people can co-exist, unite, and work together for a better future. Project “What YOUTH believe – Interfaith Dialogue in Youth Work” does this through creating educational opportunities and giving equal access to quality educational programs to children, youth, and women in the marginalized communities. Project “What YOUTH believe – Interfaith Dialogue in Youth Work” programs raise general awareness on mutual respect, tolerance, and acceptance of the other to create a dialogue of peace. The increasing cultural diversification within contemporary Europe also leads to a greater variety in religious

terms. Whereas the individual freedom of religion is legally protected in the democratic constitutions it doesn't automatically lead to a peaceful coexistence between religions. In the recent years increasing tensions between religious groups can be registered and resentments based on misconceptions and stereotypical perceptions of ‘the other’ form a common concern in many European countries. Project “What YOUTH believe – Interfaith Dialogue in Youth Work” work is rooted in the belief that everyone deserves the opportunity to fulfill his or her inherent potential, and to have a voice in the process of getting there. This is especially true in the context of refugees. OUR MISSION - To empower the marginalized children, youth, and women with the skills and knowledge they need to change and become active agents of change for a better tomorrow, without any discrimination.

OUR VISION - everyone has equal access to success and the opportunity to reach their full potential.

One way to prevent the resulting discrimination on religious belief certainly is the initiation of an inter-faith dialogue, during which participant can get a deeper understanding of other religions and also explore the numerous inter-connections between them. This is a topic to be addressed especially among young people, who are still in the process of forming their views on the world, therefore resulting in a long lasting impact on them.

According to the well-known Belarusian scientist Babosova EM: «The main trends of modern world development are interwoven with globalization processes. It is necessary to pay attention not only to positive consequences globalization for the deployment of intercultural dialogue, but also on serious risks arising in the globalizing sociocultural space.

Network projects and trainings for multipliers in youth work about the topic of “Interfaith Dialogue” allows to multiply the cultural diversity of cultures of different peoples and countries and thanks to this trainings is a constructive and creative tool and one way to prevent the resulting discrimination and stigmatization on religious belief certainly is the initiation of an inter-faith dialogue, during which participant can get a deeper understanding of other religions and also explore the numerous inter-connections between them. This is a topic to be addressed especially among young people, who are still in the process of forming their views on the world, therefore resulting in a long lasting impact on them.

All diversity, cultures have one common characteristic: they are powerful disseminator of their socio-cultural creative energy is the dialogue of cultures. Numerous differences between countries and peoples, social groups are often reduced to a discrepancy in systems of cultural meanings, Therefore, an active human-oriented intercultural dialogue which cannot and should not ignore the linguistic and cultural diversity. Harmonization of distinct and diverse ethnic and national cultures can create a world-wide «socio-cultural symphony».<sup>25</sup>

The main channel of penetration multi-soundness in the souls of people is intercultural dialogue. Such a dialogue implies friendly acceptance of all people, regardless of their opinions

<sup>25</sup> Babosov E.M. (2016) The growing importance of intercultural dialogue in the face of growing global risks. Dialogue of cultures in the era of global risks: materials of the international. sci. Conf. and X scientific-theoretic. Seminar “Innovative Strategies in Modern Social Philosophy”, Minsk, May 17-18, 2016 / scientific-ed. advice: A. V. Danilchenko [and others]. - Minsk: Pp. 7-12



and aspirations, their worldviews, ideological, political, ethnic affiliation or religion.

Academician Babosov in his article «The growing importance of intercultural dialogue in the face of growing global risks» notes that: «the most important condition for a constructive and benevolent dialogue cultures is tolerance, as well as a culture of dialogue. It is necessary to proceed from the understanding that culture in the deepest essence is dialogical. Secondly, society should be created favorable social environment for free creativity, for unhindered development of all forms, styles, types of culture.<sup>26</sup>

And for this, tolerance for people not of my faith, not of my culture, not of my religion, and tolerance that guides people to mutual understanding with others man, another culture and faith, a friendly dialogue with them, on recognition and respect for their right to distinction.

In all this high, an invaluable role is played by all types of culture and, above all, by the artistic literature. It is, who awakens the most exalted feelings, thoughts and aspirations, bring him to the understanding of high importance morality, forms in him an aversion and condemnation of immorality, meanness, meanness and betrayal. Despite the amazing diversity their national forms, fiction is one and comprehensive thanks to his human-exalted spiritual and moral principle, love of beauty, truth and worldliness. But culture in itself, without active peacekeeping activity peoples and governments, is not able to wrest mankind from an all-encompassing host of global risks.

Public associations concentrate around the main goal: spread the ideas of dialogue and tolerance among the peoples of the whole world, strengthen friendship and mutual understanding, and develop cultural, social and educational ties between countries and peoples. «In whatever spatial direction one develops intercultural dialogue - in the eastern or western, southern or northern, it always bears in itself growing bright constellations of colors and harmony»<sup>27</sup>

Therefore, under the pressure of increasing global risks, intercultural dialogue allows to multiply the cultural diversity of cultures of different peoples and countries and thanks to this is a constructive and creative tool spiritually elevating the personality of the cultural development of mankind.

The increasing cultural diversification within contemporary Europe also leads to a greater variety in religious terms. Whereas the individual freedom of religion is legally protected in the democratic constitutions it doesn't automatically lead to a peaceful coexistence between religions.

In the recent years increasing tensions between religious groups can be registered and resentments based on misconceptions and stereotypical perceptions of 'the other' form a common concern in many European countries.

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One way to prevent the resulting discrimination on religious belief certainly is the initiation of an inter-faith dialogue, during which participant can get a deeper understanding of other religions and also explore the numerous inter-connections between them. This is a topic to be addressed especially among young people, who are still in the process of forming their views on the world, therefore resulting in a long lasting impact on them.

Taking into account the described context, the network projects and trainings «What YOUth believe - Interfaith Dialogue in youth work» with the assistance of ERASMUS + project will therefore gather youth leader/workers dealing with or interested in interreligious dialogue activities to further investigate concepts of interfaith dialogue and to raise their capacities in realizing projects for young people in this thematic field.

Network projects and trainings is based on understanding of Council of Europe and European Commission Partnership Programme and our own experience and expertise in project management and youth work for interreligious dialogue, inclusion and intercultural learning/acceptance. The trainings follow the non-formal education approach, principles and methods and will be based on participants' experience and exchange.

Goals and objectives of network projects «What YOUth believe - Interfaith Dialogue in youth work»:

- To bring youth workers and leaders interested in interfaith dialogue together to explore together the concepts of Diversity and Culture of Dialogue' in the context of interfaith dialogue in Europe.

- To raise interfaith qualifications and competences of participants and to encourage them to use their acquired skills for working with youth belonging to various religious backgrounds in the future.

- To raise the participants' intercultural sensitivity through exploring various faiths (their historical development, values and spiritual interconnectedness) as well as the principles of constructive dialogue among religions.

- To bring youth organizations dealing with or interested in interfaith dialogue together in order to develop follow-up projects for young people in this field.

Interfaith dialogue forms a major role in the study of religion and peace building.

The project "What YOUth believe - Interfaith Dialogue in Youth Work" "is an example of successful intercultural and interreligious youth exchange. Such events contribute to

<sup>26</sup> Babosov E.M, (2016) The growing importance of intercultural dialogue in the face of growing global risks. Dialogue of cultures in the era of global risks: materials of the international. sci. Conf. and X scientific-theoretic. Seminar "Innovative Strategies in Modern Social Philosophy", Minsk, May 17-18, 2016 / scientific-ed. advice: A. V. Danilchenko [and others]. - Minsk: Pp. 7-12

<sup>27</sup> Babosov E.M, (2016) The growing importance of intercultural dialogue in the face of growing global risks. Dialogue of cultures in the era of global risks: materials of the international. sci. Conf. and X scientific-theoretic. Seminar "Innovative Strategies in Modern Social Philosophy", Minsk, May 17-18, 2016 / scientific-ed. advice: A. V. Danilchenko [and others]. - Minsk: Pp. 7-12

mutual understanding between cultures, religions and peoples.

Interfaith dialogue refers to cooperative, constructive and positive interaction between people of different religious traditions (i.e., “faiths”) and/or spiritual or humanistic beliefs, at both the individual and institutional levels. It is distinct from syncretism or alternative religion, in that dialogue often involves promoting understanding between different religions or beliefs to increase acceptance of others, rather than to synthesize new beliefs.

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## INDIA AND PAKISTAN – BUILDING BRIDGES THROUGH CULTURAL DIPLOMACY & DIALOGUE

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The year 1947; a monumental turning point within the history of the subcontinent, as not only was the realm freed from centuries of external British rule, but also resulted in the formation of two separate countries based on their two respective distinct religions, namely Hinduism and Islam; now as we have known them since and today; Republic of India and Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Prior to independence, both countries were a single national, sharing more than just the land they lived on, but also culture, morals, language, art, literature and much more. Yet wrought by misunderstandings caused by difference of religions, religious respect and rituals, and politics, at the time, which not only escalated into their respective 1947 independence movements, but also the subsequent ‘*bad blood*’ and fairly extremist thinking towards each other coupled with external and internal political agendas and discord which has resulted in the frequent tensions and ill intentions between the two, that even now seventy years later continues to be present albeit having since faded over time.

As put by Zainab Akhtar ‘*India and Pakistan have originated from a common subcontinent but after the partition of 1947, they have an unstable relationship due to many unresolved issues. Although the two South Asian neighbors share a common history, literature and a strong cultural bond, they have time and again focused on the differences rather than making peace based on the similarities*’.<sup>28</sup>

A cursory glance of the Indo-Pak relation since independence, not only confirms the stance taken in the above mentioned quote, but also highlights the fairly foolish strategy of concentrating on the negative intentions behind their freedom movements and embedding them in their foreign policies towards each other. Such negativity was further rooted by the continued Kashmir dispute and Line of Control (LOC) boundaries and limits and the enduring river water squabbles in the shape of Indus Water Treaty of 1960.

One might call the implementation of such hostile policies to be a fool’s task, as it has wielded in more negative ef-

<sup>28</sup> India–Pakistan Relations: Efficacy of Culture;

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0976399616655042?journalCode=mlaa> [Accessed: 11th

October 2016].

fects and repercussions suffered on both sides, when they could have looked towards positive common grounds and resultantly benefitted from the same which could have been laid as cornerstones to resolving the Kashmir and subsequent issues. However, having said that, it also cannot be denied that the two nations can only truly moved forward and abandon past hostilities only when such disputes are completely and mutually resolved.

It is also apparent that these long term disputes cannot seem to be solved anytime within the near future and without a complete ceasefire.

Nevertheless, short term strategies can be put into place, and efforts have been made over the years since, to not only ease out tensions and hostilities but also to develop and promote mutual love, understanding and respect for the two countries and its people. That being said, India and Pakistan must appreciate and understand that they are not only neighbors, but have common ancestors who lived together in harmony for many centuries.

However, for short term tactics to succeed, leaders and the people of both nations have to strive to make efforts to come to the negotiations so that long term peace and harmony can be achieved. After all no one stands to benefit more from such an arrangement then the two states themselves.

Markandey Katju in his blog *‘India and Pakistan must reunite for their mutual good, Note: What I’m proposing is nothing like the RSS’s “Akhand Bharat!”*<sup>29</sup> depicts a very narrow minded approach to the matter, starting with the notion of secular Muslim rulers of the subcontinent and such as the likes of Mughal emperor Akbar and Tipu Sultan, who were accepting of both Hinduism and Islam alike. He further adds that Pakistan continues to be a part of India and the Pakistani independence movement was really a conspiracy forged by the British to weaken the Subcontinent so that the two nations continue to fight each other, an age old divide and conquer theory.

Such an outrageous and illogical argument fails on too many grounds. Firstly the writ has to appreciate that seventy years have passed since Pakistan’s independence and the country has gone above and beyond to emerge as a successful and independent nation. Secondly, such arguments do nothing but flare emotions. Thirdly, Akbar and Tipu Sultan were indeed secular and promoted harmony between the two religions but where was such harmony when Hindus would deliberately throw dead pig carcasses at masses of praying Muslims in Mosques, in the years leading up to the Pakistani movement. Hindus cannot claim they were not responsible for the escalation of extremist views at the time. Nor can Hindus of the pre-independence movement, or Indians claim that Muslims of the subcontinent were wrong to strive for a separate country, as Pakistan was not formed for Muslims only, but rather for all religious minorities and even Hindus if they wished to be a part of it. This stance was affirmed by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah; the founder of

Pakistan in his 11<sup>th</sup> August 1947 speech stating *‘...I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State’*<sup>30</sup>.

Furthermore, Din-I-Ilahi was a new religion formed from the fusion of Hinduism and Islamic principles by the then ruling Mughal emperor Akbar and was widely practiced at his Court at the time.

However, in analyzing Mr. Markandey Katju’s article, if Hindus and Muslims could live together in Harmony and Pakistan need not have been created, then such religions would have continued to be practiced instead of dyeing out along with its creator. In fact in light of this it seems ironic that Islamic sects like Ahamiddiya, which are openly condemned have been in practice and continue to exist even today, albeit in secrecy then fused religions like Din-I-Ilahi, which were formed with the very purpose to bring Hindus and Muslims together.

Therefore, his words *‘The very purpose of creating Pakistan was that there should be no peace but enmity and hostility’* are also effectively defeated; it was not Britain that divided pre 1947 India, rather the growing hostilities, mindsets and events leading to the necessity for two separate nations that became the primary factors which Britain thus acted upon, when it exited the subcontinent.

Mr. Markandey Katju further adds that *‘When I meet Pakistanis, we speak in Hindustani, we look like each other, share the same culture, and feel no difference between ourselves’* and *‘I am confident that with the passage of time people, both in India and Pakistan, will realise the truth in what I am saying, and India and Pakistan (and Bangladesh) will reunite under a strong, secular government which does not tolerate religious extremism, whether Hindu or Muslim, and crushes with it with an iron hand’*.

One could agree with this, albeit in a different context. It needs to be accepted and appreciated that seventy years from independence, both India and Pakistan are two separate and self-governed nations. Three wars and diplomatic and foreign policies and social media brawls have proved that the peoples of both nations are satisfied with the respective independent statuses and are fairly patriotic.

This notion renders the argument of India and Pakistan as becoming a united country somewhat redundant as a long time has passed since the separation of both the countries. However, in lieu with this harmony argument, the two nations can certainly work together for harmonization through capitalizing on the cultural diplomacy and dialogue as neighbors, having much in common, work towards the betterment of their people and land, as too many benefits can be reaped from the status of friendly neighbors.

As mentioned above, with the continuous process of diplomatic talks, measures can be taken to eliminate hostilities. This is not just limited to the field of sports, especially

<sup>29</sup> Markandey Katju: *‘India and Pakistan must reunite for their mutual good, Note: What I’m proposing is nothing like the RSS’s “Akhand Bharat!”*. [http://www.huffingtonpost.in/markandey-katju/india-and-pakistan-must-reunite-for-their-mutual-good\\_a\\_22033158/](http://www.huffingtonpost.in/markandey-katju/india-and-pakistan-must-reunite-for-their-mutual-good_a_22033158/) [Accessed: 11th April 2017].

<sup>30</sup> Mr. Jinnah’s presidential address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, August 11, 1947; [http://www.pakistan.org/pakistan/legislation/constituent\\_address\\_11aug1947.html](http://www.pakistan.org/pakistan/legislation/constituent_address_11aug1947.html)

cricket, where back in 2004 the Indian cricket team's visit to Pakistan certainly initiated a new wave towards friendly relations. The recent 2017 Champions trophy final between India and Pakistan saw friendly competition, and the infamous social media scuffle between Indian actor Rishi Kapoor openly supporting his Country's team and Pakistani supporters. Kapoor turned out to be the best supports man at accepting defeat of his team and congratulating the Pakistani side and cricket fans.

The second step that both Nations need to take after diplomatic discussions is to remove resentments of Muslim Indians in India and Hindu Pakistanis in Pakistan. The 2008 Mumbai attacks resulted in foul treatment of Muslims in India, so much so that they were driven into living in fear of attacks. Many Muslim actors are occasionally discriminated for their religious preferences such as Sanjay Dutt and Shah-rukh Khan<sup>31</sup>.

A recent incident in India highlighted the complete failure of authorities to protect Muslims when an angry mob attacked and killed a Muslim man for consuming beef, as cows are sacred in Hinduism<sup>32</sup>.

Similarly on the other side of the subcontinent, Pakistani Hindus live in a state of fear and dismay; religious celebrations like Diwali and Holi could not be celebrated in public, due to extremist views. However, in a historic move the Government of Sindh in Pakistan in 2016, moved a resolution to made Holi a public holiday, thus according recognition and protection to the minority Hindu community<sup>33</sup>. A similar resolution was passed in the National assembly of Pakistan to make Hindu and Christian holidays into public holidays, in a show and acceptance of all religious tolerance<sup>34</sup>.

Another factor that both India and Pakistan can take is to honor and protect religious places. Indians sometimes bar Muslims from offering prayers in mosques, a move more often practiced by the Indian army against Muslim Kashmiris<sup>35</sup>. The 1992 Babri Mosque sparked major backlash and hostilities between Hindus and Muslim in both Countries, if the Mosque had been built and existed in place of a Hindu temple since Mughal times then Hindus should have respected the time barred factors that existed. If it was Emperor Baber's religious ignorance to set aside Hindu beliefs and built such a mosque, then Hindus showed similar ignorance by destroying it. If a Sikh temple can stand next to the Badshahi Mosque in Lahore, Pakistan then Hindus should have practiced similar tolerance to build a Hindu temple next to Babri Mosque instead of destroying it.

Likewise, Hindu idols are not allowed to be kept in the Hindu Katas Raj temples located in the Chakwal district of Pakistan. Katas Raj is also considered a sacred religious pilgrimage site for Hindus, and Indian Hindus were barred

from visiting Katas Raj when tensions arose between the two countries. Such extremism does nothing but to serve and root unnecessary hatred and hostilities. Muslim in Pakistan must revert to the examples of the last messenger and holy Prophet of Islam, Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and his succeeding Caliphates who allowed other religions to thrive and prosper under their respective reign and offered them protection. If Pakistanis are vocal about injustice carried out towards their Kashmiri brothers by the Indian army, then they should first adopt harmonization and peaceful measures in their own country. Nor can Indians blame Pakistanis for being unfair in this regard to their Hindu majorities when they continue to hold Kashmiris and Muslim Indians in constant fear of their safety and wellbeing. The notion it takes two to clap is very much present in this situation.

Hindu pilgrimage in Pakistan can be taken as a tourism boosting factor, coupled with India and Pakistan both being abundantly rich in Mughal heritage, for which a joint tourism policy can be taken to promote their tourist and hotel industries and lift their economies.

Srishti Katiyar, in an article highlights the cultural factors that can uproot the deep rooted mistrust and hatred both sides suffer *'The phenomena of cultural diplomacy using the state's culture in support of its foreign policy goals paved a way for the possibility of peaceful India-Pakistan relations. It is further identified that the efficacy of culture to act as a connecting link between the two countries is higher and more feasible compared to the use of coercion and threat. The former can bring friendship; peace and brotherhood between India and Pakistan while the later can inflict the two nations with death, destruction and sorrow. There has been an immense contribution of artists and sports persons in promoting peace and amity between India and Pakistan. They along with scholars, students, actors, musicians and writers act as emissaries of peace and goodwill. Their numbers have grown bigger, and the demand for increasing cultural activities has seen a huge leap.*

*The most important among them are theatre, cinema and sports which constitute the larger portion of cultural diplomacy between India and Pakistan*<sup>36</sup>.

India can help develop and enhance Pakistan's film industry, with a joint policy at film making. So far, a number of Pakistani and Indian actors have worked in each other's countries, which is a step in the right direction. This initiative can be enhanced further by an exchange of actors and allowing shooting of both Bollywood and Lollywood films in different locations of both countries which will bring a new diversity too the subcontinent film fraternity.

The Independence of India and Pakistan has torn many families apart, a situation not helped by the three wars that both countries waged against each other. Initiatives to remedy this situation led to the projects of Samjotha Express<sup>37</sup> and Delhi to Lahore bus services, which were targeted by extremism and terrorist elements; by faults on both sides and

<sup>31</sup> <http://indiafacts.org/why-indians-should-boycott-shah-rukh-khan/>

<sup>32</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/05/muslim-man-dies-in-india-after-attack-by-hindu-cow-protectors>

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<sup>34</sup> <http://time.com/4260751/pakistan-diwali-easter-holi-festival-public-holidays/>; <http://www.hindustantimes.com/world/holi-diwali-to-become-official-holidays-in-pakistan/story-RJlqc4ZNqDLQ582uQ5IkZK.html>

<sup>35</sup> <https://www.kmsnews.org/archives/indian-army-stops-muslims-to-pray-in-pre-partition-era-mosque/>

<sup>36</sup> Srishti katiyar; Can Culture be a tool of diplomacy for building bridges between India and Pakistan?; <http://sagepublicationsindia.blogspot.com/2016/12/can-culture-be-tool-of-diplomacy-for.html>

<sup>37</sup> <https://www.dawn.com/news/695646>



suffering of heavy casualties. Such regretful incidents have only served to deepen hatred on both sides and increase the sorrow of already independence torn families. Nor do such terrorist acts justify any means and only damage the two countries who have already suffered through losses from the Independence movement and their wars. Two neighboring countries bound by history and culture cannot allow themselves to be divided by terrorism and hatred.

Therefore in conclusion, it is only a matter of time when both India and Pakistan realize that the wisest move is to forgo previous hostilities and move for a better future, which stands to profit both sides. Bygones are after all meant to be bygones. If Jinnah and Indian leader Gandhi can work together to drive the British out of the Subcontinent, then the India and Pakistan can surely build bridges through cultural diplomacy and dialogue in working towards a peaceful and prosperous South Asia to reap the optimum and endless benefits.

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## THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN THE PUBLIC ELABORATION OF INFORMATION

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## SUMMARY

1. The role of the press until 2010
2. What changed with the developing of social networks
3. How media interact with social networks now
4. Examples of media-interactions

## 1. The role of the press until 2010

Traditional mass-media were rather one-way communication channel before the developing of social media. Readers often have sent letters and made calls to the editorial office, but their number in comparison with the general readership was not so significant.

These times in mass-media the main speakers were politicians, government administrators, law enforcement officials, to a lesser extent - activists and artists.

## 2. What changed with the developing of social networks

With the developing of social networks in Ukraine, the way citizens interact with media has changed, the list of key speakers has changed, and the media itself has undergone changes. The growing popularity of social media has led to a numerical growth of online media. Currently in Ukraine a lot of online media have the most part of readings (traffic) from social networks. In particular, Facebook. Therefore, direct interaction with readers, the live monitoring of their interests and response have become a matter of media survival. Today in Ukraine are 9 million Facebook users, the population of Ukraine is 45 million. Over the past 8 years, the number of Facebook users in Ukraine has increased 142 times as reported by the Watcher (2017).

## 3. How media interact with social networks now

With the high popularity of social networks, ordinary users gradually turned into newsmakers in Ukraine. And the work of the journalist has become much easier. Nowadays it is much easier to find topics, heroes, commentators and photos. The other side – is problem of fake news, propaganda etc. The one of the first popular and powerful printed media in Ukraine who had used posts and photos from social networks was the newspaper “Today”.

In the 2009 during a natural disaster - a heavy snowfall that covered the city, took place in Odessa. In this situation journalists used users photographs and tweets caught in natural disaster. This information was on par with reports of state and profile commercial structures.

So, first of all, the media took photos of eyewitnesses from the scene. For example, accidents, fires, natural disasters, etc. In the first years all photos was signature like: from social networks. Already in 2014, the first media began to indicate the names of the authors of photos from their profiles, and from 2015 indicating the authors names near the photo became the norm. At the same time it became popular to use screenshots of the posts of famous people, as well as eyewitnesses in the articles.

Since 2016, online media had begun to integrate Facebook user posts directly into the body of the material using html. This became normal practice for both regional and national media.

## 4. Examples of media-interactions

An interesting example is the using of social networks by journalists for activating changes at the all-Ukrainian level. The medical sphere in Ukraine needs reforms for a long time. It inherited from the USSR and did not cope with the patients needs. But the bills met opposition from the Verkhovna Rada

(The Parliament of Ukraine).

In May 2017, a package of bills should be considered in the Verkhovna Rada, but deputies refused to put projects on the agenda. Until then, the media had written about the proposed reform, but publications were not enough to generate public pressure on the authorities.

After the failure of the reforms package in the Verkhovna Rada, non-governmental organizations (charitable foundations, civil defense and others) had united and developed a plan for information pressure. In June 2017, the journalists launched a powerful flashmob in Facebook #вимагаю\_медреформу (#require\_reforme) in support of Ukraine's medical reform. Journalists published on their page in Facebook personal histories of diagnosis and treatment in Ukrainian hospitals with a hastage ##require\_reforme and appeal to readers to write their histories. Flash mob quickly spread and coincided in time with an important vote in the Verkhovna Rada. On June 6 2017, deputies were to include or not include in the agenda a package of bills from the Ministry of Health of Ukraine to start reform in the industry.

And while patients and their relatives shared their stories in the social network under the parliament in Kiev, as well as in 49 other cities of Ukraine, the Hour of Death action took place (every hour, according to activists, in Ukraine 67 people die due to various diseases): non-governmental organizations (including Patients of Ukraine and Anti-Corruption Center) and the Ministry of Health organized an action in support of the reform as reported by Telekritika.

As a result, the Verkhovna Rada adopted on June 8, 2017 the draft law No.6327 «On State Financial Guarantees for the Provision of Medical Services and Medicines».

Odessa regional program to combat ambrosia is striking example at the local level is. So, the candidate of biological sciences and ecoactivist Vladimir Nemertsalov repeatedly wrote on his page in Facebook about the harm of distribution of ambrosia in the city. As is known, ambrosia is a dangerous plant, the pollen of which causes multiple allergic reactions, some of which pose a serious threat to life. After several posts he was invited to the airs by local TV channels, and also took comments from print and online media. As a result of the public raising of the issue of Vladimir, the municipal government invited the group to develop measures to combat ambrosia. The project will be financed by municipal funds.

Thus, we see how media had been transformed through dialogue.

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## LANGUAGE ALTER EGO AS A DIALOGIC COGNITION AND DIALOGUE BETWEEN CULTURES

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*Keywords:* culture, teaching, multilingual, intercultural, personality, dialogue

*Summary:* The author reviews the recent studies related to language learning in cultural and social contexts, arguing her theory on a language alter ego and its formation during the second language acquisition as the key element in a dialogue between cultures.

During the past twenty years studies on the crossroad of linguistics and psychology have been emerging. More linguists have questioned the connection of language and socio-cultural context and their influence on each other in a human's brain. In the following article we are going to explore further the concept of language alter ego (Matveeva, 2016) and the previous studies related to the subject.

For many years, exploring the relationship between cultural context and language development has been strongly limited to second language acquisition research, while learning a new language has become equal to acquiring a new identity (Lightbown and Spada, 2006; Pavlenko and Lantolf, 2000). Language learners have been considered as poor copies of native speakers and defective users of the target language.

Recent studies have acknowledged that language learners are legitimate owners and users of the second language, who perform their own representations of the language and have identities in their own right (Guilherme 2002, Cook 2002, Kramsch 1998). Moreover, learners are considered from the perspective of the influence that social environment has on the processes of their identity formation (Goldstein, 1997; McKay and Wong, 1996; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko and Lantolf, 2000).

In our paper we will differentiate two terms: "personality" and "identity". As we regard "identity" as "a sense of belonging", while "personality" is considered "a combination of emotional and behavioural responses".

The studies of Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf on linguistic relativity addressed the mystique of the language. They believed that the language reflects the fundamental values of the given culture and at the same time forms them.

This idea gave the foundation for the theory of linguistic personality drawn by Karaulov. The linguistic personality was considered as a person, expressed in a language and through a language, a person, reconstructed in his/her main features on the basis of linguistic means. It is development and additional content of the concept of personality at all (Karaulov, 1987). And the language has started to be seen as the site of personality construction of language learners. This approach has challenged the notion that language learners' personalities are fixed.

Recently learners' linguistic and cultural personality has been seen as multiple - learners can be members of multiple ethnic, social and cultural communities - contradictory, changing, and permeable over time. Learners cannot only cross the borders between two cultures, but they can re-position themselves and modify their personalities without having to completely lose their core selves. A learner's feeling of membership is seen as unique and carries different significance for each person. This notion of the individuality of identifying oneself as a member of a group and the different ways in which each individual feels that identification is a notion also was discussed by Sapir (1932). Meanwhile the definition of social identity outlined by Tajfel (1982) has been re-examined in more recent studies to show that the value an individual places upon that membership also plays a role in their social identity development (Joseph 2006). In this way Sapir's (1932) view has been incorporated into the current discussion of language, identity and personality.

The notion of linguistic personality gave way to other cultural and linguistic theories around a secondary linguistic personality. (Khaleeva 1987, Galskova 2004, Elizarova 2005). Secondary and multicultural linguistic personalities have brought us to the emerging theory of a language alter ego (Matveeva, 2016). Our belief is that language learning is determined by social, cultural, political and economic contexts. Language learning becomes a product of social interactions where diverse social markers such as gender, age, race and other relations of power will have an impact on language acquisition. These ideas about power relations are elaborated at length in Bourdieu's classic study of French society, *Distinction* (1986), in which he shows how the 'social order is progressively inscribed in people's minds' through 'cultural products' including systems of education, language, judgements, values, methods of classification and activities of everyday life (1986: 471). These all lead to an unconscious acceptance of social differences and hierarchies, to 'a sense of one's place' and to behaviours of self-exclusion (ibid: 141).

Hence, language learning occurs through social contacts and each individual's interaction with the world where it is necessary to fit into a social group. And this adaptation depends on the social background and the status of a language learner's culture together with the values of a newly formed community. Sapir (1932) theorised about the influence of social forces upon language, arguing that social forces could be seen metaphorically as "parallel in their influence to those of heredity in so far as they are handed down from generation to generation" (p.89). Sapir (1912) proposed that both the influences of the social environment upon an individual,

and the agency of the individual to identify themselves as a member of a group were important. Sapir argued that within the social environment "the various forces of society that mold the life and thought of each individual" (1912, p.90). He cited some of these social forces such as religion and ethical standards (Sapir 1912). Sapir (1932) also acknowledged the individuality involved in the process of self-identifying as a member of a group, finding that each individual differs in the extent to which they identify with other members of a group and the "nature of that identification" (p.360).

This process may cause tension between two cultures, in other terms, two personalities in one person. The relations of power of two distinct worldviews may create an ambiguous, labyrinthine hybrid of two personalities as a transcultural individual. Such individual rejects his core self and does not fully accept a new framework of values imposed in a new community. (Matveeva, 2016)

Yet, the relationship between language and identity and the negotiation involved is not a simple process. In order to fully understand the conflict and construction of new personalities in the language learning process, together with looking at the encounter of the two cultures and its conflict, we need to take into account individual's social and cultural backgrounds and how it affects the shaping of a new cultural and language personality. The complexity of this shaping will further affect the dialogue between two individuals belonging to two different social groups.

We should admit that multilingual people may have at least two scenarios of their personality shaping. The first group often succeeds in creating a personality that includes both their first and second cultures, while the second group unconsciously switches to a new linguistic and cultural personality by acculturating and rejecting their former cultural selves in a novel social environment, but this doesn't imply that they completely reject their core selves.

They simply create their language alter egos that manifest themselves in a particular social and cultural context where a behavioural switch is required. (Matveeva, 2016) This experience is observed during the cultural adaptation processes that take place while acquiring a language and entering into contact with a different community of practice.

To date, language learning has been regarded as a skill divorced from the core self and a learner's linguistic, social and ethnic background. While bilingualism and multilingualism were considered as linguistic skills separate from socio-cultural skills. We would like to argue that language learners need to become fully aware of the different cultural and social aspects that influence language learning by investing more than purely cognitive skills in the language learning process and seeking to reposition their linguistic personalities in relation to the speakers of the target language. This will allow learners to become not just bilingual or multilingual but bicultural and multicultural that will open new opportunities in a dialogue between distinct cultures.

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## **CONSENSUS ORIENTED DIALOGUE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL CONFLICTS OVERCOMING FOR THE PURPOSES OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**

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### **SUMMARY**

This paper outlines an initial framework for thinking about and assessing how social dialogue contributes to sustainable development at the local level. It seeks to find and explain the link between conflict and development in a way that is both accessible and accompanying.

It also explains how citizens and non-governmental organizations are implicated in the complex relationship between 'conflict' and 'development'. It is concluded that the results of intellectual work are defining and inexhaustible resource for sustainability into the processes of development. The sustainable development is primarily an economic category, which is a complex applicative process of conflicts resolving, creation and introduction of innovations for the purposes of qualitative changes of an object of management towards socially useful results obtaining.

The correlation between 'conflict' and 'development' concepts as integral elements of the evolution of any social, economic and ecological system is grounded.

### **Introduction**

Social consensus oriented dialogue is one of the core features of the decent policies, is not well-known and understood within the development community, and its potential in contributing to sustainable development and its governance is not sufficiently tapped-into. This is a paradox as the instrument of social dialogue has a lot to offer in terms of core-principles of the Development Effectiveness Agenda realising and in contributing to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, also demonstrated by the international recognition for the central role of the Decent Work Agenda (Hermans, Huyse and Ongevalle, 2016). By bringing together leading resources on the topics of social dialogue and sustainable development, the thesis examines what is currently known about the relationship between the two themes in a short and summarized way.

### **1. Consensus oriented dialogue as a basic concept of sustainable development**

Four basic concepts – sustainable development, its proper



governance, social activism, and social consensus oriented dialogue – are central to this discussion. While there are many different definitions for the first two concepts, they are well-known to the development field and widely used in development policy and practice. The concept of social consensus oriented dialogue, on the other hand, is much less prominent in development circles studies. There is no centrally determined blueprint for the practical implementation of sustainable development in Ukraine as well as in many countries of the world. Both its content and translation into practice will need to be negotiated or planned through some kind of dialogue and collective discussions, embedded in systems of governance. Therefore we conclude that participatory governance – with social consensus oriented dialogue as an example of participatory governance and public administration – is central to the definition of sustainable development as a way of non-exhaustive using of our resources available.

Most definitions are building on the Brundtland’s Commission definition of sustainable development, for example as in the landmark Rio Conference of the UNCED in 1992. Also the ILO definition for sustainable development adopted by the ILO at 102-nd Session of the International Labour Conference (2013), and used in this note, is strongly inspired by the Brundtland’s definition: ‘Sustainable development means that the needs of the present generation should be met without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Sustainable development has three dimensions – economic, social and environmental – which are interrelated, of equal importance and must be addressed together.’

A reference ILO publication of 2006 identifies four returning conceptual pillars which lie at its heart and are key for its understanding and effective implementation. These pillars are the following:

- sustainability,
- inter-generational equity,
- intra-generational equity, and finally,
- public participation.

The first three are substantive features, whereas the fourth constitutes an element of form or procedure.

Sustainability implies a change in the behavior of consumers based on the awareness of the negative results of unrestrained production and consumption. Intra-generational equity underscores that the elimination of existing inequalities between the ‘developed’ world and the ‘developing’ (but also between the poor and the rich people within each country) is an essential condition for a sound implementation of the objective of ‘sustainability’.

The element of inter-generational equity refers to the idea that present generations should adjust their behavior so that the conditions of life of future generations are taken into account. This pillar is closely linked to the previous two elements; since neither sustainability nor equity has any meaning if they are envisaged strictly in the present.

Finally, the principle of public participation draws on the field of international human rights law.

Social dialogue includes all types of negotiation, consultation and information sharing among representatives of governments, social partners or between social partners on

issues of common interest relating to economic and social policy (ILO, 2013). It can take place at national, regional, sectoral or company level. Social dialogue creates tangible outputs, such as collective bargaining agreements and social pacts. It can also involve the co-determination of policies or the tripartite governance of certain policy areas (employment policies or human resources development). Outputs will typically be achieved through negotiations or cooperation between government and social partners (tripartite), or between social partners (bipartite). This is fundamentally different from, for example, unilateral decisions taken by the government on labour-issues (eg. labor legislation on minimum wages), or no-go or conflict strategies, such as protests, strikes, or revolutions.

Given the multidimensional nature of sustainable development, we can identify five thematic blocks of goals to which social dialogue has shown to contribute: four blocks relate to core dimensions of sustainable development, one block deals with its governance. The blocks are used in the remainder of the note to summarize the contribution of social consensus oriented dialogue to the realization and governance of sustainable development. So, the five thematic blocks covering core-dimensions of sustainable development are:

1. Working conditions, rights of workers and equality at working places
2. Access to information, resources, services and redistribution of resources
3. Growth and innovation support
4. Climate and safe environment
5. Governance and participation of civil society, NGO activity providing.

## **2. The role of non-governmental organizations in the building a dialogue as an instrument of social conflict overcoming**

In modern conditions, conflict has become a basic engine, but not a brake factor of the sustainable development. Conflict allows providing a new cycle of a development spiral, upgrade the instruments of it’s supporting in the direction of higher social utility. And the sustainability of such development is provided in terms of building the system of effective resolution of conflicts arising from the existence of various aspects of socio-economic entities of areas. As dialogue is a most constructive instrument of social communication, main attention should be paid to the providing opportunities for civil activists as important actors of social changes in modern societies.

If we want to change the world, we need to change ourselves. In order to change ourselves, that’s not an easy process and so there are going to be difficulties, we should be able to deal with some of those conflicts, not go away.

The way how we deal with those conflicts is critical to the formation of a relevant social network. Because conflicts within local, national, and even transnational networks over issue priorities and frames are not uncommon.

Talking about institutes, which meet social conflicts, convert them into dialogue form in a civil plane, we should note the importance of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) role.

One of the main challenges non-governmental organizations (NGOs) face in building international movements is that of developing a 'common frame of meaning' among culturally, ethnically or ideologically diverse groups of people. Framing is defined as 'the conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action.' (McAdam, McCarthy, Zald, 1996). Participants construct the substantive content of particular issues; it is not inherent in the issues themselves. Struggles over meaning tend to be a part of the early formation of advocacy networks. International networks of NGOs use these frames to help launch global campaigns intended to change the behavior of states and/or international organizations (Snyder, 2003).

Openly discussing differences within a particular conference, or across several conferences, can help in further understanding and collaboration among diverse NGOs throughout the world. In fact, the dialogue process is the most valuable aspect of NGO participation in international conferences. NGOs attach more importance to developing processes for working together than to influence local, national or even global policy. Although the social conflicts within the peace network were not necessarily 'resolved,' some of the parties involved expressed some satisfaction with the outcomes of their collaboration and a willingness to work with the network again.

NGOs facilitate the formation and growth of international social movements by developing networks or social infrastructures that can process conflicts among diverse organizations and find (build) consensus on global problems and their solutions. However, NGOs face disagreement over goals and means, frames, and resources making resolving conflicts and generating consensus an enormous challenge. Although the number of non-state actors involved in peace efforts has increased, it has not necessarily led to more effective peace building; instead, there is a disturbing shortage of communication.

Nonetheless, non-governmental organizations can use conflict constructively to develop international social movements and build consensus around issues of common concern.

Conflict of social interests raised in the policymaking serves four purposes:

- conflicts over NGO network priorities expose inequalities in large scale, non-governmental decision making;
- contention arising from policy development increases understanding of regional, ethnic, social, economic, racial and ideological differences and expand possibilities for collaboration;
- deep-rooted, historical conflicts that surface become starting points for dialogue among NGO representatives.

Attempts to resolve conflicts strengthen the network and facilitate the construction of national and transnational activist identities.

The literature is often missing perspectives from individual NGO representatives on the making of international networks. Although transnational networks cannot be reduced to the agency of activists, the experience of NGO representatives contributes to knowledge of how and why international organizing works by addressing ways in which networks

deal with internal conflict. Because social movements tend to be seen as collective efforts, transnational social movement theorists rarely focus on network conflict. Focusing on how NGO representatives dealt with internal dissension, adds to the understanding of how NGO networks build the social infrastructure of transnational social movements.

Concentrating on conflict:

- 1) increases understanding of contentious issues;
  - 2) explores the problems with current decision-making techniques;
  - 3) shows how conflict resolution methods can be used in the formation of transnational social movements (Snyder, 2003).
- So, the question is how do NGOs find common agendas? And what role does conflict play in the agenda-setting process? Do participants attempt to dialogue and, if so, what problems do they encounter? Issues of contention emerged among the NGOs and their participants try to address them.

## Conclusion

Consensus oriented dialogue seems to be an effective instrument of social conflicts overcoming which is one of the meaningful purposes of sustainable development. Considering 'sustainable development' in its classical Brundtland's interpretation ('sustainable development means that the needs of the present generation should be met without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs') in the plane of our investigation we should mention the role of civil society.

In respect to government's policies, institutions' activities, social participation is very important in achieving common goals of development. At the level of social society (through institutions and NGOs) we are able to build a constructive dialogue to meet social, economic and ecological challenges, solve conflicts of different groups (economic, political, social, cultural, and religious) and redirect solutions to competent bodies. That suggests increasing the level of social activism, solidarity responsibility for the further development.

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## DIALOGUE WITH THE TIME AS A MANAGERIAL CATEGORY IN CASE OF MODERN UKRAINE

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### SUMMARY

1. Definition of ‘Dialogue with the time’ concept
2. Dialogue with the time in the context of the overcoming the consequences of Ukrainian crisis
3. European context of time changes and a place of Ukraine in this process

### 1. Definition of ‘Dialogue with the time’ concept

Time is a key managerial resource which determines effectiveness of any change, any decision.

The category of time in public administration science as a continuum of links between historic basis, current circumstances and future expectations which are mutually determining, interrelated with a consistent chain of endogenous and exogenous changes.

From this point of view, dialogue with the time in public administration is shown as an important task of evaluation of the development of socio-economic formations and strategic decision-making effectiveness, comparing results obtained with the perspective plan of further development. Given approach is determined by the fact that, on the one hand, the time horizon of the public administrator is far shorter than that of the traditional corporate manager; future conditions are closely connected and have resulted largely from ongoing management decisions, on the other.

Let us consider the building of that kind of dialogue with the time. That can be useful for understanding the way of state’s evolution in the direction of sustainable development. For this purpose, we suggest considering the case of Ukraine on its long historic way of European integration – the task of the past 26 years with measurable goals for a future.

### 2. Dialogue with the time in the context of the overcoming the consequences of Ukrainian crisis

The last 26 years have been a time of turbulent changes in the socio-economic and political structure of Ukraine. The Soviet Union collapsed with its totalitarian political regime and command economy, as vassal regimes in Eastern Europe. New, independent states, borders, and institutions were formed.

Ukraine as a part of Soviet Union, Ukraine in 1990-s and especially Ukraine in 2017 are different countries. They differ significantly by economic formation and organization, ownership structure, state and public institutions, social and political systems. The fall of socialism marked the beginning of a long period of institutional disorder when the old rules and regulations no longer worked, and the new ones did not yet work and could not work: they did not have tradition, familiarity, and public consent. The time has come for weak and unstable governments, unreliable money, insufficient and poorly enforced laws – a time when the state could not effectively undertake responsibilities to enforce law and order precisely because it could not change synchronously with society. Society had already gone there where was no the state at that time (Gaidar, 2015). Such a period is always difficult both for state with its institutions and civil society, which is both object and the main subject of state’s structural transformation.

Referring to the category of time in the practice of Ukrainian public administration the basic markers should be set out. As the time is a dynamic concept, it has points of reference which refer to different historical periods with their own unique characteristics, consequences, and prerequisites. Let 1991 be such reference point as a period of independence obtaining by the state, and 2017 – the resulting point, the period of control and analysis of the results of Ukrainian Government’s progress along this 26-year way (table 1).

Table 1 -  
**Gross national income of Ukraine, 1990-2016:  
comparison with European countries**

Year	National income, bln dollars	National income per capita, dollars	National income, bln dollars	Growth of the national income, %	Share, %		
	Current prices		Fixed prices of 1990		In the world	In Europe	In Eastern Europe
1990	92,4	1788,5	92,4	N/D	0,27	1	10,3
1991	86,8	1679,5	84	-9,1	0,25	0,98	10,1
1992	78,4	1517,6	74,2	-11,7	0,23	0,83	10,1
1993	67,3	1304,7	62,2	-16,2	0,2	0,78	8,9
1994	53,9	1049,1	48,8	-21,5	0,15	0,59	7,4
1995	47,9	935,7	42,4	-13,1	0,12	0,46	6,2
1996	44	865,7	38,3	-9,7	0,1	0,41	5,6
1997	49,5	982,2	37,1	-3,1	0,12	0,49	6,3
1998	41	821,1	36,2	-2,4	0,11	0,4	6,1
1999	30,7	620,8	35,9	-0,83	0,077	0,3	5,3
2000	37,3	617,8	37,8	5,30	0,091	0,32	4,7
2001	37,3	768,3	41,9	10,80	0,11	0,38	5,1
2002	41,8	867,4	44,2	5,50	0,12	0,39	5,1
2003	49,6	1036,8	48,6	10,00	0,13	0,38	5
2004	64,2	1353,4	54,6	12,30	0,15	0,43	5,1
2005	85,2	1807,1	56	2,60	0,18	0,53	5,4
2006	106	2262,3	59,8	6,80	0,21	0,61	5,6
2007	142,1	3044,9	65,3	9,20	0,25	0,71	5,8
2008	178,3	3838,4	66,5	1,80	0,28	0,82	5,8
2009	114,8	2481,2	56	-15,80	0,19	0,59	4,8
2010	136	2952	59,4	6,10	0,21	0,69	5
2011	161	3515,2	61,8	4	0,22	0,74	5
2012	180,6	3966,9	64,3	4	0,25	0,87	5,5
2013	181,1	4003,4	62,5	-2,8	0,24	0,84	5,3
2014	180	3085	60,4	-1	0,24	0,82	5,3
2015	195	2786,9	54,2	25	0,2	0,79	5,1
2016	240,1	2586,5	58,8	23	0,2	0,9	5

By the end of 2008, Ukrainian economy had entered a phase of globally synchronized slowdown which, however, lasted much longer than in any other country of Europe. The crisis that engulfed Ukraine adversely affected the overall condition of the banking system of Ukraine. Assuredly, banks have a significant market power due to the existence of purchasable products, locational characteristics, and high switching costs (Mulyaningsih et al., 2016). But they are not protected against external economic shocks that hit the base of their activity in the market.

Exacerbation of internal and external political confrontation in 2013 – 2015 led to a significant capital outflow (Table 1) and increase in demand for foreign currency in both segments of the foreign exchange market. Attempts by the state to keep the exchange rate during 2014 were worth 3,46 bln. USD from international reserves. That became one of the factors of fixed exchange rate policy refusing.

The period of crisis (2014 – current time) is characterized by dynamic structural changes in public administration and relationships within the triangle ‘community – business – state’. Those changes become evident in a significant strengthening of social cohesion and unity. However, the reverse side of the revolution is the losing of economic equilibrium and the ability to quick self-healing of the economic system. This system was considerably affected by the reduction of economic and industrial potential. The result of changes is a raising of liv-

ing costs with the cutting of living standards, complication of conditions of doing business and therefore – rapid increasing of economy shadowing level. Asymmetry in the state development processes with an inclination towards militarization, the rigidity of the fiscal reform resulted in the transition of more than 60% of businesses (based on objective statistical calculations) in the ‘shadow’.

Thus, it is found that most of the income of Ukrainians for the last 3 years was not covered by taxation. Furthermore, citizens’ income decreased so much that it is hardly able to cover current expenditure needs. Needs for food, energy, public services, education in the context of current prices exceed the level of income for average Ukrainian. The level of motivation and ability to work of citizens is reduced, an entrepreneurial activity is cut. We observe a kind of a vicious circle of social and economic problems that are more and more difficult to break and turn into a spiral. That depletes country’s financial system, blocks the proper financing. Such situation is described as critical, which needs emergency measures of state’s intervention

**3. European context of time changes and a place of Ukraine in this process**

So, what about Europe? The challenges facing Europe last years are mainly internal:

- challenges liberalism and democracy,
- low level of productivity growth,
- lack of technological and economic innovation,
- negative demographic changes,
- the continued pressure on public budgets,
- high unemployment, especially among the youth.

But more and more, these problems cannot be contained within the continent itself, as the on-going migration crisis amply demonstrates. After all, Europe is the world’s most globalised region, its largest and most prosperous market. Its economic future is intimately linked with the rest of the world through a dense network of financial flows, supply and distribution chains, communication lines, and travel routes. Europe is also in competition with the other two global economic powers, China and the United States. In terms of geopolitics, its security depends critically on what happens in the regions bordering Europe, especially Russia and the MENA region.

Daniela Schwarzer, considering Europe’s international environment and its capacity to act at home and abroad, concludes that, for the purposes of dialogue with the time, European governments must take immediate action to prepare for a new global order by strengthening their own countries’ capabilities and enhancing the internal coherence of the European Union (Schwarzer, 2017).

So what is the European lesson from such a dialogue with the time?

This question impresses the complexity of the current trends in the global economy and international politics at the current stage of development. Global power shifts lead to insecurity and uncertainty. Although contributions come from different disciplines and span a range of policy fields, certain overarching recommendations do emerge. The European Union is caught between old and new security threats and the need to forge new alliances. Europe needs joint strategies, coopera-



tion, coherence, and an even integration of responses. And where is Ukraine in that process and its place in a global dialogue with the time? In current circumstances, it must make massive investments in a human capital, encouraging lifelong learning and mobility to follow the way of sustainable development. It needs to commit to a post neo-liberal approach and intellectually invest in a new ideological framework of smart sovereignty and democratic values. As the Europe is now facing the dominance of economic forces driving it forward and apart at the same time, we need to develop smart social and regulatory models, guard its labor standards, and further integrate its economic, monetary, fiscal policies, modernize public administration system. The European Union plays a leadership role in developing new international guidelines on investment and oversight of economic activity which ensure that the legitimate interests of all countries are given due consideration (Anheier and Falkner, 2017). The EU needs to advance horizontal integration to complement the European governance structure. It will have to rely on popular support and the energies of many to make it succeed. Member states can enhance the Union's legitimacy and health by increasing the transparency and democratic accountability of its governing institutions. In addition, new horizontal institutions across borders can complement and strengthen vertical integration. Ukraine as EU non-member state can continue to be a buffered zone between East and a West or initiate investing in her intellectual capital to occupy free market niches (IT, innovative entrepreneurship) to build a socialized market economy for sustainable development basis establishing. Again, civil society engagement will be critical to those endeavors.

### Conclusion

Searching for answer to the questions 'Where and how will live our future generations?', 'What can we do today for their safe, prosperous tomorrow?' and 'How to learn lessons of the past not to make mistakes in the future?' we are turning to dialogue with the time. From the managerial position, it is considered as an important task of evaluation of the development of socio-economic formations and strategic decision-making effectiveness, comparing results obtained with the perspective plan of further development.

It appeared that the meeting these challenges has placed in a plane of a public policy and modern managerial tools of governing, public consciousness management. This entails collaboration among the government, the community, and the private sector; corrections in course of national sustainable development towards the elimination of asymmetry through supporting the nations' intellectual capital, building smart economic systems.

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## THE DIALOGUE CONDITION IN THE EUROPE'S NEW REALITY OF INTEGRATION

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### SUMMARY

1. Placement of refugees and migrants in Europe
2. Europe's dialogue – Comparative analysis of responses of European cities and countries
3. Futuristic societies of dialogue

#### 1. Placement of refugees and migrants in Europe

The European continent is facing a new challenge over a million migrants and refugees crossed into Europe in 2015, resulting with a crisis as countries, members of the European Union struggled to respond to the needs of the unfortunate. Arriving by sea and land the migrants used different routes.

According to the UNHCR there were- “129,002 people reaching Europe by sea since the start of 2017 which represents a decrease compared with 362,753 in 2016, 1,015,078 in 2015 and 216,054 in 2014” (UNHCR, 2017).

The conflict in Syria or is the biggest driver of migration and the main reason why people are leaving their homes and seek protection by the EU. Still the present security treats in post-conflict countries like Afghanistan and Iraq are also one of the reasons why people residents of that countries are the second biggest national groups seeking for asylum. Speaking through numbers – “The 28 Member States of the European Union (EU) granted protection status to 710 400 asylum seekers in 2016, more than double the number of 2015. In addition to these, the EU Member States received over 14 000 resettled refugees. The largest group of beneficiaries of protection status in the EU in 2016 remained citizens of Syria (405 600 persons, or 57% of the total number of persons granted protection status in the EU Member States), followed by citizens of Iraq (65 800 or 9%) and those of Afghanistan (61 800 or 9%). The number of decisions granting protection status to Syrians has more than doubled since 2015: they were the largest group granted protection status in nineteen Member States in 2016. Of the 405 600 Syrians granted protection status in the EU, more than 70% were recorded in Germany (294 700)” (EUROSTAT, 2017).

In 2017 the situation is not changed the citizens of Syria remain the largest group among asylum seekers. According to the Eurostat report <sup>38</sup>–“Of the 22500 Syrians who applied for the first time for asylum in the EU in the first quarter of 2017 more than 40% were registered in Germany (9800) and about 24% in Greece (5400). Similarly, around 40% of Afghans (5000) applied for asylum in Germany while about 70% of Nigerians (8000) applied for asylum in Italy. Syrians were the main citizenship of asylum seekers in 13 EU Member States “. (EUROSTAT, 2017)

Germany remain the largest receiver of refugees. –“The highest number of first time asylum applicants in the first quarter of 2017 was registered in Germany (with over 49 000 first time applicants, or 30% of all applicants in the EU Member States), followed by Italy (36900, or 22%), France (22000, or 13%), Greece (16500, or 10%), and the United Kingdom (8400, or 5%). These 5 Member States together account for 80% of all first time applicants in the EU-28” (EUROSTAT, 2017).

## 2. Europe's dialogue – Comparative analysis of responses of European cities and countries

The European Union asylum system, or the EU Common European Asylum System (CEAS) is a set of EU laws. They are envisioned to enforce the uniformity of behavior of all EU member states towards the protection of the rights of asylum seekers and refugees. As any law, this EU laws, define the minimum standards and procedures for processing asylum applications, and for the fair and human treatment of both asylum seekers and those who are recognized as refugees. The Implementation of CEAS is a different story, since it has different meaning and takes different form in different EU member states varies throughout the European Union creating

unequal division of inputs and outputs.

According to this laws Asylum seekers can claim asylum in any country with a functioning asylum system. Among this laws is the so called Dublin Regulation<sup>39</sup> -“establishes the Member State responsible for the examination of the asylum application. The criteria for establishing responsibility run, in hierarchical order, from family considerations, to recent possession of visa or residence permit in a Member State, to whether the applicant has entered EU irregularly, or regularly” (European Commission, 2017).

The Dublin Regulation was designed to bring “order in the chaos”, but in practice allowed advantage for the EU countries in the north, over the countries in the south, prime destination for most of the refugees. To overtake the differences among member states, a reform of the CEAS was proposed in 2016 where the European Commission proposed-“ the creation of a common procedure for international protection, uniform standards for protection and rights granted to beneficiaries of international protection and the further harmonisation of reception conditions in the EU” (European Commission, 2017). This proposals have a main task to respond to the challenges of the previous policies and practical experiences. The EU decision makers wanted to- “simplify and shorten the asylum procedure and the decision-making, discourage secondary movements of asylum seekers and increase integration prospects of those that are entitled to international protection” (European Commission, 2017).

That was also not the remedy for the situation since some EU countries have clearly showed disagreement especially for the measure of relocation of refugees from other EU countries.

Besides the EU other International Organizations like the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) made their efforts to answer the challenges of the paradigm of integration. The publication of “Making Integration Work”, developed by the OECD, represents a good example of concrete action since “the objective is to summarise in a non-technical way the main challenges and good policy practices to support the lasting integration of immigrants and their children in the host countries”. (OECD, 2016)

In this booklet through 10 lessons hosting countries are advised to undertake specific actions and create specific policies.

### a) Success stories

The EU member states also made some efforts in the integration process. There are many good examples of what separate countries have done using instruments of the EU apparatus like the General Programme “Solidarity and Management of Migration Flows” (SOLID). This General Programme consisted of four instruments: External Borders Fund (EBF), European Return, Fund (RF), European Refugee Fund (ERF) and European Fund for the Integration of third-country nationals (EIF).

Through this instruments, Slovenia implemented a project for language courses, Slovakia building capacities for integration of the local-self-government, Spain implemented project on inter-cultural education, Romania created multicultural cen-

<sup>38</sup> Data extracted on 15 June 2017. Most recent data: Further Eurostat information, Main tables and Database

<sup>39</sup> Regulation (EU) No 604/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 June 2013 establishing the criteria and mechanisms for determining the Member State responsible for examining an application for international protection lodged in one of the Member States by a third-country national or a stateless person

ter, Portugal worked on the education and cultural integration, Poland created a training for migrants to support the linguistic and cultural integration. A very innovative project was implemented in Malta where a lifestyle/culinary show was produced in order to develop intercultural exchange through the sharing of culinary practices and experiences. Luxembourg has made an effort through project to break the language barrier and between the administration and the refugees making a major step forward towards easy and accessible resettlement process. In Lithuania through a project a center for Consultation and Information was created. Latvia also made same efforts through a language courses for refugees. In Italy a project was focused on the recognition and coordination of civil society organizations who focus their work on integration.

It is noticeable that language and dialogue in different forms, are the main focus of this projects as a tool for integration.

### 3. Futuristic societies of dialogue

#### a) Dialogue

Multiculturalism as an idea in the socio-political-cultural discourse should tackle the challenges of diversity, cultural and religious. Multicultural societies are reality all around Europe, minority groups are recognized and some cases represent a big part of the society. It is true that the beauty of diversity can lead to functioning and prosperous society, but what about integration? Does one integrates by only practicing one's culture or he should accept the culture of the hosting society? These questions arise since the members of the minority remain to practice their own culture in order to maintain their connection with the country of origin. In theory in the case of immigrants-“proponents emphasize that multiculturalism is compatible with, not opposed to, the integration of immigrants into society; multiculturalism policies provide fairer terms of integration for immigrants” (Song, 2017).

European states are built on the base of culture and language of its citizens who share common myths, language and territory. The members of minority cultural groups, the immigrants and now the refugees are challenged to practice their social and cultural practices in a same physical space as the dominant group, which can have similar but in most of the cases totally opposite practices.

-“Some theorists argue for tolerating minority groups by leaving them free of state interference (Kukathas 1995, 2003). Others argue that mere toleration of group differences falls short of treating members of minority groups as equals; what is required is recognition and positive accommodation of minority group practices through what the leading theorist of multiculturalism Will Kymlicka has called “group-differentiated rights” (1995)”. (Song, 2017)

Intercultural dialogue as a prime agent of socialization of minority groups, migrants and refugees has long awaited its recognitions and by that definition in the political discourse. The Council of Europe, the largest political organization in Europe – the past, the Council of Europe has rarely offered suggestions for a definition of intercultural dialogue formulated intercultural dialogue as – “an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups belonging to

different cultures that leads to a deeper understanding of the other's global perception” (Council of Europe, 2017).

Two very important political efforts are also product of the work of the Council of Europe the Opatija Declaration<sup>40</sup> and the White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue<sup>41</sup>.

The Council of Europe also instead of using one definite definition designed description of the conditions of meaningful intercultural dialogue: *equal dignity of all participants; voluntary engagement in dialogue; a mindset (on both sides) characterised by openness, curiosity and commitment, and the absence of a desire to “win” the dialogue; a readiness to look at both cultural similarities and differences; a minimum degree of knowledge about the distinguishing features of one's own and the “other” culture; the ability to find a common language for understanding and respecting cultural differences* (Council of Europe, 2017).

#### b) Understanding citizenship

In the political theory citizenship has been argued by philosophers in a different forms understood and characterise according to the sides of the political spectrum.

The republican model, argued by philosophers like Aristotle and Rousseau has civic self-rule in its core, represented in elected Institutions. In this model active citizen participation in the political life represents a prerogative in the political process. -“Citizens are, first and foremost, “those who share in the holding of office” (Aristotle *Politics*, cited in (Leydet, 2017). Rousseau's *Contrat Social* binds the citizenship and rule with the law drafting with active participation of the common citizens.

The liberal model, its represents argue that citizenship has more legal then political characteristics. Individual rights and freedoms are the core of this model. The political participation is perceived as intervention to guarantee the protection of this individual rights and freedoms.

This two model may seem like they are opposite but in fact they complementary.

-“Political liberty, as Constant pointed out, is the necessary guarantee of individual liberty. Echoing Constant, Michael Walzer considers that the two conceptions “go hand in hand” since “the security provided by the authorities cannot just be enjoyed; it must itself be secured, and sometimes against the authorities themselves. The passive enjoyment of citizenship requires, at least intermittently, the activist politics of citizens” (Walzer 1989, 217 cited by (Leydet, 2017))”.

Migrants and refugees as part of the society, are if not de jure, but de facto citizens of the hosting society, and by that are entitled to their rights and freedoms. Political participation and active participation should be encouraged as a form of integration in the society. Intercultural dialogue is the main articulator of political and civil participation.

#### c) Redefinition of culture

<sup>40</sup> Conference of European Ministers responsible for cultural affairs on “The new role and new responsibilities of ministers of culture in initiating intercultural dialogue, with due regard for cultural diversity” (Opatija/Croatia, 20-22 October, 2003) Report by the Secretary General

<sup>41</sup> The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue of the Council of Europe will formulate the political orientations of the Organisation in this area. It will also serve as a reference document for action at national, regional and local levels.

In today's multicultural worldwide reality, enhanced by the level of international social networking and access to the internet per capita we need to create a different perception of culture. Cultural diversity in the human world can be perceived as important as the biodiversity in the nature. In the 21-st century there are still conflicts driven by nationalism and cultural differences, as there were in the BC era. This show that as a human race, we have not found a "language of cultural understanding". This "language" should be the main communication tool for intercultural dialogue. But before all of this can be constructed we should have a global agreement on the ethical code. Some efforts were made, a breakthrough after the WW2 with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but still we have not reached worldwide peace. In the case of migrants and refugees in particular culture should be embraced and accepted in the same time. This is also a starting point for the dominate group, they should embrace and accept. The non-existence of cultural exchange or the refusal to accept is the starting point of a cultural conflict.

The futuristic societies should be constructed on the base of ethics, respect and intercultural dialogue. This core values should redefine the society through education and active participation in the creation of a harmonious communities. Dialogue should also be redefined, and it should start with respect instead of tolerance.

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**DIALOG BETWEEN KNOWLEDGE AND POWER!**

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**ABSTRACT**

Dialog between knowledge and power!  
They are tightly connected, but is knowledge of the power corrupted? Knowledge relationship must be uninterrupted! In the moment the knowledge take the power, there is little time left for knowledge.  
Relationship of knowledge and power differs from literature and the real world.  
How can stay uncorrupted knowledge from power?  
It would be nice if knowledge and power would stay together and not corrupt.  
I think it would be a good thing if people would have more information and in this way they would not be corrupted. We have to go to the knowledge, we should not expect it to come to us.  
We need to discuss a lot about this topic. I think it's a very important topic.  
Also young people need dialogue, need word.  
Young people today are invaded by social networks and the information they receive from them is not always correct. They need words that they hear with the mind, not with the ear.  
We need to know who is the best for us.  
We need to know what we know.  
Books and known people are the most efficient ways.

**DIALOGUE WITHOUT ENGAGEMENT?  
THE SOCIAL/CULTURAL GLOBAL  
CONSEQUENCES OF DOMINATING AND  
DISENGAGING POLITICAL NARRATIVES**

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**ABSTRACT**

The world has developed drastically over the course of the past few decades. With development also comes rapid changes in technology and information sharing. From having only one radio station in the 1960's, fast forward to 2017 where information can be accessed and shared at the touch of a button within seconds.  
As revolutionary as scientific and social advancement has been, is it possible that along with the revolution, we are also creating a whole new culture of interaction? One where the con-



cept of engagement and human behavior suddenly gave birth to a thousand new layers of complex nuances and identities? In terms of social interaction, we may be shattering barriers of communication through such newly formed identities and mediums through our similarities, but what about in terms of empathizing with one another on our differences?

By breaking down barriers, are we also breaking some of the bridges that might have kept us better connected centuries before? Are we unintentionally leaving space for popular narratives to dominate any form of engagement, and consequently reducing the scope for productive dialogue? What happens when human error, biases, and prejudices start creeping their way into the forefront of the way our generations engage with dialogue and become primary sources of information?

2017 has been an especially game changing year, in the way political opinions have been shaped, and how major global events have been both portrayed by media, depicted through dominant narratives, received by the public, and consequently place in a setting of dialogue. How did someone as seemingly radical as Donald Trump get elected as President of one of the most liberal democracies in the world? Why are certain societies in Europe so unwilling to take in refugees from the Middle East? Why is it that all we hear in the news are instances of racial and gender violence with political undertones? Why is it that in most university and campus spaces, only "left" wing ideologies are institutionalized and promoted? Why does it seem like the whole world is shifting right on to the political spectrum, while popular opinions still seem to be debated with just as much confusion as before?

This paper will explore some of these questions, and will further attempt to understand if our modern global approach towards engagement through dominance and overpowering of narratives promotes positive dialogue, if it instead leaves very little room for differing opinions and shuts people out; eventually pushing those with moderate or uncertain voices towards any space that is willing to engage with them or hear them out, even if it is towards the extreme fringes.

This paper will also divulge into some of the nuances of

- 1) How dominant narratives affect the way youth engage;
- 2) How political ideologies are formed and the role various social networking platforms and media plays;
- 3) How cultural and foreign diplomacy is shaped through dialogue and engagement in different contexts and regions
- 4) If bias and prejudiced dialogue without accurate facts can also affect cultural and social relationships;
- 5) How different experiences and upbringings affect popular opinions;
- 6) Lastly, how there is always more than one side to a story, meaning that everything we see or hear may not accurately reflect the true picture and hence may be distorting the way we progress in dialogue.

This paper will attempt to answer some of these questions in hopes of understanding how dialogue takes place in the context of major world issues, and in showing that just as how a lack of engagement has the potential to create new harmful barriers and promote hatred, engagement and progressive dialogue has the potential to find real solutions and revolutionize the world for the better.

## THE ROLE OF SCIENCE IN THE 21ST CENTURY: SEARCHING FOR AN OPEN DIALOGUE BETWEEN CULTURES

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### SUMMARY

1. Abstract
2. The relationship between science and human values
3. The clash between science and cultures
4. The problem of multiculturalism and moral relativism
5. In the search of an open dialogue: how to move forward

#### 1. Abstract

There has always been a misunderstanding about what science is and how it works. The foundation of any scientific thinking is not controlled experiments, nor sophisticated mathematical modeling: it is intellectual honesty. A clear understanding of science requires honest conversations in a morally confused and chaotic world. In fact, how we tackle this collision of worldviews will not only influence how we see science, but also will determine our capability in building a global civil society. The main objective of this paper is to study the complicated and controversial relationship between science and culture from a broad perspective, and the role they both have in creating intercultural dialogues in the 21st century. The paper is divided in four chapters: The Relationship between Science and Human Values; The Relationship between Science and Culture; The Problem of Multiculturalism and Moral Relativism, and finally, the Search of an Open Dialogue. The question of how humanity should live in a globalized society has many answers, and some of them (if not most of them) are surely wrong. Only a rational approach of society will allow us to live peacefully, tackling the social, political, economic and environmental problems we all share as a species. Although the main argument I will develop in this paper is controversial, my thesis is straightforward: the success or failure of intercultural dialogue will depend on the honesty of our scientific view of a globalized civil society. Accordingly, there must be scientific (and ethical) truths about what a global civil society is, and how to get there. Finally, the results of this analysis will contribute think about human values, morality, science and facts in a way that would allow a fruitful dialogue between cultures.

#### 2. The relationship between science and human values

Many philosophers, public intellectuals and scientist have stated that the way the world is (facts) can never tell us how the world should be (morality), nor how we should behave in it (Hume, 1996; Moore, 2004). In other words, science deals with

the study and measurement of the physical world, while culture and morality deal with the interactions of human beings, and there is no point in which people can assert, scientifically, what constitute a *good* life.

However, I would argue that science can, in fact, tell us what constitute a good life. The moment we grant that to have a *good* moral life means to maximize human's well-being (as it should), then we will have a scientific knowledge (and certainty) about what behaviors are morally and culturally *good*, and what behaviors need of revision –or even criticism.

The first thing to clarify is that our scientific understanding of human values (i.e. good, evil, happiness or suffering) should not be reduced to our *evolutionary* understanding of human beings. Humanity has long passed the Darwinian necessity to survive as a species. This means that while we based our human experiences on how evolution has built our brains, our evolutionary development has not taught us our ultimate fulfillment: Evolution could not have taught us the importance of democracy, pure altruism, climate change, saving other species from extinction, fighting against nuclear proliferation, etc. It is important to notice, however, that evolution has indeed granted sentient beings (far less evolved than we are) an innate sense of morality. Do mice show distress at the suffering of a familiar mice than unfamiliar ones? They do (Langford et al., 2006). Will monkeys starve themselves as a sign of protest if their cage mates receive painful shocks? They will (Masserman et al., 1964). Have gorillas shown a sense of fairness (splitting the food equally among their peers) when receiving food rewards? They have (Brosnan, 2008; Jensen, Call & Tomasello, 2007). Are dogs capable of feeling sympathy if their owner is in physical or emotional pain? They are (Range et al., 2009). The important premise to remember, therefore, is that values are facts, and they are facts about the well-being of conscious creatures. But how can we define, however, something as complicated as “well-being”? How can our cultural values rely in such a concept? Consider, as an analogy, the concept of “health.” Nowadays, a person is considered healthy if she lacks of dangerous diseases, can exercise, and is destined to live over eighty years (WHO, 1948). Although the concept of “health” is constantly under revision (and change) by disciplines such a medicine, it does not lack of vacuous facts. In principle, our transformation of our view of human health does not suggest that our notions of health and sickness are arbitrary, or culturally constructed. Indeed, the difference between a healthy person and a dead one is as consequential as the difference between food and poison. I would argue therefore that cultures can be understood scientifically. If culture changes us, as in fact it does, it changes us by changing our brains and our states of the mind (Pinker, 2008; Harris, 2010). Accordingly, cultures can and should be studied, revised, praised or criticized based on how they change people's behavior by changing their brains. And we now have scientific tools to understand our brain by the sciences of the mind: neuroscience, psychology, neurobiology, etc.

### 3. The clash between science and cultures

I would argue that the clash between science and some cultures, at least in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, is now unavoidable. These two domains of human knowledge, that seem to be unified in some cases and separated in others, need to be put together once and

for all. In a broader sense, “science” (from the Latin term *scire*, “to know”) is our best effort to learn about the truths of our world. At this point, it is irrelevant to distinguish between “soft” science (history, sociology, or anthropology) or “hard” science (mathematics, physics, or chemistry). It is a historical fact, for example, that the United States used the atomic bomb on Japan on August 6<sup>th</sup> and August 9<sup>th</sup> of 1945. This fact now forms part of the worldview of scientific rationality. Giving the amount of evidence to support such statement, anyone believing that it happened in another year, or that the people of Trieste (Italy) really dropped those bombs, has a lot of explaining to do. Like science, many cultures make specific claims about the way the world is, and how people should behave: the existence of heaven and hell (and how people should act according to those beliefs), the creation and age of the universe, the origin of certain natural phenomena, among other things. These are scientific claims, and the problem arises when we find cultures that make claims contrary to the facts of the world. In fact, there are many scientific disciplines that can be used as tools to understand cultural behaviors and their beliefs about the world. Since the human brain is a machine of belief, our minds constantly produce and consume ideas about ourselves and about the world. Again, as mentioned in the example above, stating facts of the world (i.e. *The United States bombed Japan; Water is two parts hydrogen and one part oxygen; killing is wrong, etc.*) are not culturally constructed, nor they are expression of mere subjective preferences. How do we know these statements are *true*? Science offers compelling tools to answer such questions. These statements show the intersection of many scientific disciplines: history, psychology, political science, economics, philosophy, etc.

It is time we acknowledge a basic feature of human discourse: when considering the truth of a proposition, one is either engaged in an honest appraisal of the evidence and the logical arguments, or one is not. The claims made by some cultures about the reality of the world (specially those who embrace religion as their core center of their beliefs and behavior) seem to be held to other standards of intellectual honesty. And this is a problem when this principle is embedded in the roots of many cultures worldwide.

Consider, for example, the Hindu tradition of *Sati*. *Sati* is a funeral tradition where a widow burns herself to death (or commits suicide in another way) shortly after her husband's death (Gilmartin, 1997). Although no reliable figures exist for the numbers of women who have died by *Sati*, records of the practice still exist across India (Sharma, 2001). Likewise, consider the still existing Albanian tradition of *Kanun* (also known as *Gjakmarrja* or *Hakmarrja*): if a man commits a murder, his victim's family can kill any one of his male relatives in reprisal (Gellçi, 2005). If a little boy has the misfortune of being the son or the brother of a murderer, he must then spend his life hiding, renouncing a proper education, health care, or the pleasures of a normal life. Can we say that the Albanians or the Hindus are morally wrong to have structured their societies this way? Are they cultural values *inferior* or *superior* to any other?

Many people think that science cannot, in principle, answer such questions. How can we say, scientifically, that one culture is morally superior to other? Whose definition of “moral” should we use? I would argue that science has an answer about

human values, about meaning, morality and life's larger purpose. While many scientists study the evolution of morality, as well as its underlying neurobiology, I think it will be only a matter of time for science to say what is ultimately *good* or *bad* in cultures. Questions about human values (that are traditionally embedded in culture) are really questions about the well-being of conscious creatures (Harris, 2010).

The most important facts about human well-being (happiness, sadness, suffering, etc.) transcend cultures, just as facts of biology or physics. Aids in the plains of Africa is still aids; cancer is still cancer, and, therefore, love is still love and compassion is still compassion. Well-being, no matter in what culture, is still well-being. There are ways, at least in principle, in which cultures defines the context in which humans can flourish, and these states can be studied and measured by scientific disciplines such as neurosciences and psychology. The more we understand ourselves at the level of the brain, the more we will see that there are right and wrong answers to questions of how culture affects human well-being.

#### 4. The problem of multiculturalism and moral relativism

Multiculturalism, as a discipline of social sciences, is playing a dangerous role in most universities worldwide. It seems to be the only branch in academia (maybe together with cultural sociology and anthropology) that prevents highly educated and well-intentioned people to criticize practices such as compulsory veiling, genital excision, bride burning, or forced marriage. To them, these cultural practices are extension of an "alternative morality" that should not only be respected, but also protected from criticism. It is time to realize, however, that this intellectual "tolerance" towards these "moral and cultural differences" is nothing more than a horrible failure of compassion towards our fellow human beings.

Please also notice that multiculturalism –and its corollaries in the form of moral relativism– is self-contradictory. Defenders of multiculturalism say that moral truths exist only relative to a specific cultural framework –but this claim about moral truths seem to be true also in all possible frameworks. Moreover, defenders of multiculturalism also claim that we should be tolerant of moral differences because no moral truth is "better," or "more valid" than any other. However, tolerance seems to be more aligned with truth about morality that people claim all the time than intolerance is. In fact, since people make universal moral claims (i.e. it is *wrong* to kill; or it is *good* to have an education), they –at the same time– suspend their moral judgment on cultural practices that contradict their own moral precepts whenever they arise. The claim that multiculturalism does, therefore, is not only morally confused (and confusing), but ultimately dangerous. Although these difficult conversations must certainly be debated within academia, the consequences of such practices go beyond the academic debate. There are girls getting their faces burned off with acid at this very moment for trying to learn how to read, or for not consenting to wear Burqas publicly, or even for the "crime" of not marrying men that they have never met, much less loved.

Some people might think that forcing women to wear burqas might be wrong in Buenos Aires, Las Vegas or Barcelona, but they will not say it is wrong for Muslims in Kabul. To demand gender equality to some cultures (or, at the very least,

freedom for women to wear whatever they want) might seem as *culturally imperialistic* to some social scientists, specially those who defend multiculturalism (Pinker, 2002).

The truth is that multiculturalism seems to be an attempt to pay intellectual reparations for the crimes of Western colonialism, ethnocentrism and racism. Please notice that I am not defending any "western position" about morality; rather, I am arguing that the most basic facts about human well-being must transcend culture, no matter which, just as much as other facts do.

#### 5. In the search of an open dialogue: how to move forward

Whether morality will one day become a proper branch of science –i.e. moral philosophy– misses the point. Is economics a true *science* yet? Judging from recent economic crises worldwide, one could argue that it is not. Maybe a deep understanding of economics will never be within our reach. However, people know that there are ways to better structure an economy than others. People know that investing in health care is better than investing in drugs. Imagine how horrible it would be if a great number of people (well-intentioned and well-educated) became convinced that *all* efforts to prevent a global financial crisis are equally valid. And yet this is where we stand we talk about cultures and human well-beings.

Currently however, most scientists believe that answers to questions about human values will be beyond the reach of science –not because the brain is too complex, but because there is no intellectual justification for speaking about right and wrong, or good and evil across cultures. Accordingly, many believe that is no (and *cannot be*) a universal foundation of morality. I believe, as I have argued throughout this paper, that separating science from human values is an illusion. It should be obvious that if we want to achieve our deepest interests in life, we must admit that some interests are more desirables –and therefore defensible– than others. Some interests should be so basic for every human being on this planet (freedom of speech and thought, human rights, etc.) that they should not need any defense at all. Unfortunately, we live in a world where people still die (and kill) for not sharing the same beliefs –or if they do, at least not in the same degree.

This paper was written with the hope that, as science progresses, cultures in general will recognize the importance of human well-being, intellectual honesty and scientific values as an innate part of human existence. Political correctness and moral relativism (disguised by "tolerance to multiculturalism") have prevented people to have difficult conversations about the flourishing of people in general. If we want to have difficult conversations between cultures, and find a common point of tolerance and understanding between them, then science and people's well-being should be the corner stones of such conversations.

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INDIAN THEATRE- EVOLVED CULTURE

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ABSTRACT

In India, various facets of performing arts are all pervading bringing colour and joy to numerous festivals and ceremonies, and reaffirming the faith of the people in their heritage. These facets have been responsible for sustaining the long continuities of ancient traditions. They are the link between the past and the present. It thus exemplifies the complex, organic interaction of all aspects of life implicit in all tribal and folk art forms; art is not seen as something apart from life, a mere ornamentation or entertainment, but as an intrinsic part of it. Under the patronage of Kings and rulers, skilled artisans and entertainers were encouraged to specialize and to refine their skills to greater levels of perfection and sophistication. Gradually, the classical forms of Art evolved for the glory of temple and palace, reaching their zenith around India around

2nd C.E. onwards and under the powerful Gupta empire, when canons of perfection were laid down in detailed treatise - the Natyashastra and the Kamasutra - which are still followed to this day. Through the ages, rival kings and nawabs vied with each other to attract the most renowned artists and performers to their courts. Folk theatre and dance-drama were the common roots of both classical dance and theatre , the traditions of both of which were elaborated upon the Natyashastra. Kalidasa is India’s most famous poet and dramatist, and his plays are still performed today.

HISTORICAL RECONCILIATION IN EAST ASIA:  
NEED FOR YOUTH & DIALOGUE

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ABSTRACT

World has witnessed conflicts due to different views and understandings of the historical past and significant tensions over territorial disputes in East Asia. Needless to say, these conflicts or disputes emerged from or were triggered by excessive nationalism within the countries of East Asia. What is worse, national governments exhibit the tendency to appeal to and often exploit the nationalist views of the public in order to serve their need for increased governing power. It is now the right time to create an atmosphere of regional dialogues to promote peace & harmony in East Asian region. Objective of our research paper:  
- To promote historical dialogue among the youth in East Asia and beyond;  
- To encourage the youth to share ideas and inspiration on historical issues, and



- To enable the youth to mutually understand and collaborate to promote peace at the global, regional and national levels.

### **Background – East Asia history**

East Asian countries share a long history of interaction. However, they are facing serious conflicts within the region even after their long experience of the exchange. The first step to solve the problems starts from clearly understanding the current historical disputes at issue. By pinpointing the conflicts, fundamental causes of these conflicts and obstacles to having the shared understanding of history can be exactly identified. Every youth in East Asia has a responsibility for realizing peace and common prosperity in this region, because this is where they were born and their living foundation exists. In order to activate cooperation, the youth themselves should actively make an effort to encourage it through exchange programs, cultural or sports events and so forth with open mind and enthusiasm as a responsible member of society.<sup>1</sup>

The injuries of expansive scale war, particularly World War II, the Holocaust, and different detestations, have perpetrated profound physical and mental injuries on mankind's history. One of the essential objectives of chronicled compromise is to recuperate the injuries of the casualties and to rejoin the world gently. The globalization of the world's economies and the potential risk of atomic weapons around the globe have made the procedure of chronicled compromise progressively basic. East Asia has seen the continuous improvement of a local group through expanding monetary relationship and global collaboration to advance denuclearization. Keeping in mind the end goal to encourage the formation of a serene East Asian people group, chronicled compromise is fundamental, and it is key that the different nations of East Asia endeavor to come to regular understandings of the past.

World War II was a hard and fast war. The improvement of weapons of mass devastation, such as the nuclear bomb, compound weapons, and natural weapons, implied that war harm was most certainly not constrained to conventional individuals. Subsequently, it ended up noticeably important that compromise occur not just among sovereign countries, yet in addition among the people groups that possessed them. The essential focus of verifiable compromise has moved from the national level to the individual level as person casualties endeavor to look for review and get reparations. As of late, survivors have sued the Japanese government and different organizations. It has turned out to be progressively evident that compromise needs to go past the administration to-government level, and that the straightforward dismissal of cases in light of administrative arrangements will never fulfill the casualties of Japanese monstrosities. The procedure of compromise must consider singular casualties.

What we mean by historical dialogue and reconciliation? By historical reconciliation, we are truly alluding, in the broadest sense, to any type of trade of perspectives over authentic elucidation, yet more particularly alluding to scholarly discourse among students of history from various nations. Furthermore, the term “reconciliation” is an extremely complex one what's more, has no simple definition. both a result and furthermore a procedure. What's more, to some degree, in its quintessence, it's a mental process that comprises of the change of

profoundly held convictions and mentalities toward the other. Also, it is in that association that the investigation of history, recorded translations, are regularly at the center of the procedure of compromise. Presently, what has East Asia fulfilled in the field of chronicled discourse. We should remember that the historical backdrop of verifiable exchange in East Asia is really a moderately short one, particularly contrasted with the more natural case of Europe. In the event that we take a gander at universal meetings, it is truly in the mid-1980s that researchers from the Republic of Korea, Japan, and the People's Republic of China initially sat down together to talk about history at worldwide gatherings. Obviously, from that point forward, worldwide meetings have turned out to be considerably more customary, in spite of the fact that the level of exchange at these meetings fluctuates.<sup>2</sup>

East Asia has retained relatively stable economic development and became a bright spot in the global economy as well as an important engine for global growth. Regional cooperation in East Asia continues to deepen and promises a bright future. Some are more pessimistic, believing that recent geopolitical tension, historical feud and present bitterness cast a shadow on the East Asian regional cooperation.

Beginning in the summer of 2012, East Asia was the scene of a series of fierce standoffs related to territorial disputes, such as those between Japan and China over the Senkaku Islands (Diaoyu in Chinese) and between Japan and Korea over Takeshima (Dokdo in Korean).<sup>5,6</sup> We have yet to see any sign of these disputes quieting down. This does not seem like an environment in which discussions of East Asian regional cooperation are appropriate. In truth, though, it is a grave miscalculation to view the recent frictions and clashes between Japan and its Chinese and Korean neighbors as fatal ones, and to declare that regional cooperation is therefore impossible. The very concept of East Asia is nothing other than the result of progress made in regional cooperation over the last two decades or more.<sup>7</sup>

### **History of cooperation between East Asian regions**

During the Cold War, East Asian countries were split into two camps in a polarized world. Regional cooperation was too much of a luxury. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN, which was formed during the Cold War focused on political and security issues.

The Asian financial crisis in 1997 became a catalyst in speeding up regional cooperation in East Asia. Countries in East Asia realized that regional cooperation is not only essential in the Globalization era, but also an important tool to boost collective strength and promote common development. In 1997, ASEAN launched the 10+3 mechanism with China, Japan and ROK. East Asian cooperation went on a fast track, producing great achievements in the following 10 years and more.<sup>1,3</sup>

Through developments like these, the ASEAN+3 region came to be called “East Asia” more frequently, and the more broadly defined sense of the phrase became cemented as a regional concept. In this way, the process of regional cooperation forged the identity of East Asia as we know it today.<sup>8</sup>

In all sectors: Economic, Trade, Security, Institutional Building; regional cooperation among East Asian nations has been fruitful and is way looking forward.

Looking back in history, we can see that despite a late start,

East Asia cooperation has achieved rapid development. At the same time, we should not lose sight of the uneven path it has taken and the many old problems and new challenges it faces.

**Divergence:** Being a vast region, East Asia is home to countries at different development stages. It has developed countries like Japan, rapidly growing developing countries as well as less developed countries. In terms of political system, we have socialist countries, capitalist countries and monarchies. In terms of religion and culture, this region accommodates Taoism, Buddhism, Islam, Catholicism, Christianity and Shinto. Unlike Europe and other parts of the world, the great divergence of East Asia makes regional integration highly demanding.<sup>4</sup>

**Complex grievances:** On the one hand, East Asia is the only region in the world today with cold war legacy. The situation on the Korean peninsula constantly strains regional security. Longstanding territorial, ethnic, religious, historical feud still linger, dampening cooperation from time to time. On the other hand, East Asian countries face increasingly acute common new challenges such as terrorism, transnational crimes, natural disasters and infectious diseases.

**Coordination:** The many East Asian cooperation mechanisms born in recent years have different emphases. But they overlap in membership and agenda, and in some cases compete with each other, which is not good for pooling resources. In addition, coordination is also needed between East Asian cooperation and Asia Pacific cooperation.

Regional cooperation is likely to advance over different timeframes and to progress in different directions at times. It will be no simple task to harmonize efforts in these areas. But this is the reality we face in the area of regional cooperation: it is an honest reflection of the true state of affairs in East Asia.

**Youth & historical reconciliation**

It is very unfortunate that even though the war ended more than sixty years ago, the wounds left behind have not yet healed and still cause conflict between East Asian countries. Nevertheless, it should not forget that concerned residents across East Asia have cooperated together, regardless of nation, and have contributed to promoting peace and reconciliation in the region at the grassroots level.<sup>2</sup> In order to promote reconciliation and peace in the region, it is essential for people suffering from the trauma of war to regain a sense of honour. With whatever I have studied in this regard, it was realized that any reconciliation and peace in the region would have to come from young individuals and their determined effort to collaborate across national boundaries.

The present generation is led by Young people- YOUTH. We have now universally agreed upon the fact that Youth are the soul of any change. Young people are active, educated and hard working towards achieving a peaceful planet.

Young people have important national territory concerns and responsibilities. Because of their longer life expectancy, they will have to live for quite some time with the consequences of a deteriorating neighbor country relations left to them by their parents.<sup>9</sup> Fortunately, youth have a special talent for invention and the development of new forms of action and activism and can generate more effective responses to deal with these conflict issues. Addressing the concerns of future generations is difficult in the context of present policy- mak-

ing; ultimately, however, it is enough to expand time horizons not necessarily many years into the future, but simply beyond the generally short-term focus of current decision-making. East Asian conflict issues present some of the most profound and complex challenges requiring attention today and in the coming decades. One foundation-building step in enhancing local, regional, national and global capacities to respond to those challenges is increasing the awareness for “historic reconciliation”. Here the role of youth is central, for it is in the rising generations that heightened awareness can most easily be achieved.

Through youth participation in the regional harmony dialogues, young people recently demonstrated that they could inject social values and notions of equity into debate.

**Youth activities suggestion**

**Asian-Vision**

Asian youth have large opportunities to relieve the tension among the relationship of the Asian countries, especially in East Asia. One of them is Asian-vision, inspired by Euro-Vision. This activity invites all youth in Asia to participate. However, its content is a little different from that of Euro-vision. The contest is not limited only to the song contest. Contest participants have to appear as representatives of different country’s cultures. The concept of the competition is changed in order to relieve nationalistic competitiveness.

Basically participant-countries should choose another country that they will give a performance. For instance, if Korea selects ‘Indonesia’ by random lottery, those two countries will be in charge of showing performances of other’s. Since the participants want to win the contest, they will do their best. Even if they have to represent another country, still they are working to gain the prize for their own country. This enhances their cultural understanding. Further, it is held on the Youth Day of the countries in order to celebrate. These activities can be seen in the following detail:

1st day	2nd day	3rd day	4th day
Opening ceremony	Movie Contest	Food Contest	Cultural Fair
Performance Contest (1)	Performance Contest (2)	Sport Competition	Closing Ceremony

- Basic rule:  
Selection of the country is basically chosen by random lottery; e.g. Exchanging performance, mixing participants in sports competition.
- Committee:  
Committee is composed of youth from each country. (Non-Asians are also welcomed to participate)
- Performance Contest:  
Participants must perform other cultures; e.g. Japan participants perform K-Pop songs & Koreans perform Koto, Chinese perform Indian dances and vice versa. This decision is decided by random lottery.
- Movie Contest:  
Participants are required to create a documentary or movie by collaborating with other countries’ students and they can also reinterpret biased, nationalistic movie from another country’s

perspective. It will help the participants to understand other countries' positions. Again, the films shown at the contest will be decided randomly by lottery.

- Food Contest:

In order to introduce diverse cuisines from different Asian countries, a food fair will be held. Booths of each country will prepare their traditional or popular food, ranging from street food to formal traditional dishes.

- Sport Competition:

Participants do not represent their native countries, but other countries so that they will be mixed with other countries' participants. Therefore, they have opportunities to work together in a team, competing against another team, not a country. For example, Korean team must be composed of Japanese, Koreans, Indonesian and so on. It will be determined by random lottery among participant countries.

- Cultural Fair:

*Cultural Exchange: Lack of cultural understanding caused series of conflicts among some countries: controversy over culture origin such as Dano festival between Korea and China, Batik (national costume) between Malaysia and Indonesia. Those conflicts motivated us to invent this cultural exchange program. This activity was designed in order to provide all participants from Asian countries opportunities to learn, understand, and share the different cultures without nationalism.*

## Conclusion

Several millions young people in the world are currently displaced by armed conflict. Many of them are exposed to violence, try to survive in acute poverty, and are separated from their families and communities. These young people often face the additional barriers of a lack of sufficient education, health care, protection, livelihood opportunities, recreational activities, friendship, and family support.

However, to be realistic, we cannot hope to solve the conflicts of the world, prevent the wars of tomorrow, and ensure progress for perpetuity. This is no excuse for inaction. Today, the silent majority of the world consists of young people, and they remain silent because of the weight of apathy and ignorance. Our goal in peace building and the prevention or transformation of conflict and building a Culture of Peace should be to promote the active participation of youth in society and nation. We should also seek to actively rectify and promote a healthy image of youth participation in public policy discussion in the country, and dispel the notion of youth apathy. We must actively encourage young compatriots of our nation to cast off apathy, and join peace building efforts. We have nothing to lose but our chains. We have a world to win.

For youth to be able to really prevent conflict, first they have to be in peace within themselves and in peace with fellow brothers and sisters; this is the first step to preach peace, prevent conflict and establish a peaceful reconciliation in East Asian region.

Ideally speaking our leaders must know what is right and the youth to know the truth. But what we see and find is the reverse; our leaders do not know what is right and by neglecting our youth are not promoting peace building. Leaders use innocent youth, to create war, civil unrest, and disturbances because of their selfish and devilish acts. This is the time privileged youth, who attend or take part in conferences need to

come out, inform, and educate other youth, from the urban to the rural areas of East Asian regions.

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## NEW MEDIA AND INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE

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## ABSTRACT

New media has brought human interaction and the world to highly interconnected and complex stage. It has provided new spaces where people can communicate, exchange and share thoughts, ideas and views and interact with each other across geographical, political and cultural boundaries. It has not only altered the form and flow of information but has also influenced how people understand each other in the process of human communication. Unlike traditional news broadcast,

which generally adheres to a pro/con or he/she said binary format, social media (a new media form) supports a variety of opinions and views on a topic/incident without artificial narrowing. New media has also 'democratised' representation by allowing individuals to represent themselves and their communities. New media has been an influential factor in the process of intercultural adaption and development of sense of 'belonging'. New media has facilitated the process of dialogue beyond borders but at the same time has also constituted a challenge to intercultural communication through the construction of a new and hybrid 'third' culture. The paper examines the intersection and impact of new media on intercultural communication and dialogue from all these different perspectives.

### Introduction

Over centuries the dissemination of messages has progressed from oral to script, print, wired, electronic and finally to the digital mode today. The greatest transformation that communication underwent occurred with the introduction of the internet in the 1990s. Time has been compressed by reducing distances between different spaces and the sense of space has led people to believe that local, national and global space has become obsolete. It has not only altered the form and flow of information but has also influenced how people understand each other in the process of human communication. New media has brought human interaction and the world to highly interconnected and complex stage. It has provided new spaces where people can communicate, exchange and share thoughts, ideas and views and interact with each other across geographical, political and cultural boundaries. New media has also 'democratised' representation by allowing individuals to represent themselves and their communities. Digital or new media has created new social networks, redefined social, political, cultural, economic and other boundaries of the human society. It has redefined and is continuously changing social relations, exchanges, individual identities and community structures. New media is continuously changing the way we think, act and live.

### Dialogue and Culture

A dialogue is a two way process between two or more people with each individual influencing the others and being influenced by others at the same time. As a communication process, a dialogue is purely oriented towards mutual understanding and produces cognitive and affective openness towards otherness. Intercultural dialogue can be defined as a reciprocal communicative process between two or more people with different cultural backgrounds. Among its aims are the following: to develop a deeper understanding of diverse perspectives and practices; to increase participation and the freedom and ability to make choices; to foster equality; to enhance creative processes.

Culture, here, constitutes all the material and nonmaterial manifestations of life that have been produced by human action. If we are to examine some definitions of culture, the basic definition of culture, is the following one: Culture is a complex process comprising information, art, traditions and other suchlike capabilities and habits acquired by man as a

member of the society (Taylor, 1871). Culture is a learned set of shared interpretations about beliefs, values, norms, and social practices, which affect the behaviours of a relatively large group of people (Lustig and Koester, 2006). Culture arose from solution attempts of people who live in a community together for various problems of life. Some of these solution styles become the property of the community by becoming stable, and culture consists of them. Cultural references determine our identity and the various ways in which we construct reality. They influence perceptions of our own selves, the way we encounter others and the way we interact with others. The Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity was adopted in 2001. It recognises cultural diversity as a common heritage of humanity as well as the potential of intercultural dialogue. The Convention states in its preamble that: "culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs".

By challenging prevailing stereotypes, assumptions and attitudes concerning the others, new media promotes awareness and prevents mistrust and suspicion. It promotes an environment of tolerance and acceptance of differences, an environment that values diversity as an opportunity for understanding. The paper examines the impact of new media on the following seminal areas of intercultural dialogue : cultural identity, third culture, intercultural adaption.

### Cultural Identity

Cultural identity, according to social identity theory, is derived from membership in social groups. The convergence of time and space by new media in a universal cyberspace creates new cultural identities in different virtual communities. In the new digital era, where individuals live in virtual spaces with myriad others, virtual cultures exist. These cultures are homogenized entities and not grounded in space and time. These virtual cultures can alter pre-existing cultural identities of an individual endangering indigenous identities that are co-created, negotiated and developed in concert with the social identity theory. A hybridized cultural identity emerges from being part of a virtual community composed of diverse people and cultural influences that border and overlap each other, which creates a hybrid virtual culture. Virtual cultures and virtual identities constitute a challenge to authority and cultural hegemony, according to Clothier. However, if and when, virtual communities are composed of culturally homogeneous members, the communities retain, support and reinforce pre-existing cultural identities, as found in studies by Hopkins (2008) and Couchner and Cronn-Mills (2011). Hopkins found that young Australian Muslim Turks, who felt marginalized, successfully utilized new media to connect with Muslims worldwide, which helped them to reinforce their identities and faith. Couchner and Cronn-Mills discovered that French-Muslims used social networking sites to maintain their Muslim identities, and this happened sometimes at the expense of their French identities. Oh (2012) found that second-generation Korean American adolescents used transnational Korean media to



enhance intra-ethnic bonds and reinforce their Korean identities. However virtual communities are sometimes found to be anonymous and disconnected from time and space. In such communities, intimacy and engagement are limited, which are prerequisites for developing deep understanding. Also, the virtual identities, experiences and reality so produced brings about alteration of one's gender, personality, appearance and background. This challenges the way people perceive reality and traditionally defined identities. Cultural identities forged by new media are not products of historical development. Social interaction remains a foundation for forging a cultural identity but the nature of interpersonal and group relationships by interaction in the virtual world is unlike those constructed by face-to-face interaction. Cultural identity forged by new media is multifaceted and contrasts the six facets of traditional cultural identity indicated by Bailey (1996), including sociological, occupational, geobasic, national, co-cultural and ethnic identities. Cultural identity in the age of digital or new media is more dynamic, relativized and fluid. It presents challenges to the autonomy and stability of cultural identity.

### Third Culture

New media has facilitated the process of dialogue beyond borders but at the same time has also constituted a challenge to intercultural communication through the construction of a new and hybrid 'third' culture. Intercultural dialogue required openness and empathy which results in deep understanding of the other. Unlike casual contact, intercultural contact requires the communicators to be aware of and challenge their personal values and predispositions understand the other. Hichang and Jae-Shin (2008) examined computer-mediated groups composed of students from the United States and Singapore and discovered that virtual intercultural collaboration was constrained by preexisting social networks and intergroup boundaries formed in their respective countries and cultures. They found that the students' willingness to collaborate and share information with others were affected by whether their virtual partners were member of their in-groups and shared their cultural values. Intercultural contact also requires the communicators to be open to accepting differences. In a virtual dialogue across cultures, communicators can optimize their relationship in a 'third culture' which not merely a fusion of separate entities but a product of harmonization of composite parts into a coherent whole. Third culture, a product of integration, convergence and mutual assimilation is an ideal forum to interact because it is optimally supportive and cooperative in nature. The ease of technological access and the introduction of internet and social media has made it easier to construct third cultures in the virtual world. People have been able to maintain anonymity and control social distance with the help of new media which encourages cultural experimentation and risk taking leading to ease of construction of third cultures. However, as the 'space' provided by new media is useful for bridging the social capital and does not provide deep emotional support. The dialogic elements of empathy and deep understanding are also found to be missing in the use of new media for communication across cultures.

### Intercultural Adaption

The multicultural world is enhanced by the experiences of sojourners, immigrants, and others who successfully make the transition from one culture to another (Kim, 2001). Adaptation is a "dynamic process by which individuals, upon relocating to an unfamiliar cultural environment, establish (or reestablish) and maintain a relatively stable, reciprocal, and functional relationship with the environment" (Gudykunst, 2003). New media has been an influential factor in the process of intercultural adaption and development of sense of 'belonging'. In an online environment, the host social communication and the ethnic social communication are important components that can facilitate or impede adaptation (Chen, W., 2009). Available research suggests that new media facilitates the process of intercultural adaptation. For example, Ye (2005) found that Chinese international students who utilize on-line ethnic support groups composed of other Chinese students experience significantly less acculturative stress and find greater more emotional emotional support. Students use social media to stay connected to their family and friends in their home countries to derive a sense of comfort in the new environment. Ying and Liese's (1991) research argued that while on-line ethnic support groups do provide important emotional support, they do not help significantly with learning new skills necessary to be successful in the new culture. Also, the increased use of homogeneous online groups and forums tends to increase in-group identification and hence constitutes a challenge to intercultural adaptation as discussed in a study by Croucher and Cronn Mills (2011). Online communication with people from the host culture on the other hand has been found to increase intercultural competence, language acquisition and enhance acculturation by Chun (2011) and Belz (2005). Diehl and Prins (2008) examined the exchanges of Second Life participants and found that the 'space' promoted intercultural relationships and openness to diverse cultures, practices and attitudes.

### Conclusion

This paper examines the impact of new media on some of the important seminal areas of intercultural dialogue. It explicates the impact of new media on cultural identity, the formation of a third culture and intercultural adaption. Future research scholars can examine the impact of new media on on formation of new cultural values and transformation of cultural values. The impact of cultural identity on use of social media is another interesting research area to be explored. In addition to the areas of intercultural dialogue discussed in this paper the scope of relationship of new media and intercultural dialogue can extended to other themes such as intercultural conflicts and intercultural relationships. The effects of new media on intercultural dialogue are still in its early stages and have only been explored from the view of the old function models of media. A lot of structured systematic studies in the areas explored and discussed by this paper need to be conducted from a point of view which is different the context of traditional media to understand the impact of new media on intercultural dialogue further.

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## RUSSIAN MASS MEDIA: TRUTH AND POLITICS

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### SUMMARY

1. Introduction
  2. Limited power of the civil society
  3. Russia and the European Security concerns
  4. Conclusion
- Bibliography

### 1. Introduction

*"if you hold the information, you hold all the cards"*

There is nothing new about neither fake news nor about mass media as a strong political tool. As mass media plays crucial role on forming public opinion on different issues, government understands it's power and tries to control it.

This article aims to analyse reasons which influence on the Russian mass media: understanding of these reasons may help to understand how Russian mass media could be used as a tool of establishing dialogue instead of being used only for shaping "pro-government" opinion both in domestic and foreign policy.

### 2. Limited power of the civil society

Peaceful and effective international cooperation between the states depends a lot on whether do states trust each other or not (Booth and Wheeler, 2008). And mass media can either help to build trustful relations or bring new challenges to them: according to Kydd, building trust requires understanding each others intensions. This could be achieved through different

re-assurance and "costly signals" (Kydd, 2012). But what are those signals, which Russia are sending to the world through the mass media? On the example of the recent Ukrainian crisis we could see information war: almost all newspapers, internet and TV resources both in Russia and Ukraine were developing existing conflict by giving only their perspective. In fact, who knows what could be the situation if the information they provide to the public and society would be more objective and controversial?

Since the first days of *perestroika* international community paid particular attention to the problems of civil society in Russia. After the recent law against foreign agents in Russia (2012) more than 30% of Russian NGOs were closed, some of them were supporting independent NGOs (White, 2008).

Current situation with the mass media and freedom of speech in Russia requires a special international attention: especially in terms of coming New President Elections in March 2018 this becoming especially important: it is not only about change of top management of "RBK" or difficulties which Novaya Gazeta regularly faces: it is also about increasing control of the internet platform, which current Russian government began to monitor. Actually, for now there are just a few independent resources: Novaya Gazeta, Rain TV, Paper Paper, Meduza among them. Government constantly invest in such projects as "Russia Today", "Sputnik" to form public opinion not only in domestic, but in foreign policy as well. Since the first days of *perestroika* international community paid particular attention to the problems of civil society in Russia. After the recent law against foreign agents in Russia (2012) more than 30% of Russian NGOs were closed, some of them were supporting independent NGOs (White, 2008).

To put it in another words: what could be expected if almost all independent resources in Russian mass media are either owned by the government or working in a tough conditions, when they are required to fight for their right to say what they want? According to the recent Freedom of House 2017, Russian laws and restrictions are becoming more and more strict: particularly it is related to the political rights and civil liberties (Lockie, 2017; freedomhouse.org, 2017)

But not only problems with weak Russian society brings challenges for establishing dialogue and thus, cooperation between the states. The international concerns, particularly European security issues also should be considered.

### 3. Russia and European Security concerns

Over 25 years have passed since the Russian tricolour replaced the hammer and sickle above the Kremlin. Yet despite this change of political identity, the arena in which Russia exists has changed rather little. Stretching from the Baltic in the west to the Sea of Okhotsk in the east, security challenges confront Russia at every turn. But perhaps the highest concentration of these can be found in the European theatre. Often seen by the West as the major threat to European security, Russia is quite regularly on the receiving end of suspicion, mistrust, and condemnation. Little thought is given, however, to the Russian perspective and why it acts in the way it does. From the Russian perspective, the threat of the Cold War has endured into the post-Cold War world, and it is once again the awkward other (Tsygankov, 2010; 2012).

According to the Russian political elite, NATO continues to pose a significant challenge (Duncan, 2013). It has expanded closer to Russia's borders than ever before. It has a missile defence shield in Poland and Romania that could potentially neutralize Russia's nuclear deterrent. And as there are more NATO members, there are, naturally, more resources.

Ironically, there is an assumption that NATO is more of a threat to Europe than just Russia; by coming too close to Russia's borders, it is essentially "poking the bear". One must also consider that Russia has recently invested a lot of money and resources into its military capabilities. In the mind of Russian President Vladimir Putin, the recent and vast modernization of Russia's military infrastructure has re-established Russia as a major military power.

With this in mind, NATO's ostensibly security-driven and harmless expansion might provoke a forceful Russian response. NATO is testing "the bear's patience". A conflict could ensue if NATO does not put the brakes on its easterly advance.

The Russian political elite has been under no illusion that NATO is a threat. For instance, President Putin welcomed 2016 by officially designating NATO as a threat to Russia (Duncan, 2012). And just recently he remarked that NATO is "trying to involve us in confrontation, provoke us" and highlighted that recent NATO development and enlargement is a real threat to Russian Security. Then there is Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev, who has characterized relations between NATO and Russia as "strongly unfriendly and close [to] the beginning of the new Cold War". Similar announcements have also been made by Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, Russian Defense Minister Sergey Shoygu and many others.

Naturally, therefore, the modern motto of 'sharing is caring' carries little believability in the so-called 'shared neighbourhood' in Eastern Europe.

For a start, the use of the word 'shared' is most inappropriate when describing this region, for it carries with it positive connotations of cordiality and amicability. However, the EU's policies in this region are mostly incompatible with those of Russia's, and their interests are generally divergent. In reality, this is better described as a 'contested' neighbourhood.

From the Russian perspective, the European Union's European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) represents an 'unprecedented attempt' to interfere in the affairs of the Soviet successor states. Given Russia's genuine insecurities in the context of NATO expansion, further Western involvement in a region with deep Russian roots naturally provokes additional concerns and insecurities.

These concerns and insecurities have manifested in Russia's efforts to construct regional organisations in the post-Soviet space. And this is understandable. By seeking to maintain influence over the 'near abroad', it intends to mitigate its isolation from the West.

Having said that, one must admit that this is an isolation that Russia has in part helped to construct. Its differing world view and interpretation of international rules and norms, compounded by its illegal annexation of the Crimea in 2014, has inevitably done little to endear it to the states and institutions that it has sought closer cooperation with. However, one must also acknowledge that the Western world view, which

typically isolates and demonises those actors that opt for the path of non-conformity, is as much responsible for the friction that characterises relations between Russia and the West. This friction plays a fundamental role in swaying Moscow toward recreating its own security orbit and to resisting outside influences.

But does the West need to continue its isolation of Russia? Despite Russia's obvious differences to the Western world, are there not advantages to be had in a stronger relationship? The differences are well documented, but one clear commonality is the commitment to ridding the world of terrorism. This is an issue that affects both sides. And regardless of one's views on the new US president, his comments about closer cooperation with Russia in the battle against terrorism should be well received. Such similarities should be embraced and built upon. Countries whose own democracies are rather questionable ought not to impose unrealistically high democratic expectations on a relatively young nation. Embrace the similarities. Ditch the hypocrisy.

We must also consider the repercussions of the West's isolation of Russia (Mearsheimer, 2016). Not only does it entrench the divide and construct an adversary, but it might also push Russia closer to China. While perhaps of little relevance for European security, it does not bode well in the global context. China poses a serious challenge to the global status quo, and the West would be wise to discourage a country of Russia's capabilities from aligning too closely with it. Of course, Russia is now the junior partner in its relationship with China; a significant role-reversal from the Cold War. Relations between them were never easy, and they remain uneasy. The West would do well to capitalise on this situation.

4. Conclusion

Being different to the West does not make Russia inherently evil and threatening. Russia has legitimate security concerns in its European neighbourhood and the West should acknowledge, respect, and seek to understand this. Despite their differences, there are evidently practical reasons on both sides for a warmer relationship. Bridges, not divides, should be the objects of construction in future. Otherwise this situation will develop misunderstanding and will provoke Russia to continue acting in the similar way, including its strategy in mass media.

International community should support Russian independent mass media and the development of the Russian civil society. Even though there are problems with international NGOs, there are still remaining platforms which could and should be actively used: establishing cooperation and understanding could be reached through independent mass media resources, international forums, meetings and other educational and cultural events. All opportunities are in the hands of our generation: it is not only responsibility of Russian people but of everyone in the world. Staying politically active, critical to what mass media is saying is especially important nowadays.

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CUSTOMER SERVICE  
AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR INTEGRATION.  
SOME CASES OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN  
CULTURES IN CORPORATIONS

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I would like to start with a disclaimer. This short text is strongly based on my personal experience. While completing my MBA thesis a few months ago, I could see that there are not many sources discussing this specific topic. Actually, the importance of customer service is also not mainstream, when seen as a marketing tool. During the past five years, I had the privilege and opportunity to work in international customer services. I believe that working in that environment allows people to understand what approach companies have towards their customers. At the same time, the relations between firms, politics and society can also be observed. And much more.



Logistics, economics, law, taxes are all filtered through Customer Service.

This business function gained an essential role for firms only recently and gradually. With the slow motion from a "push" system to a new, customer centric, approach several things have changed.

Based on the original idea, a product was manufactured and the effort in marketing was essentially focused on pushing – indeed – a larger quantity on the market. Gradually, but rapidly with the new technologies, customers became very important (Rust, Zeithaml, & Lemon, 2000).

Customers can now have as many information as they wish on any goods, thanks to the Internet. Logistics have changed, shops transitioned from a brick-and-mortar to an online appearance, and many more are the evolutions that the new technologies brought. Of course, just "pushing" a product on the market is no longer possible and furthermore the direct (face to face) contact is also denied by this system. Customer Service's core became then the relation between customers and firms (Lawer & Knox, 2006; Lissitsa & Kol, 2016; Meidutė-Kavaliauskienė, Aranskis, & Litvinenko, 2014; Urban, 2004).

Historically, the pressure of borders also decreased. In Europe, a custom union and a unique currency were established, together with a consistency in national policies. Over 50 years of peace in the western world and the more open presence of the Russian and Chinese markets contributed, together with the mentioned new technologies, to create a worldwide perspective.

On a company side, internet and the cloud allow structural centralization and a more significant economy of scale. Less buildings, concentrated in one specific country, are probably cheaper than having a network of offices and branches on each area. Firms can then use the lower overhead for higher margins or lower price based on their strategy.

I lived for three years in one of those central areas where main offices are located. Ireland as a whole, is a country where customer services reached a dominant role in the overall economy, especially on the area of consumer electronics. Apple, Amazon, Microsoft, Google, EMC/Dell all have invested a lot in facilities in Cork, Dublin and more recently, Galway. Apple was the first one to open in Cork, in 1984 and now employs a large part of the city in their premises in Hollyhill and Lavitt's Quay. In 2011, Apple was the second biggest employer in the city, only after the University Hospital (Cork City Council, 2012).

In 2017 almost 150 multinationals operate in Cork and employ almost 32000 people (The Business Report, 2017). Many others work in activities related to a strong immigration trend: food, accommodation, tourism.

Ireland in general became an ever-changing society. The 2016 census indicates that 810406 residents were born abroad, with a significant presence of people born in far countries, as India, Pakistan, Brazil. This amounts to over 17% of the whole population of the Republic of Ireland. Only between 2011 and 2016, Cork city population grew over 5% (Central Statistics Office, 2017).

In my personal experience, multinationals in Cork employ mainly foreigners. Some Irish are working in managing po-

sitions and in those roles which have to deal with legislation and right. Corporations' employees deal with the whole world, mainly in providing assistance to customers which are regularly located thousands of kilometers away from the island. Speaking a foreign language and coming from a different culture naturally places immigrants on a beneficial spot. Irish people, however, manage all other related activities: malls, grocery stores, real estate market.

Firms like Apple, or Amazon, give the highest importance to mutual respect and integration. Interviews, trainings, everyday work all are touched by these themes constantly.

Living in Cork brings anyone to deal with this reality. Italian bars and pizzerias, Irish pubs broadcasting international soccer games, Polish supermarkets, Indian restaurants... these are only few examples of typical places which became part of the social composition of the city. Maybe also due to the inclusive character of the Irish society, these places are visited by everyone. There is no ghetto, or exclusion but rather dialogue and openness.

Due to the lower taxation rate compared to other western countries, residents can enjoy a very good standard of life. In my experience, foreigners earn more than Irish people. This would allow to discuss about the ethical fairness of this entire process. In a sense, that is a sort of paradise for internationals and many decide to remain although with all the challenges of living in Ireland. Public structures and organizations have a much lower presence and quality compared to the western countries, but the approach to life is less judgmental and more laid back. Everywhere, the general feeling is that immigration is beneficial for the country.

Multinationals were crucial in turning Ireland from a country of emigrants to a safe harbor where immigrants from the whole world could build a new life and give a meaning to their original culture and language.

We are talking about a very small island, rich in sheep and poor in trees, which suffered the pains of starving and emigration. Respect of the cultural identities is crucially seen everywhere. Cork is always proud of being *the rebel*, the only city in the country who never gave up against the British. Maybe this participates in the inclusive spirit of Irish people. Foreign cultures and a strong Irish identity are, there, uniquely combined.

As I said, this must be also due to the specific context of the Irish history and society. While corporations are an essential part of the British economy, we do not witness to an identical dynamic. It is useful to remember that the UK is right now leaving the European Union also to reduce the impact of immigrants on the society. Therefore, there are two neighboring islands behaving in opposite ways, one attempting to be core of a multicultural Europe and the other isolating from it.

In conclusion, it is not my intention here to discuss of the positive impact of corporations and mass scale on the world society. Globalization is source of strong debate both in terms of economics and ethics. However, I always felt that the Irish case is an important example of how economy of scale can benefit a society and culture. In the small Irish context, corporations are part of the process creating a multicultural and respectful society.

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HUMANITARIAN DIALOGUE

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Iran



Every days, we are faced with different news and contents in our life. Media on radio, TV and all around the Internet will let us know what is going on. Most highlights are just daily contents and usual news which becomes routine. Local news like we keep reading the same story as always become our routine. Just the same as we are not shocked if we hear about an accident happened in the main highway, we are not shocked if we hear 5 people has been killed in Afghanistan on a suicide bomb attack. Reading and hearing about the same story for some destinations, might become our habit. That's why we do not turning a candle on as a memorial for Syrian's refugee or those in Afghanistan suffered from a terroristic attacks. Because But we are not used to hear about the same accident in other part of the world like terrorist's attack in Paris. It's different.

We used to read, Syrian refugees or African Refugees, were discovered by Boarder guard. It is routine. But Alan Kurdi's story was different. A three year old Syrian boy whose image made global headlines after he drowned on 2 September 2015 in the Mediterranean Sea. Like Telegraph stated:“ the young Syrian boy pictured washed up on a Turkish beach who became a symbol of the refugee crisis”<sup>42</sup> Photo of my dead son has changed nothing’, says father of drowned Syrian refugee boy Alan Kurdi, It shocked the world. Even loss of 8500 People in the same destination after Alan was not shared comparison Alan.<sup>43</sup> These unusual drama which has social and humanitarian concern become new topic of discussion, negotiation and dialogue or in other words it become the global trends. This is what I would like to discuss as a humanitarian dialogue. The humanitarian dialogue could be investigated in different perspective. The factors of specific topic which cause it become axle of dialogues and talks and finally it become global trends. In Macro points of view, social media may reflect and show this concern regional and also global. The humanitarian trends is shared all around the world. People talk and share the ideas, write comments about their feeling, their point of view about it and its beautiful. While the essay is be written on the first of Sep 2017, 2 post out of top 5 retweeted post of all the time has a humanitarian concept.<sup>44</sup> The first one is for Denny JA, “To love is to stop discrimination, in Indonesia and in the World. RT if you agree. #HappyValentine” with more 2 Millions retweeted record and the next is for Barack Hussein Obama for a post which has just 20 days of publishing with 1.7 Million record; ““No one is born hating another person because of the color of his skin or his background or his religions.” It is another clear evidence that the human sprits has more common values are the same, regardless of the gender, ethic, race and religion. In global concept it make the society and people to react and provoke public awareness about one problem. When the new president of United States of America, Donald Trump states about the travel ban of some Muslim Majorities countries, the other Humanitarian Talks come to the world as a Muslim ban. The hashtag of Muslim ban become popular after and it increase public awareness about this problem. What make the humanitarian dialogue more interesting, is the way it make people united about specific issue. The unity of people who has deep conflict in other issues is interesting and beautiful social action. Like Muslim Ban, in United States. Democrat and Republican came united against Muslim Ban. Like the Rumi said: ”If your thought is a rose you are a rose garden, and if it's a Thistle, you are fuel for the fire.” We are all the thought we have and we should care about our world and our thoughts more and more.

<sup>42</sup> (Ensor, (2016).The Telegraph [online] sep 2016 available from: “<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/01/photo-of-my-dead-son-has-changed-nothing-says-father-of-drowned/>”).

<sup>43</sup> (Kh.Hosseini(2017) The Guardian [online], Sep 2017available from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/01/alan-kurdi-khaled-hosseini-mediterranean-refugees-sea-prayer>)

<sup>44</sup> (V.Luckerson (2017) The Time [online], April 2017available from <http://time.com/4263227/most-popular-tweets> )

## PLURALISTIC DEMOCRACY THROUGH DIALOGUE: TUNISIA CASE STUDY

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### ABSTRACT

At the root of the issue we are likely to find communication failures and cultural misunderstandings that prevent the parties from framing the problem in a common way, and thus make it impossible to deal with the problem constructively, the only solution we have is dialogue.

Dialogue is a communication tool that allows people to understand other viewpoints without pitting themselves against different perspectives. In dialogue, there is no defending of opinions, and no counterpoints. Dialogue is not a back and forth discussion, not a debate or rebuttal. It's a chance to frame a problem collectively by both independently voicing your perspectives on an issue.

In Tunisia, in some critical situation, a group of four organizations have built bridges of understanding between groups that naturally helps to reduce misunderstandings, conflict, and tension and therefore to dissolve problems. This Quartet was known as the Tunisian National Dialogue Quartet who attempt to build a pluralistic democracy in Tunisia in the wake of the Jasmine Revolution of 2011 through social dialogue that led to a Nobel Peace Prize for Tunisia.

This experience shows the importance of dialogue as a helpful process that can promote better understanding and more creative cooperation between different people and groups. The process will help to reduce misunderstandings and tensions and help ensure more successful interaction in the future.

After the revolution, Tunisia has faced serious conflicts and conflicting ideologies. It started with verbal insults and it went on to include political assassinations. All parties were deeply concerned by this situation and the way it was developing.

They understood that if they allowed violence to take over it would soon become extremely serious for the country.

The Tunisian National Dialogue Quartet has ensured that the dialogue in Tunisia preceded the conflict and anticipated conflicts and violence.

In a dialogue process, all parties must be willing to engage in the dialogue, trust the process, and agree on a set of guidelines for the process. Because the stakes are high and emotions are often involved, only a skilled and experienced facilitator should be used for the dialogue process.

## GENETICALLY MODIFIED DIALOGUE: FROM TROJAN HORSE TO TROJAN VIRUS

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### SUMMARY

1. Dialogue: definition, role, history.
2. Introducing the notion of genetically modified dialogue (GMD)
3. The origin of GMD, its dangers in the digital age
4. Types of GMD, its threats and influence. Hybrid war
5. How to counter GMD

*VLADIMIR: - When you seek you hear.*

*ESTRAGON: - You do.*

*VLADIMIR: - That prevents you from finding.*

*ESTRAGON: - It does.*

*VLADIMIR: - That prevents you from thinking.*

*ESTRAGON: - You think all the same.*

*VLADIMIR: - No, no, it's impossible.*

*ESTRAGON: - That's the idea, let's contradict each another.*

*Samuel Beckett, Waiting for Godot*

### 1. Dialogue: definition, role, history

Dialogue is a form of interaction between two or more (polylogue) persons through the information exchange. It is a literary and social definition. But philosophically speaking, dialogue is a way of interaction of two elements, not necessarily people.

Even two cells, the female and male, when interacting, with the subsequent formation of zygote, have a sort of dialogue, at the level of genetics and biochemistry.

But any point of view still implies that the main character of dialogue is the reaction between its elements. So the very fact of information transfer is being fixed by its receiving, processing and consuming (or rejection).

Note, that in case of not perceiving the information, such an exchange cannot be called a dialogue. Two persons speaking simultaneously, if not hearing each other, are just two monologue speakers.

The history of dialogue is rooted deeply into the mankind. First attempts to capture it found their way around 4th century B.C. At that time literature and philosophy were intertwined. The first author, who documented the dialogues, was Plato. His works are preserved completely, unlike other ancient authors, whose essays had been acknowledged just by the references.

Plato was Classical Greece philosopher, the student of Socrates and the teacher of Aristotle. His complete works – Corpus Platonicum – consists of the dialogues, excluding The Apology. Among his works I will mention only the most quot-

ed: The Apology, the Republic, the Phaedrus, the Symposium, the Laws and the Parmenides. (Encyclopædia Britannica)  
One of the main Plato's methods is dialectic. In "The Republic" the interlocutors conclude that only a dialectician who "starts on the discovery of the absolute by the light of reason only, and without any assistance of sense, and perseveres until by pure intelligence he arrives at the perception of the absolute good, he at last finds himself at the end of the intellectual world, as in the case of sight at the end of the visible" (Plato (1892) The Republic. Book VII).

A similar interpretation of dialectic was proposed later as the type of reasoning, helping to learn the essence of things. And the discussion or the debates help to find the truth amidst conflicting ideas. (Hartz, Louis. 1984. A Synthesis of World History.)

Depending on its role, dialogue can be:

- engaging. A dialogue just for the sake of dialogue. A palpation made by words. That thing which we used to call "staying in touch". The dialogues of Estragon and Vladimir in Samuel Beckett's "Waiting for Godot" is an example of such conversation. Aiming to fill the time during their waiting, this exchange of the words means almost nothing, unlike you want to spot the sense in it.
- researching. It is the method of scientists and investigators.
- data collecting. Doctor diagnosing, judge exploring the witness testimonies, many other specialists dealing with others all use this method before making the conclusion. Even our interaction with the computer system is implemented by means of so called dialogue box. It is the only way for us to customize the options. It is, by the way, an example of a new dialogue type – digital dialogue between human and computer.
- keeping the skills up. The most effective way to learn foreign language and strengthening the spoken skills is studying "conversations".
- settling the conflict. The war, the hostage-taking and the other terrorist threatens are the reasons for using smart and life-saving dialogue.
- structuring. Mostly for the analysis needs, this type of dialogue is a useful instrument in psychology. Each therapist practice the conversation not only for diagnose, but also for cure.
- competing. From rap to sport, you can find the dialogue of two competitors. They struggle either by words or by combinations. For instance, in chess both opponents run their strategy through the pieces. One of them, the knight, that is sometimes referred to as a "horse", is to be the object of our reasoning as a dialogue symbol.
- creating. Theatre, opera and ballet use the conversation as a method. Postmodern literature employs it deeply – as an instrument. Intertextuality and connecting the ages are the distinctive features of postmodern literature. As semiotician Mikhail Bakhtin wrote, it "constantly engages with and is informed by other works and voices, and seeks to alter or inform it. It draws on the history of past use and meanings associated with each word, phrase or genre. Everything is said in response to other statements and in anticipation of future statements". (Bakhtin, M.M. The dialogic imagination).
- the genre of mass media. We can hardly imagine the press or broadcasts without interviews.

## 2. Introducing the notion of genetically modified dialogue (GMD)

Firstly, let's refer to a similar concept. Any organism whose genetic material has been altered using genetic engineering techniques, is a genetically modified organism (GMO) ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Genetically\\_modified\\_organism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Genetically_modified_organism)). According to Wikipedia: "Genetic modification involves the mutation, insertion, or deletion of genes. Inserted genes usually come from a different species in a form of horizontal gene-transfer".

Geneticists modify cells by several ways, among them are attaching the genes to a virus, inserting the extra DNA into the nucleus of the intended host, using natural forms of gene transfer. (Klein, TM. "High-velocity microprojectiles for delivering nucleic acids into living cells".)

What is the purpose of GMO? In agriculture it aims to breed the crops with pest resistant traits, when less troublesome chemicals are needed to control various crop pests. In medicine GMO are used as natural factories producing drugs. (<https://gmoanswers.com/ask/why-were-gmo-what-was-purpose-which-they-were-initially-created>; <https://gmoanswers.com/gmos-food-and-medicine-overview>)

GMOs have also been developed to improve nutritional content. (Martina Newell-McGloughlin. Nutritionally Improved Agricultural Crops. Plant Physiology)

Despite active intimidation of consumers by politicians and marketing specialists, GMO essentially is not dangerous to the human. Vice versa, it gives benefits for experimental and conservation needs, in addition to already listed properties. Some of the most significant achievements of genetic engineering are: creating new colours in plants and growing a female domestic sheep Dolly, who was the first animal to be cloned from an adult somatic cell.

By analogy to GMO, I propose creating the term "genetically modified dialogue" (GMD). Let's consider as a basis that any natural dialogue has its formula of interaction. The result is depending on the value of its members. Let's say interlocutor1 has info1, and interlocutor2 has info2. Let's agree that the validity of information is its natural condition, and any valid info has positive value. Thus, if any interlocutor wants to false the result, he just changes the value from positive to negative, secret to another interlocutor. It is the way how GMD occur.  $2+3$  equals 5. But if 2 has its secret "minus", the sum equals 1.

I emphasize the conditionality of analogy proposed. They are not academic but just figurative. I propose the notion "genetically modified dialogue" just like a philosophic model to percept this sort of communication. In the discipline of logic, this is known as "sophism". The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines sophism as "an argument apparently correct in form but actually invalid; especially: such an argument used to deceive". (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sophism>).

Essentially, GMD seeks to obtain certain result by artificially modifying data, substitution the info and "mission drift". GMD aims to mislead the opinions.

Artificiality of "molecular breeding" of information is the only resemblance between GMO and GMD. The main distinction is the ability to replicate itself. Unlike GMO, GMD



tends to further scale up. "Infected" info continue disseminating with viral effect.

### 3. The origin of GMD, its dangers in the digital age

Look back to the history. GMD was invented much earlier than our days. The myths of ancient world already contained information about hybrid forms of dialogue. During the Trojan War they used probably the first modified "horse of dialogue". Pretended to be benefit and handout, this Greek gift happened to be the cover for spies and warriors of Odysseus. I'm not going to tell the whole story about the Trojan Horse. If interested, you can read more in Homer's Iliad, Virgil's or Ovid's poems. I just want to turn your attention to Odysseus' ruse.

He used a symbol of animal that was sacred to the Trojans – he has built a wooden horse. He instilled in their minds a thought they were so ready to believe to: "we finish our confrontation and are leaving the field of battle". This wooden horse was allegedly a gift in recognition of truce. Odysseus used a sophism method, and had won. He used the way of "modified war dialogue" with the enemy and gained his benefit.

Nowadays the role of Trojan horse is played by digital viruses. They are the encoded forms of malicious dialogue. They replicate themselves and modify computer programs. They hack the data control centers, fake elections results, start hybrid wars, contribute to terrorism and make other digitalized hypocrisy possible.

For its specific character – uncontrolled cell division – GMD is comparable to the malignant tumor. "Cancer is a group of diseases involving abnormal cell growth with the potential to invade or spread to other parts of the body" ("Defining Cancer". National Cancer Institute).

Cancer arises due to the malignant transformation of normal cells. It is caused by one or more mutations, which break the process of normally programmed cells death. If the immune system does not recognize this transformation on time, the cancer rages.

### 4. Types of GMD, its threats and influence. Hybrid war

Talking about genetically modified dialogue, its danger is in symptoms-free progress for a while. The carrier of the false thoughts disseminate his infection, but doesn't believe he is affected. GMD can be described the same way oncologists call a cancer: "the great imitator".

The forms of distort dialogue are: agitation, propaganda, disinformation and so called public relations.

Agitation comes from the Latin word "agitatio" – set in motion. It is a verbal, print or visual activity, which influences the minds and attitudes, encouraging people for actions or passivity.

Propaganda is a deliberately not objective information, which is "used primarily to influence an audience and further an agenda, often by presenting facts selectively to encourage a particular synthesis or perception, or using loaded language to produce an emotional rather than a rational response to the information that is presented". (Smith, Bruce L. (2016). "Propaganda", Encyclopædia Britannica)

Disinformation is a deception, implemented into the informa-

tion environment of the opponent, enemy or business partner for misrepresentation of the actual events and processes. The aim of disinformation is to impact someone's mind and behavior as a part of public opinion manipulation.

Important role in spreading the false information is played by public relations. "Cash is there, we don't care" is a main method of huge disinformation campaigns all over the world. All above-mentioned sorts of manipulations, together with the cyber-attacks, are the methods of Hybrid warfare. Certainly, it is not limited by above mentioned – hybrid war also uses shooting and other physical harm. Official NATO Review says: "By combining kinetic operations with subversive efforts, the aggressor intends to avoid attribution or retribution" ("Deterring hybrid warfare: a chance for NATO and the EU to work together?" (2014).

Hybrid war is one of the most insidious types of conflicts. It leads to tremendous loss in human lives, to damages and harm, but still does not declare itself politically. The latter remains a repugnant hypocrisy, the modified behavior, which impedes the prosecution and continues killing people behind a mask.

Humanity is yet to find the ways to counteract aggressive countries which seize the territories of the other states at a great human cost – and still does not admit its interest and taking part in this crime.

Among the examples of hybrid wars is Russian-Georgian War of 2008, when Russia used its army to invade the neighbor state, carrying out its information, cyber and economic war inside Georgia in the meantime. (Daniel T. Lasica. Strategic Implications of Hybrid War: A Theory of Victory)

Another example of hybrid war is the Russian aggression against Ukraine. Started on 18th of March 2014, when the Ukrainian territory of Crimea was annexed by the Russian Federation, the war had spread on the eastern part of Ukraine. According to Foreign Policy, "undeclared war in Ukraine's Donbass region were carried out not just by Russian special forces, but by local gangsters serving as so-called self-defense volunteers. Similarly, many Russian cyberattacks, especially large-scale ones, involve mobilizing criminal hackers. (Indeed, the cyberespionage division of the Federal Security Service has actually recruited hackers by giving them the choice of prison or service.)" (Mark Galeotti. The Kremlin's Newest Hybrid Warfare Asset: Gangsters).

### 5. How to counter genetically modified dialogue

How to counter the modified dialogue? How to distinguish between a robust dialogue – and a false one? Is there any chance of survival for the society infected by propaganda that serves the interests of certain people and pressure groups? Yes, certainly.

First and the main, in every particular case, any information should be double-checked through at least three different and credible sources. Do not swallow the propaganda – cook it, using the open fire of critical thinking, fact-checking and "who's interest it serves?" filter.

Thou shall not worship false idols: do not stick to opinion leaders. Listen to all, heed to the selected, decide on your own. And analyze, analyze, analyze. Resist any attempt to manipulate your mind and actions, staying alert. Do not panic

and keep away from mob mentality. These are the personal recommendations.

As for the governmental level, American experience is still good enough. The Countering Disinformation and Propaganda Act, signed by the US President Barack Obama in December 2016, aims to fight the fake news in all possible authorized ways. (Ashish Kumar Sen. Here's How to Deal with Russian Propaganda. Atlantic Council. June 29, 2017. <http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/here-s-how-to-deal-with-russian-propaganda>). Among others, it means developing the state strategy of countering the disinformation and not sparing the budgets for these capabilities.

And, of course, any state and any person should decide if there any reason to wait for Godot, who will probably never come. Or it is better not to waste time for the cheap dialogue, to stop believing the boy who is telling every time that Godot have said he will come tomorrow. Stop genetically modified dialogue. Quit being the actors in someone's theater of the absurd. It's time to gain the resistance to information viruses. It's time to start the new, healthy conversation.

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**INTERACTIONISM IN URBAN LANDSCAPE:  
CULTURAL HERITAGE AND INTERACTION WITH  
SOVIET URBAN LANDSCAPE**

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**CONTENT**

1. Introduction
2. The sources of symbolic interaction from the USSR's cultural politics
3. Conclusion / Bibliography

**TOPIC**

Interactionism in Urban Landscape: Cultural Heritage and Interaction with Soviet Urban Landscape

**ABSTRACT**

The research explores the symbolic interaction of the society within Soviet urbanism. People exist in the natural and the socio-cultural symbolic environment. The symbolic interactionism demonstrates an aspect of socio-cultural interaction, where the society communicates and interacts with cultural objects by means of symbols within the public spaces. This research focuses on the monuments in the Soviet cities, some of them remain while other not, as the urban symbols, that are characterized by political language of soviet propaganda, famous or influential personalities, artistic elements with cultural past or contemporary discourses. A process of symbolization formed by highlights of cultural communication through diverse local activities, and events and publications with other features between the urban monuments and society, which receive diverse particular meanings in the USSR. Historically, the meanings become nearly symbolic in the objects of social hierarchy, where human behavior is viewed partly as a contingent on what the cultural and historical object of orientation symbolizes or means for the past and present generations.

**1. Introduction**

According to the concept of symbolic interactionism, people do not live only in the physical and natural world but also in the surrounding “symbolic environment”. The symbols within a public space have significant roles in socio-cultural interaction. The public space performs a function in transmitting information. People perceive information and interpret their environment, which affect the cultural values that they can obtain. In the past, a member of society must be able to take “the role” in his or her own society to make the cultural

interaction successful, while the historical sights were built. The process of symbolic interaction is visible on the example of the urban landscape, where the Soviet society received diverse political messages within the public spaces.

A cultural object does not usually refer to symbolic interactionists, but it is needed for the cultural interaction with the essence of the individual's relationship with the surrounding space and its objects in the urban. The research analysis by Huebner, D. R. (2012) based on extended scope of Mead's ideas (1934) and their application of material culture visual elements use and their relations and impacts on the society in the context of symbolic interactionism:

- 1 - diverse material objects of tangible heritage play a key role in the formation and development of human personality;
- 2 - material objects allow an individual functioning in stable and familiar surroundings;
- 3 - the ability to see and touch the material objects plays a crucial role in the formation and development of our perceptions of our surroundings;
- 4 - the relationship of an individual with a cultural object

These four points are to be analyzed from the construction of local social consciousness within individual and group identity development, where was seen the influences from a personal perception of visual elements. Is the system of the most important symbolic content and the role of archaeological complex reflective nature of individuals viewed correctly by the interpreters? This question comes up because historic objects, collections or simple material remains existing in a relation to humans stimulate certain social actions. The objectives of work are to analyze the concept of cultural interaction in the Soviet urban landscape with a consideration of some cultural interaction practices with or next to monuments in public spaces from the perspective of individual and group experiences.

The symbolic interactionism theory claims that we do not live only in the natural environment but also in the symbolic. The theory considers an individual as an entity in the context of social environment. Main theorists of symbolic interactionism are Mead (1934), Solomon (1983), Blumer (1986), and Huebner D. R. (2012). For them, the main source for analysis is social and cultural interaction between humans. In addition, there used to be a common point that perspectives and empathy development with participants' abilities are the key objectives of symbolic interaction.

The central urban part, where diverse surrounding buildings, and political monuments are located in the heart of many post-Soviet cities, such as Moscow, Minsk, and others. A main square is originally historical center of Soviet cities and housed many urban houses and public buildings that later on, obtained symbolic political meaning with sculptural monuments. This was due to diverse historical periods, as Russian empire, the USSR, as seats of main administrative structures with diverse political functions. It is interesting to analyze symbolic interactionism of Soviet urban areas during the period of early formation of the USSR. The main public spaces had reached a very important role as they had become the center of political propaganda, and social life of the diverse industrialized cities. In addition, many monumental constructions were erected in the Soviet time to promote political messages with visual symbols of many famous ideologists, such

as Lenin, Stalin or other essential figures that are visible in the public spaces. The symbolization of the monuments highlights diverse processes through historical sights and artifacts that were erected with distinguish features. They had received particular meanings and became the main objects of political orientation in the public space.

The symbolic interactionism brings a new aspect in viewing historic public space, that can be used to understand self and other consciousness in the cultural complex representations. There are two reciprocal directions to be considered in this process. As Soviet cultural heritage draws our attention to the existence of potential mutual influence thought the policy of memory, which exists between the humans and the cultural material environment. Moreover, it gives the opportunity to understand the local and wider identity through the centralized public space with the 20<sup>th</sup> century rituals, which served the purpose of social unity in the USSR. The elites created a social hierarchy reinforcement to perform a process of cultural interaction within monumental architecture and art.

## 2. The sources of symbolic interaction from the USSR's cultural politics

According to the theorist H. Blumer (1986, p.11-12), meanings are inherited from the object, while diverse processes of past and present are constructing and making modifications of the symbolic meaning that create symbolic interactionism in a certain place. The scholar took into consideration three principles, which are: language, meaning, thought. The principles are applicable to a stimulation of interaction between humans but also between a certain cultural object and a person/a group of people as well. Symbolic interactionism can be found in the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century Soviet urbanism, where diverse meaningful sources were placed in the public space, which gained essential socio-cultural roles in social interaction. Lenin put forward the plan for "monumental propaganda" in 1918 with the aim of monumental art mobilization, as he viewed arts as the most important means of the revolution and communist ideology agitation. On a large scale, the plan of monumental propaganda provided sculptors with state orders for urban monuments, as a direct incentive for the development of Soviet sculptural school originality, which stimulated symbolic interaction between the political authorities as well as society and monumental sources (Kononenko, 1958, p 4-8).

During the session of the People's Commissars Council held on the 30th July 1918 with a discussion to whom erect monuments in cities of the USSR. It was considered and drawn up under the leadership of Lunacharsky, who signed the list which was published by Lenin later. It was divided into 6 parts and contained 66 names: the first part comprised revolutionaries and public figures from Ancient till Modern time, such as Spartacus, Marx, Engels, Marat, and Volodarsky, the second included writers and poets, mostly Russian, such as Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Pushkin and others, the 3rd part was the shortest one – it included the names of philosophers and scientists, three others were dedicated for Painters, Composers, and Artists (Mazaev, 2004, p.154). The list of figures did not contain only the names of revolutionaries and major public figures, but also some of great figures of Russian as well as foreign cultures altogether to form a common social memory



about the political and cultural achievements of the past using some certain figures and compositions with their symbolic meaning and thoughts simulations within public urban places of the 20th century.

The interaction between political elites and people was through the development and popularizations of sculptures in the urban public spaces around the USSR. The active printing materials and public activities for the popularization of urban monuments were significant, especially in the first years of the propaganda plan (Mazaev, 2004, p.154). The monuments' opening had been accompanied by a series of activities to prepare citizens for the perception of new monuments. The activities were mostly public opening and publications of articles in the mass media. Some of the most famous publications are with the heading: "To whom the proletariat puts monuments", "Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors", and etc.

In addition to the monuments of individuals, the plan of monumental propaganda also implied the installation of monumental allegorical compositions. There is no clear boundary with the projects of monumental propaganda but their main aims were to stimulate a certain patriotic and enthusiastic feeling in the society, as a sense of "great common global and own past". The feeling had to be different from the sense of curiosity in order to make the society be enlightened and proud of their present or past. As it is noted in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia: "In a broad sense, the entire history of Soviet monumental art represents a continuation of the Leninist plan for monumental propaganda.", even after the plan, the monuments to Lenin and Stalin were more popular in the first half of the 20th century than others.

Later, monuments to V. Lenin were an additional category of sculptural works that were dedicated to the founder of the Soviet state. His works and the USSR formation period had a great impact on the Soviet monumental art tradition and were an integral part of it. It became one of the main symbols of Soviet communist urban ideology.

The monuments were created to perpetuate the memory of the revolutionary-leader, the theorist of Marxism, and the founder of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state. On the other hand, the monuments of leaders were often enough to propagate the ideas of the ruling system with the figure of its creator. The monuments had a main function to impact on society, the symbolic sights did not manifest only the political ideas, but also their locations reflect a rule of places with a social congestion: in parks, in city squares, especially in front of administrative buildings. At the same time, a lot of monuments can be found in small alleys, next to apartment buildings and even in yards. Some monuments figure as a reminder of the essence of various political and cultural personalities in the houses of culture, universities or houses of pioneers.

In every city and even villages of the USSR, there were monuments of Lenin, as they had a function to symbolize the inviolability and eternal life of communism ideology. In addition, Lenin's mausoleum became a visible way of overcoming death with the materialization of personal immortality, where anyone, who can stand on the line and go inward, can join the leader's commitment to communism. During the demonstrations or parades, as symbolic processes, the whole society and especially the army showed their loyalty to the Leninism ideas. During such parades, the leaders of the Party and the gov-

ernment were shown as the continuers of the "Great Lenin" by standing at the Mausoleum in Moscow.



*Physical culture parade, 1945. From the album "How dressed in the USSR".*

Commonly known, Stalin was the political successor of Lenin and another example of Soviet ideology around the USSR were his monuments, as one was in Minsk - 10 meters bronze Stalin stood relatively short on one of the main squares. Glebov, Azgur, Bembel, and Selikhanov followed the proportions and created different parts. They worked together and dedicated their skills and emotions. The personal emotional connection, which was created during the work and existence of this monument can be seen in the story of Argur, as the artist had taken personally the monument of Stalin subversion from the central square in 1961. Z. Azgur watched the process from his balcony with tears and "approached the square and pick up the large bronze button from the Leader's greatcoat" that was seen by some locals (tut.by, 2014). This story, which looks as a legend after many years, demonstrates us that the sculpture had symbolic meanings for diverse parts of the society. From the contemporary perspectives, it was just a source of Stalin's cult. However, for some people, the monument demonstrates "the Father of nation", while it was a means of propaganda for others in the 20th century. Furthermore, perhaps the Bronze Stalin was a personal work and the emotional connection was formed by the professional artistic skills.



*On the day of the death of Stalin, 1953 From personal archive of V. Bondarenko.*



At present, primarily the monumental propaganda with diverse symbolic means is only associated with sculptural monuments but the prospect of its development had various ways of expressions, as they had not been limited by the fine art or a wide implementation of all arts synthesis, including literature, theater, and etc. An example can be an organization of mass spectacles, while the authorities communicated indirectly with the masses.

### 3. Conclusion

The contemporary urban landscape is a hybrid complex structure in a constant change of becoming through multiple factors and interventions, such as diverse historical and cultural discourses, conflicting intentions, deconstructed interpretations and narratives within the analysis of the city. Symbolic interaction was formed between the local society and urban environment, where material cultural objects are more than just an artistic expression in the interpretation of monumental arts. It stimulates local society to perform various actions or to form a certain consciousness. On the contrary, some man-made material artifacts, constructions, formed public and private places and objects, as diverse factors that can directly or indirectly affect human thoughts and actions. The remain forms by these actions and thoughts a reinforce and they create not only a common sense of belonging to community but the existence of socio-cultural hierarchy, which had vital importance in the ancient and later political formations.

The symbols viewing, as means of social mind development, are used as stimulations for communication and thinking. It is essential to focus on how people communicate and interact in their everyday lives by using surrounding environment as a source of symbolic interaction and how the society creates meaning and order in the surrounding places. The framework of symbolic interactionism is formed on the idea that a clear connection exists between man and public spaces around him. It was made by the society with political interests and its symbolic values had to create sustainability. The political authorities of the USSR tried to create a visual generalization for the local society to commemorate of certain personalities and orientations in the public space. For social interactionism analysis, it is interesting how they were expressed by regional and wider hegemonies on the visual level. Tangible heritage, such as Soviet sculptures and monumental architecture, is the earliest representatives forms that contributes to the shifts in human behavior by the symbols or meanings. The symbols and the meanings are in the objects or places of cultural orientation in the urban spaces.

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## DIALOG BETWEEN YOUTH AND GOVERNMENT: WHO LEAD?

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Role of Youth on government and society development is estimated highly priority level. Youth – is our future. From this definition starts one of policy papers about youth development in EU.

Youth not only future of Ukraine, it's the main decision maker about our today's development. Ukrainian Revolution of Dignity started from student's protests against EU and Ukraine Association proposes rejection led by former Ukrainian President Yanukovich and his Government. Youth lead the Revolution and played the main role in sustainability country development. From then till now there are a lot of youth initiatives in different areas: education, medicine, defend, entrepreneurship, tech and since etc.

But still only 35% of all young population are going to local election in 2015. So We have some gaps between social activism and political/government involving of youth.

### 1. Government program of youth involvement

In case to estimate Ukrainian national police, legislative base and mechanism of youth development and involvement I analyze EU practice. The most effective tool is Structured Dialogue. According to EU Youth Report 2015 the EU Structured Dialogue between policy-makers, young people and their representatives is widely seen as a promising tool for listening to young people. Its first 18-month

cycle, which ended in 2011, helped to shape subsequent EU initiatives on youth unemployment. In 2013-2015, the Dialogue addressed social inclusion and youth empowerment and its recommendations have subsequently been addressed in the Council. The Structured Dialogue has evolved since 2013 and is better anchored in the youth policy agenda. The number of participants has more than doubled and some 40 000 young people responded in the last cycle, many of them on behalf of larger groups. Also, national dialogue processes are taking inspiration and beginning to emerge. The Structured Dialogue has yet to full its full potential: It still fails to reach a wider group of young people with fewer opportunities and a weaker political voice. The Commission encourages greater outreach through Erasmus+ grants in support of national reports and an online consultation tool launched in 2014. A further challenge is to monitor the uptake of the Dialogue's results in EU and national policy. Finally, in the interest of accountability and to motivate young people to stay engaged, policy-makers at all levels should provide better feedback on their responses through the European Youth Portal and national working groups. The endings of the 2015 EU Youth Report and of the ongoing interim evaluation of the EU cooperation framework for youth can inspire future improvements of the Structured Dialogue.

So youth have an opportunity to create their own Policy and infuses to politics in other areas in EU regulation. These activities in EU member states supported by Erasmus and other funds. The national law should be harmonized with EU policy so with youth decision. Using the European Youth Portal like digital tools Youth can influence for some issues, for example create EU narrative.

We haven't any policy paper yet in Ukraine. According to roadmap on internal reform and capacity-building for the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine creative by European Parliament's Needs Assessment Mission to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine led by Pat Cox, President of the European Parliament 2002-2004 for reason improving the quality of legislation and of the legislative process in Ukraine we should provide end to end public policy process. In this case, I suppose, one of policy created obviously stage will be dialog between government and youth in all issues of national regulation.

Still there are only one governmental program about youth: "Ukrainian Youth 2016 – 2020" adopted by Ministry of Youth and Sport of Ukraine. This document recommends government institution to use tools of youth involving to decision-making process. Ministry of youth and sport create some practice in youth development and involvement. I make deep interview with Oleksandr Yarema, Deputy Minister of Youth and Sport of Ukraine, in case of this article creation about Ministry's best practice. So from 2014 Ministry mostly use these tools:

1. Consultation with RPR's "Youth group" (Reanimation Packet of Reforms – NGO, was established after Maidan by specialist in different areas for Parliament and Government consultation) for reform mapping creation.
2. Working group (youth workers and NGO leaders) for program developing: about Youth centers and Donbas region revitalization.
3. Public events in Town hall meeting or world café format

for transparent decision about Youth centers standards. The next one will be about non-format education standards and youth workers development program.

4. Parliamentary hearings about Role of Youth in Decentralization reform, where the main speakers will be young leaders.

5. On-line platform "National Council of youth organization" where Youth NGO can recommend or comment something.

So Ministry doing a lot of useful things to create dialog. But still there are a huge gap between Government and Youth.

## 2. Youth activities

As I have already said Ukrainian youth are so active in social life but still separate themselves from government issues. NGO leaders working with government for reason solve some problems or take agreement for activities. Mostly they use some funds or fundraising, crowdfunding without budget money. Such cases are demonstrated in presentation: <https://www.slideshare.net/secret/23YrNTR8i5Xw6N>

## 3. Gaps

So there are have so active youth and open for cooperation government, but still there are some gaps between governmental program and youth development and involved to decision making in Ukraine. What are the gaps?

Nadia Grankina, head of NGO FRI (Foundation of Regional Initiatives) in deep interviews said, that FRI should cooperate with government. In local level the quality of such cooperation depends of region. In case We haven't strong public institution local government have huge influence by political competition. Sometimes they try to use NGO in their own political PR. In this situation effective cooperation is impossible. In national level cooperation between Government and Youth allowed mostly by using "National Council of youth organization" platform. Nadia note, that this stakeholder usually communicates less in early stage of some decision making process, but involve youth NGO only in decision adopting activities. It so uncomfortable for effective and deep involving.

Oleg Hruschitskiy, activist at political party "Samopomich" and youth activist in Ternopil, said, he usually cooperates with government in local level. But still have a problem in using participatory budget. Unfortunately, it is not implemented in the best way in Ukraine. You never know the priority of contest and city development priority at least. It would be better to organize this process following the example of Poland. The Ministry forms a list of projects and events and announces a competition for the organization. NGOs compete for the right to organize them.

Svitlana Voznyak, Shevchenkovo town, Kharkiv region, head of local branch Eco-landing initiatives, noted, that local government support eco-activities, but only in case their own PR. But national level Government supported them in case of several years' cooperation and understanding of eco activism' necessary.

In the other side, Oleksandr Yarema, Deputy Ministry of Youth and Sport of Ukraine and Svitlana Yarova, member of Vinnitsa city counsel, notice that there are low interests of

young people in cooperation with the government and high level of stereotypes about the work of government agencies. Mr Yarema note, that sometimes NGO avoid cooperation with Ministry in case transparent principles of activities is necessary for government partner institution and useless for some NGO process.

#### 4. Win-win practice

I am an assistant for Ukrainian MP Olena Sotnyk and perform in our team the managerial function of the "model district" in Kharkiv program USAID RADA. The program is aimed to support and test innovative communications between the MP and communities in the selected area. This role and resources of USAID RADA program allows us to go beyond the limits of traditional politics. One of the objectives that we set for this project is to increase public and social activity of youth in Kharkiv. So we create forum and hackathon "Impulse of changes". From 2016 the event attended over 400 participants and about 40 speakers. The main issues the forum was focused is Ukrainian narrative and promotion. During Hackathon teams have been creating projects. In this case there are parliament hearings in November about Ukrainian narrative and promotion where project result will be implement to government strategy.

#### Summary

There are a huge amount of active youth and open for cooperate government in Ukraine. So, as for me, we should fix some problem in stereotypes mindset cooperation culture and establish:

1. Public dialog with youth like obviously stage of policy making proses.
2. Transparent rule of game in cooperation and involving to this process for all youth initiatives and involve real young leaders and stakeholders for decision-making proses.
3. To use comfortable for youth mechanism of cooperation, especially digital tools.
4. To use institutional not political logic in cooperation between local government and youth initiatives using legislative base and policy that We should adopt.

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## LANGUAGE BARRIERS AND THE DIALOGIC CONDITION: UNDERSTANDING THE EFFECT SOCIAL AND CULTURAL NORMS HAVE ON THE EXILE EXPERIENCE

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As seen in various excerpts written by authors in exile, the challenges exiles face are vast and numerous. Narrations of one's journey from their homeland to their new country of residence underline the physical, mental and emotional challenges these individuals face. However, despite popular belief, these challenges do not cease to exist upon arrival to a new country. Rather, an exile faces new challenges and impediments that arise upon arrival to a new country.

Eva Hoffman and Ágota Kristóf address the challenges immigrants face during their journey to the destination country and post-arrival. Eva Hoffman's *Lost* reflects on the immigrant experience in terms of a movement between two possible selves, the self pre- and post-immigration associated with two distinct cultural and linguistic models. Similarly, Ágota Kristóf biography outlines her experience living as an exile in Switzerland in *The Illiterate*. Kristóf narrates her own experience with a developing and changing identity, one as a Hungarian ex-patriot and the other as a Swiss national.

By examining Hoffman's and Kristóf's experience of exile and emigration, particularly language loss and dialogue conventions, this paper will show that these elements are defining features of exile. While this approach is paradoxical in nature as many exiles do eventually become proficient in the new language, find new audiences or reconnect with their old ones, language loss and the dialogic condition are defining elements of one's identity in exile. This paper will attempt to address the following questions: To what extent does dialogic condition affect an exile's experience and how does it develop and evolve across cultural affinities? How does one's experience in exile contribute to generations between continuity and rift?

The paper will first discuss Hoffman's experience with language loss and motherhood in exile. Although Hoffman is not a mother herself, she is influenced by the presence of her mother and other Polish women who take on the role of a 'mother figure' to her. Then, the paper will examine Kristóf's experience in exile and her challenges with motherhood and being illiterate in the French language. Special emphasis will be placed on the relationship between social and political realities of the exile's environment and the effect it has on the relationship between mothers and daughters. Finally, a com-

parison outlining the similarities and differences of the exile experience recorded by the two authors will be provided. In each of these cases, Hoffman and Kristóf struggle to adopt the cultural and social norms of Vancouver, Canada and Switzerland respectively. Their inability to adapt to their environments creates and magnifies language barriers and challenges of motherhood and familial detachment.

Eva's Hoffman immigration narrative is perhaps the most conventional in nature. Having immigrated alongside her family to Vancouver as a child, Hoffman did not flee from any direct persecution. Nevertheless, Hoffman struggled with the English language immediately after she arrived to Vancouver. This struggle followed her well into her early adolescent years where she continued to experience the same impediments she dealt with as a child. Hoffman describes the challenges she encountered with the English language in the first part of the "Exile" chapter where she underlines that "the signifier has become severed from the signified". (Hoffman, 1989, p106). Hoffman goes on to claim that English words have "no accumulated associations" for her and her need to mentally translate English words into Polish means that "spontaneity of response is lost" (Hoffman, 1989, p107). Arguably, even worse is that "Polish, in a short time, has atrophied" while English has not yet "penetrated to those layers of [Hoffman's] psyche from which a private conversation could proceed" leaving her in a kind of aphasic limbo (Hoffman, 1989, p107).

During her early adolescent years, Hoffman encounters various challenges pertaining to language loss and the dual cultural identity created as a result of speaking both Polish and English. Hoffman alludes to experiencing language problems in various ways as a teenager, particularly when it comes to her trouble telling and understanding jokes. Although she becomes able to converse in English with those around her, particularly her classmates, her ongoing difficulties with the English language stem from her inability to adopt the behavioral standards of local society; it is both the linguistic and cultural "foreignness" of Vancouver that makes her life so difficult. At the same time, her initiative to immerse herself in the 'Vancouver culture' and become fluent in English hinders her ability to retain her Polish identity and language, which she associates with Polish culture. Hoffman quickly realizes that becoming part of a new culture comes at the expense of losing touch with the old one; this inner battle becomes part of her daily struggle that follows her well into her adult age.

The loss of the Polish language, which has led Hoffman to reminisce and become nostalgic of her former life, has impacted her developing identity. Two separate voices, the Cracow Ewa and the Vancouver Eva, which have developed as a result of her exile often blend together. The Polish voice addresses the English voice as "you" ("your friends in Cracow"), but in the same demeanor it talks about itself as "she" ("she is more real") (Besemeres, 1998, p331). One of the reasons why the Polish voice claims authority and a greater authenticity than the English voice is that it speaks in the native language (Besemeres, 1998, p331). In later parts of *Exile*, the English voice resists the dominance of the mother tongue claiming, "You don't necessarily know the truth about me just because you speak in that language. Just because you seem to come from deeper within" (Besemeres, 1998, p331). Hoffman asso-

ciates Polish with the untranslatable past whereas the English language is the language of the present, even if it's not the language of the self. (Hoffman, 1989, p121).

The relationship between language and the identity of the self is profound and complicated. Polish, Hoffman's mother tongue, which is also perceived as the "interior language", draws on the heartstrings of Hoffman's first encapsulated identity (Hoffman, 1989, p108). Hoffman insists that language is connected to a cultural universe, one whose borders are fluid as long as it does not come into contact with another cultural identity, another language (Besemeres, 1998, p331). The way in which the phenomenon of the voice presupposes with language and an individual's identity is indicative of the metaphorical example of the various voices for the conflicting selves (Besemeres, 1998, p331). Therefore, even though Hoffman has come to terms and achieved a level of comfort to write in English, the 'public language', she does this in order to "update what might have been [her] other self," the Polish self (Hoffman, 1989, p121).

Hoffman further has a challenging time understanding and dealing with her mother's parental influence. It is Hoffman's sister who clearly reveals the source of Eva's discontentment; her sister who appears to be striving to live a 'normal' American adolescence "pains [the family] with her capacity for change" (Hoffman, 1989, p143). It is this eagerness to change, and embody Canadian and American ideals that challenges her mother's authority and influence over her. This aspect is evident when Eva's mother underlines, "In Poland, I would have known how to bring you up, I would have known what to do" (Hoffman, 1989, p145). Eva's mother does not have much influence over her daughters. Having always taken a more lenient role to parenting, she does not know how to scold Alinka (Eva's sister) for her wrongdoings (Hoffman, 1989, p145). While this type of parenting is appealing to some individuals, Hoffman criticizes it claiming that it results in loose family ties. This distance is not created because Eva's mother is not aware of her duties as a parent but rather because she does not know how to implement her influence and authority over her daughters in the Canadian social climate.

Numerous Polish women in the diaspora community in Vancouver embody the role of the 'mother figure'. Mrs. Lieberman is the prime example of this. As one of the several Polish ladies who takes on this role, she considers herself to be well versed in Canadian social mannerisms. Despite not giving her consent to the transformation, Hoffman receives a complete makeover and is instructed on how to cater her physical appearance to meet Canadian social standards. Nevertheless, the Polish women giving Hoffman the makeover embody the 'mother figure' by attempting to guide her and shape her physical appearance as they deem fit. These women not only attempt to fill the "mother role" but in doing so, they inadvertently challenge the role of Hoffman's biological mother by condemning her for her inability to perform these transformations on her daughter herself. Mrs. Lieberman implies a deficiency of Hoffman's mother claiming, "If you were my daughter, you'd soon look like a princess" (Hoffman, 1989, p109). This comparison underlines the judgmental tone these Polish women have towards Eva's mother.

Like Hoffman, Kristóf describes her exile from Hungary to



Switzerland in strongly linguistic terms, claiming that language is one of the defining aspects of the exile experience. Kristóf insists that learning a new language sometimes comes at the cost of retaining and losing your mother tongue. She underlines this point when she calls French "an enemy tongue", one that is "killing [her] mother tongue" (Carollo, 2006, 117). While Kristóf has been speaking French for thirty years and writing it for twenty years, she still does not know it (Carollo, 2006, 117). On the surface, this sentiment would appear to make sense because as a writer, whose entire vocation is based on communication and expression of thoughts, being unable to communicate with your audience becomes a disability. Such an impediment would be problematic at least initially, when the exile is incapable of communicating with other people, becoming part of the local cultural and intellectual society, or finding a new audience for their work. However, upon further reflection, one realizes that this impediment goes beyond the vocation context; it underlines Kristóf's growing and evolving identity as an exile.

Kristóf's illiteracy of the French language has further influenced her role as a mother. Kristóf recalls how she would speak to her daughter in Hungarian after coming home from work. Often times, her daughter would begin to cry because Kristóf was unable to understand her, other times because she didn't understand Kristóf (Kristóf, 2014, 40). As a result, Kristóf takes it upon herself to learn French alongside her young daughter in order to better her relationship with her. Kristóf underlines that she does not want to remain left behind or become detached from her daughter; when her children will ask her for the definition of a term, Kristóf will look for it in a dictionary (Kristóf, 2014, 41). While Kristóf does struggle to learn a new language, she ultimately does this in attempt to cement her role as the 'mother figure' in her children's lives. Establishing herself as the main 'mother figure' allows her to reinforce her authority; understanding the social atmosphere of her environment further cements her influence and power. Like Hoffman, Kristóf is marked by the double cultural and social atmosphere of her surroundings; Kristóf appears to face similar challenges to learning, speaking, and writing in a new language. Both writers in exile have a hard time putting their thoughts and ideas into words on paper. However, Kristóf does not appear to experience language loss, the loss of her mother tongue like Hoffman does. While the physical distance to one's homeland and the atmosphere in the diasporic community could be one of the sources of the issue, the probable explanation lies in the age discrepancy. Hoffman immigrated to Canada as a young girl who was still in the process of learning her mother tongue while Kristóf immigrated as a young adult. While both women are literate in their mother tongues, Kristóf had a deeper literary foundation than Hoffman. As well, when comparing Hoffman and Kristóf's experience with motherhood in exile, one notices that Hoffman's relationship with her mother suffered at times due to her mother's inability to assert herself as a 'mother figure'. Hoffman had to seek advice and assistance elsewhere; this allowed fellow Polish women to replace her biological mother as the 'mother figure'. In contrast, Kristóf learned the social cues of Swiss society and consequently managed to adapt to her environment.

In contrast to Hoffman, Kristóf is the prime example of an exile near their termination as an exile. Kristóf has been able to adapt and absorb the cultural and social norms of society to such an extent that her neighbor "can't imagine that [she] once belonged to this race of women who don't know the language of the country, who work in factories and who take care of their families in the evening" (Kristóf, 2014, 39). Her own self-perception as an outsider is not duplicated and expressed by those around her. Kristóf's language skills are perhaps more irrelevant here than her general adaptation to the Swiss lifestyle. Regardless of her perception of language loss, Kristóf is clearly no longer an exile in the same manner Hoffman is. Unlike Hoffman, Kristóf has succeeded in "becoming Swiss", even if she needs to look words up in a dictionary. In contrast, Hoffman is still struggling to become 'Canadian' (Kristóf, 2014, 42). This is primarily evident when Kristóf learns from the newspaper and the television of the death of a child crossing the Swiss border illegally. Kristóf's first reaction is that of a Swiss citizen criticizing the mother for putting the child at risk. This is followed by one of remembrance that she went through the same experience (Kristóf, 2014, 25).

Eva Hoffman and Ágota Kristóf struggle to adapt to the societal norms of Vancouver, Canada and Switzerland respectively. Their inability (which slowly minimizes for Kristóf) to understand these norms and change their behavior and mannerisms to fit them becomes an impediment, one that shapes their entire experience as an exile. While it appears that Kristóf somewhat adapts to her environment to the extent that others do not perceive her as an exile anymore, Hoffman continues to struggle with her dual identity throughout her entire life.

It is evident that an exile's relation to language is variable, changing over time, especially since linguistic facility usually improves over the duration one resides in a new country. However, the evidence outlined above suggests that while the dialogic condition and motherhood are important factors in consolidating one's sense of belonging, it is the inability to reconcile oneself with the values and norms of the new society that proves most challenging. Whether these two features are part of a number of overarching characteristics of cultural incompatibilities of exile common to all exiles and émigrés remains to be seen.

Nevertheless, this notion raises the question as to why the dialogic condition is so prominent in an exile's life and an exiles' writings. The answer to this question can be twofold. One, language barriers pose a great challenge to immigrants. Language is usually the first and most severe impediment one faces when immigrating to a new country. Being unable to converse with other individuals or understand one's surroundings can instill frustration and a sense of loss amongst immigrants. For a writer in exile, the challenge posed by being illiterate in a foreign language are especially vivid. Kristóf underlines this difficulty when stating, "I did not choose this language. It was imposed on me [...] Writing in French is [...] a challenge. The challenge of an illiterate" (Kristóf, 2014, 42). Secondly, language is usually associated with a nation and a state more so than behavioral social norms are. Looking back through history, Woodrow Wilson was the first public figure to define language as the legitimate identifying factor of nationality. Therefore, it is understandable why exiles are

confronted with more challenges posed by dialogic condition than by changing physical environments.

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**UNDERSTANDING MAIN VALUES, PRINCIPLES AND FACTORS OF VOLUNTEERISM FOR DEVELOPMENT OF MULTILATERAL DIALOGUE ON VOLUNTEER BASE TO INVOLVE CIVIL SOCIETY AND OFFICIALS**

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**Introduction  
Volunteerism**

Let's start by understanding what volunteerism is / or volunteering in international practice, which is be forming into a whole policy of involvement, participation, development and has its main directions and definitions.

So, in order to begin, you need to understand what VOLUNTEERING is – unpaid, conscious, free activity of individual / individuals for the social benefit of others.

Realizing the importance of this definition, it is worth noting that this trend's sense is laid down, which guides literally everyone who has somehow heard about volunteering and made a decision as to whether to become a volunteer, try out as a volunteer or not.

In this regard, when people understand conception – there is a conscious involvement of exactly stakeholders in provision and / or performance of any work on a voluntary and free basis, without expecting any reward, material benefit or pay for their work. But it should be noted that volunteers provide service / work and therefore it is important to call terms by own words. Therefore, voluntary performance and their any

actions should be called a work, which is provided on a voluntary basis. Therefore, there is a clear understanding between volunteers and those who use direct volunteer work for the benefit of – that is, performers and recipients / users of volunteers' work results. In connection with a fact that a person provides services or any actions, all this should be called a work for main interests and aims – spiritual and emotional enrichment.

In connection with above definition and explanation, it should be noted that volunteerism at present is an operational and profitable resource in any state and society for development in almost any sector, both public and non-commercial and commercial. Therefore, developing volunteer capital, it is possible to create important and real effective resources, both for building mutual understanding and dialogue for cooperation and achieving good results. Being aware of volunteering potential, the world began to widely develop volunteer movements and call volunteers in the social, economic, sports, environmental and many other sectors.

Volunteering on international practice example has already shown its effective approaches and mechanisms in building peace, harmony and multilateral dialogue.

**Main values, principles and factors of volunteerism**

For the correct use of volunteerism for benefit of society and for building a multilateral dialogue, it is necessary to know basic values, principles and factors – "PRINCIPLE – DO NOT HURT!", "LEGALITY" and "VOLUNTEERISM – SOCIETY COHESION".

Why is it important to know and use all of them in practice? If formalities will not be observed and volunteer work will be exploited, then naturally this will involve in a conflict all interested parties. Below we will explain these values and factors in more details.

**1. principle – Do not hurt!**

When interacting with volunteers, it is important to remember several patterns and convey their essence to each volunteer.

The first is "Conscious Volunteering" – this is deep understanding and consent of the selected choice, the way of realization, responsibility for the final result, 100% involvement in the processes, guided by principle - do not harm.

I.e. volunteering – it is not a principle "what I want and when I want to do what is interested for me"... No, volunteering is a prepared and planned program with clear goals, objectives, certain results and activities. Therefore, volunteering is built on awareness of these values by the individual.

Below are following important postulates of volunteering, which consist in such important principles of volunteering as:

- Gratuitousness;
- Free will;
- For the benefit of society;
- Legitimacy.

These principles should be incorporated into a program and general volunteer activities as a whole.

**2. Legitimacy principle**

A volunteer is a person which has rights and therefore any person in any sector should be protected, his voluntary activity should be backed by the rules and laws and in this case the

state should act as a guarantor of protection rights of volunteers. Given the scale of development of this sector, at present volunteerism has evolved into an international movement that moves across countries – in both developed and developing countries. In honor of VOLUNTEERISM celebration, the United Nations declared December 5 as an International Volunteer Day and many states now develop and adopt national Laws on volunteering.

The latter is necessary in order to protect participants in volunteering – thereby identifying and consolidating the main duties, positions, activities and other features of volunteer activities in order to make this movement attractive, both among young people and among general population as a whole.

For any country, volunteer movement development is a timely and important direction for overall development.

And in this regard Tajikistan is one of states that has developed and adopted the national Law on Voluntary Activities. Recognizing that volunteerism can to some extent support economic and social development of the country, the Law of the Republic of Tajikistan “On Voluntary Activities” was adopted on September 19, 2013, which establishes the basic norms and definitions of volunteerism and volunteerism.

Along with Tajikistan in Central Asia, the Law on Volunteering has also been developed and adopted in the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Republic, in the CIS countries – in Russian Federation, Azerbaijan, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Moldova, and the adoption of a similar law is considered in neighboring and many other countries.

### 3. Volunteerism – Society cohesion

In the context of globalization, rapid and fast development, it is necessary to consider volunteerism as one of most important and auxiliary development mechanisms. Having developed and ready mechanisms of operative mobilization of volunteer resources, it is possible to include it in the list of its assets within the framework of developing the image and attractiveness on the international scene with the aim of holding international cultural, educational, tourist, sports and other events in countries. Volunteers can also play an important role in helping to improve the social sector and the principles of voluntariness will allow people to positively perceive socially vulnerable categories of persons and help them to reduce the social burden in the state. In general, it is necessary to develop the principle of voluntariness in society as well as in each individual, so that there will be useful outputs and outcomes for society – thus creating ground for social cohesion. And the latter is a very significant and positive property for building and development of a multilateral dialogue.

### 4. Myths and stereotypes about volunteerism

In the end and in order to correctly understand what volunteering is, it is also necessary to form a real vision of this sector to exclude existing myths and stereotypes about volunteers from one’s consciousness.

Volunteering has deep roots and has acquired a string of different stereotypes and not always the right opinions. There are 5 myths that hang around volunteering, but are fundamentally wrong.

#### Myth №1. “Volunteer is a free workforce”



Simplest and at the same time difficult to understand stereotype: a volunteer is a free workforce. More often it goes also with idea that volunteers are people who have nothing to do. Let’s give a simple example, you ask your friend to translate things, and he knows better that he finds it difficult and he comes to help. Nicely? Yes. Are you grateful? Yes. You know that he is tired after work / school and came to help you. Do you associate it with a free workforce? No. You understand how much effort this cost!

Volunteers also help in the kindness of the soul, try to make world better on their own and expect for one: do not consider their work and help as free work or slavery.

#### Myth №2. “Volunteering is possible only by command / order”



Imagine two pictures.

First: young man meets his beloved girl at the station. So, she went down from train and awaiting him. He runs with flowers. What do you see on the boy’s face, in his eyes? Pleasure, freedom, ease?

The second picture: police escort pushes a man, shouting at him to go faster and to look ahead. What do you see on the man’s face? Insensibility, anxiety, stress?

How do you want volunteers should come to children and elderly?

Themselves, literally flying on wings of joy and happiness or to be kicked?



What kind of volunteering will be mutually beneficial and long-term?

Actually, there is no necessary to explain the further. We add only that coercion (University rector’s command or manipulation through psychological pressure from charitable organization) requires resources to support volunteers, pumping in them motivation and huge responsibility. But free choice needs only a friendly accompaniment to a tempting common joy. Ideally, volunteering is a dream come true!

**Myth №3. “Volunteers can be taken somewhere, someone can send them”**



For some reason, there is a fantasy among some NGOs and government agencies that volunteers may be held in some warehouses. They think that can call up volunteers for distribution of leaflets, cleaning of premises or organizing of one or another event. Volunteers are individuals and ordinary people with their priorities and desires. They come to NGOs or apply for activities to fulfill their dreams, desires and interests. Absolutely on a voluntary base and with sincere interest they participate in different events. It’s inadmissible to send people who was going with the intentions to help the frail elderly, to distribute balls or leaflets on flash mob. It’s impossible to persuade or force a volunteer who is interested in image events, to participate in a subbotnik (this is the post-Soviet mandatory procedure when all people should come to clean territories and working premises every Saturday).

**Myth №4. “Volunteering is a complete self-realization and I do only what I want”**



Of course, without freedom and self-realization there is no volunteering. But it also cannot be without some kind of boundaries, principles and rules.

First, volunteer helps someone specifically and performs a specific request. And this means that time, place, type of activity, working conditions, surrounding people – all this may not attract with the initial expectations. Do you want to work with children in the hospital?

Here’s a hospital. The need for help is real. But, patients’ illness, regime, internal rules, etc. – these are the things that do not depend and cannot depend on volunteer wants – they must either be accepted and thus corrected self-realization, help the needy or reject and leave.

Secondly, any volunteering is based on the principle – “do no hurt”. Do not harm someone you want to help, do not harm others around them, do not harm yourself! Hence the binding self-restraint. And that’s why should be find a compromise between a dream and life.

And thirdly, it is responsibility!

**Myth №5. “Volunteering is only for strong spirit and unique people”**



Yes, sometimes volunteers have to overcome many difficulties. Children in shelters or homeless at stations waiting for them? But how to bear all responsibility? There is responsibility for those who are “tamed”. Will I be enough for everyone? What if I get sick?

All this is true, if not one “but”! Between desire of a person which want to help and the needy can be a volunteer organization or an initiative group, whose task is to gather a single picture from different small wills, limited in time and resources. Remember the Byzantine mosaic. There are a lot of stones, they are all small and different, but the picture is one.

Today, everyone can become a volunteer, if only he had a crumb of desire and a few free hours for that. But, under one condition. There must be an organization capable to organize volunteer’s work, removing all responsibility from him and propose only feasible part of it.

**All infographics and explanation of myths provided by NGO “National Volunteer Network” of the Republic of Kazakhstan**



## THE DIALOGUE CONDITIONS IN THE WORLD YOUTH FORUM "RIGHT TO DIALOGUE". A SURVEY OF THE PAST EDITIONS

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### SUMMARY

I wanted to reflect on the forum "Right to Dialogue" that's why in summer I made an online survey and some skype interviews with the participants of the previous forums. I analyzed the data and prepared an unbiased report about the speakers' motivation to go to the forum, drawbacks and benefits, interest in guests' lectures and papers, meaning of the forum

When I saw the announcement about the next World Youth Forum I decided that my virtue is not to go to the event because I had already been there. Besides, I wanted to give a chance to other young enthusiastic people to take part there. On the other hand, I had some precious things in my mind that I wanted to share with the participants of this forum and its organizers. So, I think it costs my visit. I want to reflect on World Youth Forum because this event calls people to make a dialogue, however, to my mind it doesn't give all necessary opportunities to realize it. I have my own ideas and observations on this topic but it's not enough for a paper. That's why in summer I made an online survey and some skype interviews with the participants of the previous forums. Thanks a lot to those who found the time to participate in my survey! I analyzed the data and prepared (I believe) an unbiased report. The questions which I asked were about the motivation to go to the forum (several times), communication with speakers, roomies, organizers, Trieste citizens, interest in guests' lectures and speakers' papers, meaning of the forum and leisure time. The key question in the interview was «When did you feel at the forum that you really "have a dialogue"?»

First of all I should notice that the amount of responses of the online questionnaire isn't big (If somebody is interested in the amount, I'm going to tell it in a private conversation). To tell the truth in the beginning I worried about the amount of responses but then I found out that the activity in the official group of the forum on Facebook isn't so high. For example, there are only thirty "like" and seventeen "share" to the announce of the 10<sup>th</sup> forum in the group where 482 members. I think I can't prepare a good research paper on the base of materials. Luckily it wasn't the main purpose of my activity. I just wanted to reflect about the forum and write the picture of the forum to people who are interested in its work. I suppose I have achieved my goal due to thoughtful conversations in the skype interviews. To supplement the online survey I

interviewed 10 people from different countries who were on the forum before.

Let's start with the question about the motivation to participate in the forum. The majority of people in the online questionnaire answered that it was international communication. Also speakers and moderators mentioned the concept of the forum "Right to dialogue" and its topics. Quite the contrary in the skype interviews people were disposed to emphasize the significance of the refund of money. Frankly speaking, they touched the topic of money feeling shy. One person gave the answer to the question of the motivation in this way: "I should answer honestly or for the camera (laugh)? To tell the truth I like international projects like this. I like the atmosphere and I like to meet new people from different countries. I prefer events where I can prepare my own paper and present it to others. That's why I was interested in this forum. I'm not going to make a secret that it's cool when somebody is paying for you. So it also had an influence on my decision to participate."

The second question in the questionnaire was about the organization. I tried to include different parts of the forum in this question and give the participants some opportunities to value the forum in great detail. Almost 90% of respondents mentioned the communication with organizers as a thing that they liked. In the interviews people didn't forget to name Piervittorio and his hard work in logistics and intensive communication with all speakers. More than half of the respondents distinguished among things which they like lectures of the invited guests. As well "Gift of culture" was kept in mind to many participants. One girl said that it was professionally organized and the support of other speakers was so warm that it's difficult to meet in ordinary life.

I didn't write the question about forum's drawbacks in the online questionnaire because in this case I have to give some variants (respondents prefer to choose than to write by themselves) and these variants will be very subjective (things which I don't like). Actually I asked this question in the interviews. I think it's important to name all of the drawbacks which speakers mentioned to improve the forum's organization and make it a perfect event for youths. One of the drawbacks was the difference of the speakers' backgrounds. Speakers present their Ph.D. papers, stories of their life and their work, they do something like an Art therapy and so on. For people who got accustomed to academic conferences the papers of some speakers seemed to be unscientific and weird. I suppose they have this opinion because the forum has the form of a conference (panels, papers, moderators, discussions) and not all papers meet academic standards (as my current paper). I should say that for some interviewees the difference of backgrounds was not a drawback but a benefit. The reason of it is the opportunity to have various opinions and expertise. Continuing to talk about drawbacks one speaker mentioned that it was difficult for him to understand where the link between the forum "Right to dialogue" and the "Poetry and Solidarity" is. Actually I understood it when I was doing this survey. Maybe organizers should write it clearly in the announce of the forum because some speakers couldn't understand the idea of "Poetry and Solidarity". For some of speakers the topics were too general. They want them to be more specific. As well

participants didn't like that they couldn't hear all speakers and join all discussions in the forum because the panels were at the same time. Some of interviewees complained about the moderators. In fact, not all of them were active and arranged the discussion.

Fortunately, my interviewees were responsible and creative people and they didn't only criticized the forum but also gave some suggestions how to improve it. So, researchers offered to select papers with more requirements to equalize the level of papers. Besides, some interviewees suggested to change the format of the forum. They think that discussions in the groups with given topics will be more relevant for people with different backgrounds than presentation of their own papers. Moreover, one interviewee advised to involve the city in the forum work, for instance, to decorate an old building in the city or to have a workshop with students of Trieste University or a local school. He thinks that it would be easier to make a dialogue doing something together. To make a little presentation of each participant's country (a short video etc.) during the «Gift of culture» is another advice.

Among speakers who came to the previous editions of the forum some were so expressive and touching that participants of the forum could remember their names and ideas till now. I asked respondents about the brightest speakers and they named the following people: Irina, Misato, Shalaw Fatah, Natasha Kabir, Yuliia Voydzik (well-organised presentation, she was prepared perfectly and as a good speaker didn't read the paper/slides, but knew how to keep the attention of audience presenting in a simple way), Somayeh Bahrami, Professor Valera (due to her cordiality to make this an effective one).

The name of the forum is "Right to dialogue". I thought a lot about the meaning of the word "dialogue" and how the forum was named like this. Then I got an email from Professor Valera where she wrote that the forum generated from a little mail exchange that she had with a young Israeli poet on the occasion of one of the many clashes between Palestinians and Israelis. Immediately the word "dialogue" has started to be deeper and more meaningful for me. That's why I decided to do the key questions in the interviews «What is the dialogue to you?» and «When did you feel at the forum that you really "have a dialogue"?» because as far as I understood Professor Valera the word "dialogue" is a very important feature of this event. I'd like to quote speakers' answers to these questions.

1. "I studied a lot of philosophy and dialect is the word what is called by a philosopher Hegel, meaning that the world is dialectical, the world is full of contradictions... When I first read the dialectic approach I thought it's going to be interesting. I'm still thinking I'm hoping that this forum we'll be full of contradictions, will be full of people thinking differently about the same topic and make all those ideas collide. Not necessarily in debate that's the point in a dialogue, in a hard conversation."

2. "I had a dialogue with my roomie because we walked in the evening and talked about everything. We talked about the situation in her country and also the situation in my country..."

3. "When I was presenting my paper the moderator showed the interest in my topic and we had a hot discussion. Also after the presentation we had time for questions and I answered the questions and other speakers could express their opinions.

I think in this situation we had a dialogue.»

After these humanistic words, unfortunately, in conclusion I have to tell about one unpleasant situation which happened at the forum. The rise of nationalism in Post-Soviet countries leads to the fact that some people reject communication in Russian language. During the forum there were situations when people from Post-Soviet countries refuse to speak Russian or with Russian people. It's not about me. In my case the communication with people from the Post-Soviet countries at this forum was great thanks to a small "community" of Russian speakers. It was unexpected that at the international forum in Italy the funniest jokes I heard and the most thoughtful discussions I participated were in Russian my mother tongue. So, my "dialogue" happened thanks to Cyrillic alphabet. On this basis I want to ask speakers of this forum (and not only speakers) to use as many languages (English, Italian, Russian, Ukrainian, Arab, Yiddish et cetera) as they can. To my mind language is one of the keys to communicate and to make a "dialogue" with other people.

## THE HEALING POWER OF THE "I-THOU" CONTACT AS THE KEY OF GESTALT PSYCHOTHERAPY DIALOGUE

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### SUMMARY

According to Martin Buber's exploration of human relationships, there is no "I" that, as we may think, stands alone. Instead, there is only the "I" of "I-It" and "I-Thou," which represent two modes of existence. Due to its exceedingly similar interest in the contact that occurs between persons, gestalt psychotherapy process also focuses and is based on the "I-Thou" contact in the present which, combined with awareness processes, create basic preconditions for a true interpersonal dialogue. Leaving the so called "ego" mode of the "I-It" aside, and accepting the "I-Thou" integrative relation, gestalt's conception of wholeness was enabled to develop a meaningful connection with Buber's views. Further explaining the importance of this healing dialogue, its nature, and usage based on Buber's philosophical approach along with unique gestalt approach will be discussed.

### 1. Introducing gestalt psychotherapy

The gestalt psychotherapy belongs to the "third force"/humanistic approach to psychotherapy, being distinguished

from the traditions of both psychoanalytic and behavioristic (Clarkson & Cavicchia, 2014). It was developed in 40's by Fritz Perls, Laura Perls, and Paul Goodman and is seen as existential and phenomenological approach while based on the assumption of the field theory principle that an individual and the environment are inseparable – in interaction and together forming the field organism/environment (Radionov, 2013). Therefore, the behavior of an individual is a function of the field in total, or in other words – the nature of the relationship between the organism and the environment (Radionov, 2013). The approach is existential due to the idea that people are repeatedly involved in the process of being, recreating and redefining themselves and phenomenological because there is an emphasis on accepting the patient's subjective view of the reality (Corey, 2004). In short, the main gestalt principle revolves around the definition of the german word 'gestalt' (eng. completeness; form) itself, suggesting that the whole is more important than the sum of its parts (Radionov, 2013). Put in the psychological context, this holistic concept can be explained by the view that the understanding of an individual's being has to include physical, emotional, intellectual and mental aspects which are always interdependent, causing that a change in one part leads to a change in the whole and reversed (Radionov, 2013). Here is where the gestalt's emphasis on the context and person-environment relationship in understanding behavior comes from, as well as the importance of accepting the mentioned multidimensional integrity.

It is important to mention that because gestalt psychotherapy is by its nature experiential, some of the used methods might seem surprising due to its clear distinctions when compared to some other approaches in psychotherapy. A great focus on awareness of patient's feelings and behavior seems to be the starting goal of the therapy, through which the patients can face the questions of “what” and “how” related to their feelings, thoughts, and actions while interacting with the therapist (Corey, 2004). The goal, in the end, includes being both aware of a certain content (of, for instance, their own desires, emotions, etc.) and the process of awareness itself. By fulfilling that goal, the patient can improve his/her contact with who he/she is and him/herself (Radionov, 2013). Although it might seem unconvincing, this improvement of general awareness leads to many essential outcomes which are promoting and reflecting psychological well-being. Therefore, the primary goals of the gestalt therapy process that the authors Clarkson, 1999, Kirchner, 2000, Mackewn, 1997, Perls, 1981, Perls et al., 1951, Yontef, 1993, 1995, cited by Radionov (2013) mention include nurturing patient's growth, maturity and autonomy throughout the process of awareness which, in the end, leads to developing self-responsibility, self-regulation and self-support. Most importantly, mentioned authors add that all of this is possible because it is done in the context of the true “I-Thou” dialogic contact between the therapist and the patient, here and now. Therefore, the therapist-patient relationship and the dialogue itself deserve special recognition in gestalt psychotherapy (perhaps more than in many other approaches to psychotherapy). Their importance will, according to the aim of this paper, be further explained in the next paragraph, as well as their relation to the main concepts in gestalt psychotherapy.

## 2. Main gestalt tools and the “I-Thou” therapist-patient relationship as the key to enabling growth

Three main therapeutic tools in gestalt psychotherapy are 1) continuum of awareness (here and now), 2) dialogue and 3) experiments (Radionov, 2013). Although some other previously mentioned concepts could be discussed in more detail as well, the focus will be on this three, as they are showing the core of the gestalt integrity. To start with, “awareness in gestalt therapy does not just refer to mental insights, but encompasses a holistic process that includes the entirety of a person's capacities for contacting – the ability to use sensory, emotional and mental experiences to gather and process information and use it in his or her interactions with the world” (Yontef & Schulz 2013, p.8). As the person becomes more aware of his/her reality in here and now, he/she becomes freer in the process of decision making, enabling the increase of the possible options, which consequently leads to higher responsibility (Radionov, 2013). As freedom and responsibility are, in fact, two sides of the same coin, and freedom seems to be related to awareness, it can then be concluded how the person who is aware is also responsible. This goes well with the premise of gestalt psychotherapy that a healthy person is also an autonomic, active individual, as it has been previously stated. It is then no wonder how the so called “unfinished business” appears to be the most important corollary of blocking the awareness (Radionov, 2013). Since, as Polster and Polster (1973, cited by Corey, 2004) claim, “the strength is in the present,” and human resources are by nature – limited, there cannot be energy left for us to deal with the unresolved issues from the past nor relentless wondering about the future. Furthermore, awareness is a type of contact, not something that occurs within a person but between an individual and the environment (Yontef & Schulz 2013). Having that in mind, by working on this “contact” within an interpersonal contact or a “true dialogue” individuals can expand their continuum of awareness which leads to their changing and growth. That being said, the Paradoxical Theory of Change “...Change occurs when one becomes what he is, not when he tries to become what he is not” (Beisser, 1970, p.1, cited by Yontef & Shultz, 2013) becomes clearer in the context of the therapist-patient relationship. Only through their relationships with others, patients can learn about themselves and the therapist's help is required to support their growth and further exploration of their self-awareness/acceptance (Yontef & Schulz 2013).

The glue of the gestalt therapy, connecting all its principles is the dialogue in the therapeutic relationship. It is based on the philosophy of Martin Buber, along with his own concept of the “I –Thou” relation from 1923 (Radionov, 2013). Both Perls, one of the founders of gestalt therapy and Buber agree that “the essence of the encounter is the I-Thou relationship: one in which neither party is deified by talking about you or me, but one in which the speaker directs his own activity to the other” (Naranjo 1995, p. 43). Buber (1937) refers to a dialogue in which “I” cannot stand alone, but only in one of the two possible primary words: “I-It” (the world of experience) or “I-Thou” (the world of relation). Those two, also called “modes of existence” alternate – the “I-It” mode which is necessary for living” and the “I-Thou” mode, throughout which a realization of personhood is possible (Jacobs, 1989). Buber (1937) sug-

gests that, only through a genuine dialogue can a human being truly exist, that no “I” exists without the “Thou” because we are “becoming” by being in a relationship with others. Therefore, “I-Thou is a particular form of the contacting process between two people, through which each person realizes most fully their distinct humanity” (Jacobs, 1989, p.2). On the other hand, from how Buber (1937) describes the “I-It” mode it is to conclude that it provides objectifying, experiencing or analyzing without accepting, looking at “something/it/someone” as a whole. Explained further, in the “I-It” mode a person lives in time and space and tries to be understood through his/her ideas and emotions; without it, it is impossible to live – in psychological terms, it represents an ego modality (Radionov, 2013). Buber (1937) adds that the “I-It” mode is not dangerous itself but that what is harmful comes from its dominance over the relationship (or addressing a “Thou” by “It”). Going back to gestalt psychotherapy, this is applied by therapist meeting the patient without any other goal rather than improving, helping his/her growth enabled by true accepting and creating a nurturing environment. The “I-Thou” characteristics of a dialogic relation in gestalt psychotherapy as such are: 1) inclusion, 2) presence, 3) acceptance, 4) commitment to dialogue 5) no abusing 5) dialogue is “lived” (Hycner, 1985, 1991, Hycner & Jacobs, 1995, Jacobs, 1989, 1992, Joyce & Sills, 2001, Mackewn, 1997, Yontef, 1993, 2005, cited by Radionov, 2013). In an attempt to explain what the authors meant in short, this means that the relationship requires inclusion of the therapist in the experience of the patient while keeping the awareness of him/herself (1) in here and now (2), accepting him as he/she is (3), in an honest and unreserved dialogue (4) where there are no interpretations or manipulations (5) and which has no other goal other than living in it, from where its healing power comes from (6).

The last tool mentioned above in gestalt, experiment, is another form of experiential approach to awareness. Learning directly from their experience in the “I-Thou” relationship, here and now, the personality of the therapist becomes more important than techniques. In fact, authors Jacobs, 1989, E. Polster, 1987a, 1987b, M. Polster, 1987, Yontef, 1993, cited by Corey (2004) suggest that the attitudes and beliefs of the therapists are of importance, along with their behavior and relationship with the patient; there are no techniques – the therapist is using him/herself as a tool (Corey, 2004). As the dialogic interaction can facilitate a better understanding, experiments in gestalt therapy are seen as “interventions in which the therapist and the patient work together to seek the understanding and growth that emerges from dialogic contact and phenomenological exploration” (Yontef & Schulz 2013, p.20). For example, in an experiment called “empty chair work,” a patient can be suggested to have a dialogue with an absent person imagining the person in the empty chair (Yontef & Schulz 2013). That way, the patient can be encouraged to express what he or she feels/ wants to say more freely, and it can even be used to solve a conflict within a patient him or herself (Yontef & Schulz 2013). Furthermore, all psychotherapeutic interactions can be seen as experimental, because although the questions of the therapists, his/her comments or disclosures are an intention – the response of the patient is unpredictable (Yontef & Schulz 2013).

To conclude, specifically in gestalt psychotherapy, the ther-

apist-patient relationship has a unique emphasis on the “I-Thou” in here and now, without which, none of the healing can be provided at all. That does not mean that the dialogue itself is enough to accomplish the goal of the psychotherapy, but it is its predisposition which certainly puts a lot of pressure on the therapist and his/her skills. Despite the interdependent influence in this “I-Thou” relationship, it is important to mention that it is also asymmetrical because both the therapist and the patient are working on the patient’s growth, not the one of the therapists (Radionov, 2013).

### 3. Wholeness of a healthy life: dialoguing within and between (the extent of the contact)

1”In the beginning is relation” (Buber, 1937, p. 18) and to be in contact with yourself, others and the environment or entering a dialogue is something we do every day without even noticing. It is possible even to have a dialogue within ourselves, which is in gestalt psychotherapy often examined and encouraged in experiments, especially between the so called “top-dog” (controlling one) and “under-dog” (the one that is being controlled) (Radionov, 2013). On the other hand, the word dialogue seems to be used so frequently that its true meaning is now in danger of being forgotten or misused (Jacobs, 1989), while it is only inside of the “I-Thou” where thriving and meeting oneself is possible. One of the reasons why, for example, the majority of people values intimate relationships so much is that those significant others are indeed like mirrors – there is no greater encounter with themselves and their existence than through the eyes of the other and his/her presence. It should then be of great interest to examine the process of contact on the borderline between one’s self and other, as the therapeutic dialogue seems to be a fundamental way in which a person shows, shares and develops various aspects of his/her self. The ego boundaries, which separate a person from others, expand as we are growing and changing which can, in the end, be of importance in defining love itself (Peck, 2014). After an honest contact, we cannot remain the same – exactly as we were before the encounter. Then we must have been protected by something blocking that change. When there is any “wall of isolation,” it means that there is no Other/Thou from whom a person can differ; without another – a person cannot feel alive (Radionov, 2013). To make it more clear, it is not true that we lose ourselves when in contact with Thou. If boundaries are functioning well, there is a constant healthy variation between connecting and separating (Radionov, 2014), for we are becoming, meeting, accepting and differing at the same time.

It becomes clear how not only we are always operating in either of the two “I-Thou” / “I-It” modes when we do not know or intend to, but that there is a specific, healing dialogue in the form of psychotherapy which enables our growth and completeness. In the end, Buber says that hate is indeed blind “Only a part of a being can be hated. He who sees the whole being and is compelled to reject it is no longer in the kingdom of hate but is that of human restriction of the power of Thou” (Buber 1937, p.16) – in a true dialogue, and where is true acceptance, there is no place for hate. There is only a true encounter in an existential dialogue, a dialogue without a cause, where the encounter is whole in itself only.



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## DIALOGUE;AN INSTITUTION HAVING SOCIAL CULTURAL IMPACT AND ITS CHRONOLOGY

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## SUMMARY

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## 1. Dialogue; a historical, cultural and social overview of the idea

### 1.1. Introduction

Imagine a society where all of us are in original position, behind the Veil of Ignorance. Behind the veil we don't know who we are, which caste-class, religion, gender, language, community we belong to. What is our nationality, our individual interests, we don't know. We are almost in a blank state of mind.

Now think of human behavior in this society? What would be the very first response from all of us? Will we try to identify our caste-class, community? Probably not. The very first thing which we will try to do is we'll communicate, we'll try to know each other and that is how the 'THE IDEA OF DIALOGUE' comes as a mode of our conversation amongst each-other. This is the most essential element of human nature which further guide our behavior and social relations. Dialogue is a culturally and historically specific way of social discourse accomplished which is achieved by the use language and verbal transaction. It advocates community, mutuality and authenticity –an egalitarian relationship. So dialogue manifests itself in a variety of spontaneous and ritual modes of discourse and consequently provides a common ground where nature and structure meet.

### 1.2. Genesis of the idea

Etymologically Dialogue connects a flow of meaning through two or more individuals as a collective, and out of which new understandings may emerge. Dialogue comes from Greek word 'dialogos', *dia-* a preposition means 'through' or 'across' and *logos*-means reason or speech. Consequently Dialogue is a sharing through language and it is also a cultural symbolic tool.

When we trace the genealogy of the idea, one of the earliest sample of this genre can be argued in terms of 'Samvad-Sukta' [Dialogue Hymns] of *Rigveda* [one of the holistic book of Indian Subcontinent] which roughly traced its history back to 12<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> Centuries BC, where the river answers to Vishvamitra's [a saint] prayer. Various other form of dialogue can also be seen in *Rigveda* as the dialogue between Yama-Yami, Indra-Indrani, etc.

As a philosophical device the idea of dialogue has been presented by classical Greek philosopher Plato in terms of Socratic dialogues. Plato in all his writings such as *Republic*, *Symposium* (except *Apology*, *Epistles*) uses the form of philosophical dialogue. Following Plato, dialogue became a persistent literary form. A number of classical literatures including both Latin and Greek were written in same form. Other prominent examples from antiquity are the dialogue of Aristotle, Cicero and Seneca etc.

### 1.3. Dialogue as an institution

Considering dialogue as an institution is an idea which itself needs justification. It is the matter of debate and discussion whether Dialogue is an institution or a product of institution that is [consider to be] society. So on Sociological grounds *An Institution is a stable cluster of values, norms, statuses, roles and groups that develops around a basic social need*,

*which tend to be interdependent and resistant to change. Institutions are those that have capacity to govern, regulate and more importantly they are problem solving and universal in nature.*

Therefore society represents the whole-sum of human relationships, within which institutions exist to manage and organize those relationships. Most importantly these institutions are for the society and has to be accepted by the society. So following this, Society is more like an association which runs or works through one of its institution called dialogue. It is an institution which has lot of acceptance, social action and social change within it. For example.

In 1939, in Indonesia, it was for the first time when Amir Hamzah published 'The incense of the orient', the translation of Mohammed Iqbal's poems and philosophical work in public. Who was also known as Allama Iqbal, a philosopher, poet from Kashmir, later shifted to Pakistan after partition. Iqbal's philosophical and poetic work has played very vital role in the Indonesian struggle for Independence. We can see that around 1940 the Indonesian leaders struggling for the freedom from colonial domination, often resorted to Iqbal's philosophical ideas and used them as a tool to keep the enthusiasm and spirit of freedom struggle alive. One of the Indonesian journalist L.M. Isa said that Iqbal's name and his writings were like a call for courage and steadfastness for fighting against Dutch troops. And it is because of Iqbal's idea, they supported the Islamic state rather than a secular state.

So it is the institution of dialogue in the form of Iqbal's ideas that led to the freedom of a nation. This is the kind of acceptance, social change Dialogue as an institution carries in the society.

## 2. Dialogue; substance of culture and religion

### 2.1. Intercultural and interreligious dialogue; harmony and hatred

Dialogue between cultures and religions is the oldest and most fundamental mode of conversation. It is an antidote to rejection, hatred and violence. It enables us to live together peacefully and constructively in a multicultural world and to develop a sense of community and belongingness. It also offers the opportunity to understand the influence of existing cultures and religions, distinguish one from another and most importantly **Dialogue offers the possibility of creating new cultures, using differences as the very energy that fires social and cultural creativity.**

Now if we look at dialogue as a substance of culture and religion, majorly it comes with two perspectives. Firstly how cultures and religions have promoted the idea of dialogue and secondly, how inter-cultural, interreligious dialogue is essential to avoid hatred and establish harmony.

So on the point of promotion of dialogue by various religions and cultures there are numbers of examples available. Even if we talk about the major religions of the world 'Dialogue is the essence of all of them.' For example –Hinduism, the idea of dialogue itself came from the Vedic text of Hinduism. The very first example of dialogue in literary form traced its history from Vedas and Upanishads of Hin-

duism. The teachings of Hinduism are beautiful example of Interreligious and intercultural dialogue. '*Vasudhaiv Kutumbakam*' - *whole world is our family.* '*Bahujan Hitay Bahujan Sukhay*' - *welfare and happiness of all.* These are the very basic principles which teach mutual respect-understanding, peace-harmony and the Hinduism functions through this mutual dialogue.

In the same manner the importance of dialogue is mentioned very well in Islam. According to the Quran, dialogue and reasoning are important and perhaps the best possible ways to communicate while upholding the truth and resisting falsehood. Within the framework of Islamic Da'wah, dialogue is a tool of correction, construction and self-evaluation. Dialogue is a shared tool of awareness due to which opinions are formed, questions are examined and the implications of Islamic or theoretical evidence are concluded. It is a tool of consultation, mutual advice and cooperation in righteousness and piety, which is the road to maturity and perfection. Errors can be corrected, deficiencies are taken care of, and the course of religion and advocacy is straightened out only when we welcome a dialogue and train ourselves to accept criticism and revision.

On the second perspective of importance of intercultural, interreligious dialogue to avoid hatred and establish harmony, we should look at the interconnectedness of the world which is very diverse in its nature and appearances. There are 7 billion people across the Globe. Each one of them belongs to a culture and this cultural diversity is very much essential for human society. In the same manner a culture of dialogue between the cultures is equally essential because dialogue is the way to identify similarities and differences between traditions, perceptions and manage them to co-exist together peacefully. Dialogue between cultures doesn't only bridge the gap between those who perceive diversity as a threat and those who view it as an enrichment but also helps to achieve a consensus that disputes should not be resolved by violence. For social, regional, conflict prevention, conflict management and peace building between the cultures, there is no better tool than dialogue. So the culture of dialogue has to be promoted for cohesive, harmonious social-cultural-political order.

*"Tolerance, inter-cultural dialogue and respect for diversity are more essential than ever in a world where people are becoming more and more interconnected"*

Kofi Annan[Former Secretary General UN

### 2.2. Impact of globalisation on intercultural dialogue

Globalization is perceived in a number of ways. 'Disappearing of borders or dissolving boundaries, Homogenisation, similarities of values among different cultures' etc are the most common understanding of globalization. It is simply merging the societies, be it through culture, political, economical or other fundamental aspects.

Globalisation is providing ground to various cultures to come together on a common ground to dialogue on their differences, values, principles, beliefs etc but at the same time it also has certain other aspects like whether these cultures and societies have any choice to stay away with the process of globalization? If cultures are taking part, is it really

dissolving the differences or creating rift as well? And last but the most important aspect is about the preservation or destruction of cultural diversity?

Today globalization is omnipresent. Cultures, societies don't really have choice to stay away with globalisation. So the possibility of intercultural dialogue is very high, but this process is resulting in both positive and negative manner. For example- As a world view Islam might provide welcome bed of stability in the world of change but as a cultural practice globalization has introduced tensions into Islamic societies. Such as allowing youth, access to vastly different world view is creating tension. i.g.- In 1990, a survey indicated that Michael Jackson is more popular than Mohammed in Indonesia and merely reporting on the survey landed the journalist in jail. So in all cultures where tradition plays a major role in providing guidance to social life, the intercultural dialogue of globalised world may result as a problem. At the same time it is also to argue that it has lead to the unity of all those different aspects thereby allowing particular cultures to promote their universal well being with others. So the impact of globalization on intercultural dialogue has both its pros and cons and all of them are operating within the same framework.

On the question of preserving cultural diversity, for the forces of globalization cultural diversity is not very celebrated idea. It believes in making the world more homogeneous. Globalization created an insidious conflict between global and local or tribal. Friedman argues that this tension between *lexus and olive tree* is one of the defining feature of new world. In fact in 1997 the representatives of South Korean government argued before United Nation that Globalization is a threat to cultural diversity that must be guarded against. [United Nation Press Release, 1997]

So no matter to what extent globalization is providing a pathway for various cultures to come together, have intercultural dialogue, but the impact of it is very skeptical for many. In spite of being a tool of intercultural dialogue, globalisation is also resulting in domination of one culture over other, elimination of diversity and rift between cultures as well.

### 3. Dialogue as intergenerational substance; key to diversity, pluralism and democracy

#### 3.1. Dialogue as instrument and objective of democracy

**'Democracy is the way of life'**, It implies the non-violent social, political, economical, cultural management of differences [of identity, of ideology, of opinion, of interests and so on] with a equal, fair, cohesive and just system for all. On the question of how integration or cohesion can be achieved in the society? The democratic response is; through a process that establishes and maintains the rule of law and social justice. However according to Bloomfield and Ropers 'that merely begs another question; how is such policy formulated, how are the rule established in such a way as to be responsive to diverse opinion and competing interest? The simple answer is through consultation and dialogue.' For democracy to function the foremost thing is consent of the people and that can only be assured through the process of

participation and dialogue.

In earlier times, when all important decisions were taken by the kings the people were merely subjects to law of land as decided upon by the monarch. But with the emergence of democracy the people are not only subject to law, they have power to dialogue, deliberate and decide what law will be. Now citizens have a dual role to play. They not only conceive the law but also subject to it. In this way democracy brings into being a new relationship between people. Therefore concepts such as participation, sustainability, inclusiveness are essential for the advancement of democracy. These concepts come together in the idea of dialogue as a foundation for promoting democratic development. To resolve differences peacefully through dialogue constitutes the essence of democracy.

It is the democracy which provides right to dialogue to avoid or resolve differences, build peace and harmony among its people and as a safeguard from authoritarianism or other extreme way of governance. Thus Dialogue is an integral part of the process of democratization and **serves both as an objective and instrument of democracy at the same time.**

#### 4. Conclusion; why Right to Dialogue?

We are living in a mobile world where everything is interconnected. We spend considerable part of our life communicating with each other over phone, social media, face to face but this is making us more separated and disconnected than ever. Actually we are living together separately. The problem is much of what we pass for communication is a din not a dialogue. We are in so hurry that none of us is even bothered by it and even if we are bothered, are we getting its essence? Probably not. So now the **Dialogue is turning to monologue**. Which is not a really good sign for humanity.

With so much of interdependence and interconnectedness we are moving towards the time of change and deepening uncertainties. Therefore we, as human, as citizen, as group, as communities must know the art of resolving differences and finding common grounds. The way to accomplish that is through dialogue. As its literal meaning suggests *through and words* so it's a two way process aimed at fostering mutual insight and common purposes.

We as human beings have different personas. Within a personality we possess both Hobbesian and Rousseauian human nature. We are not perfect or near to perfect in any senses, we are merely replicas of Plato's world of ideas. So from these human beings of world of sensory experiences, the most obvious outcome of relations which we can think of is grievances, conflicts and disagreements, and that is why these human beings has been gifted with a multidimensional capacity of dialogue to resolve the differences and come on a common ground. As **David Bahm** corrected stated-

***"...it is proposed that a form of free dialogue may well be one of the most effective ways of investigating the crisis which faces society, and indeed the whole of human nature and consciousness today. Moreover, it may turn out that such a form of free exchange of ideas and information is of fundamental relevance for transforming culture and freeing it of destructive misinformation, so that creativity can be liberated."***

Even sometimes to travel from unlearned to learned Dialogue is the only tool. The Greeks haven't invented dialogue, but they introduced the idea that individuals are not intelligent on their own, that it's only by reasoning together, by questioning and probing each other, carefully dissecting and analyzing ideas, finding the inconsistencies, they can gradually attain deeper understanding and insight to uncover the truth. This represents the power of dialogue. Plato's theory of Justice [Republic] is the most accurate example of it. In Republic, Plato has made a long discussion in the form of dialogues amongst the characters of republic, Thrasymachus, Polemarchus, Adeimantus, Glaucon, Cephalus and Socrates and by reasoning together, questioning each other Plato established his theory of justice.

Therefore Dialogue is the spirit of our society and for Humanity to flourish, plurality of society to exist, diversity to celebrate, to make the world better place and **to keep the spirit of 'we the people' alive** Dialogue is the need of hour.

*"There should be a spirit of dialogue, whatever we say, any disagreements we must think how to solve them on the basis of recognition of oneness of the entire humanity. This is the modern reality.....In human society there will always be differences of views and interests. But the reality today is that we are all interdependent and have to co-exist on this small planet. Therefore the only sensible and intelligent way of resolving differences and clashes of interests, whether between individuals or nations is through DIALOGUE. The promotion of 'culture of dialogue' and nonviolence for future of mankind is thus an important task of the international community."*

- His Holiness the Dalai Lama

*[On 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Tibet National uprising Day, 10<sup>th</sup> March 1997 the statement has been made by His Holiness the Dalai Lama]*

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**ETHOS OF JOURNALISM  
IN THE POST-TRUTH WORLD**

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**ABSTRACT**

Everybody understands the role of media in a democracy and how it can act as a pillar in creating a better link between the state and its citizens. The contemporary journalism, which is considered to be totally based on disseminating legitimate information to every citizen is now under the scanner, media and its agency now manipulated by machineries of the state. In the era of post truth politics, emotions and the party sentiments are given more importance than the real fact and actual reporting. In the emergence of post truth politics, social media is also playing a vital role in producing fake news, which is gathering support from the public due a growing confidence in such outlets.

The presidential election of the United States of America, and Brexit are two most famous cases. During campaigning for the British EU referendum campaign, a certain faction made repeated use of the claim that EU membership cost Britain a sum of £350 million a week, another thing associated with recent governments is that each party has its own news channel which attempt to distort the facts and make it favourable for the concerned party. The objectivity in the field of journalism is a very essential thing the primary job of any media firm should be to extract facts and let people decide what they think about that particular issue.

**Introduction**

Today, when half of the world gets its news from social networking sites, it is very important to understand that how social media and new form of media is shaping the course of journalism. This paper envisages the importance of independence of media, and how the work of media has been affected from the post-truth politics or politics of alternative facts. This paper also talks about the important international events that mark the penetration of lies and alternative facts in the channels of communication, How it has affected the overall humanity and also the decision making ability of common people. Nobody can predict the repercussions of a media coverage where facts are less important and often secondary to emotions, feelings and fake news.

Media has acted as the fourth pillar in all the successful democracies, it believes, in extracting facts and fighting for objectivity in the process of decision making, and therefore media assumes a very crucial role in this discourse. This pa-



per also talks about the change in the habit of people that had been brought by the social media, people are moving more towards shorter stories online rather than reading the newspaper, along with social networking sites there are few online media companies, who never produce any original matter, but people still found them reliable. This is still a big puzzle to all the leading journalists and news agencies that how fake news and online platform has been utilised for the recent political developments in the U.S.A and most of the Europe. This is a time for the media to show its integrity and professionalism that they are usually known for. A newer system must be brought out where investigative and objective journalism established over facts presides over the trolls.

What could be the future of Journalism? The practitioners of Journalism, must adopt the newer platforms as effectively as they adapted themselves to TV and Radio. The current scenario is not just a challenge to the professionalism of Journalism but it also targets the values and rights that democracy provides us.

### **What is post-truth and post-truth politics**

2016 was a year of various incidents, the US presidential elections, Brexit, and many more populist stunts that forced the Oxford to coin post-truth as the word of 2016.

Literally post-truth means “Relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief”. People and especially the political campaigns are more based on the emotions and personal interpretations of the things, evidence based research and facts were missing behind some of the major decisions taken by the people and also by the government. For instance the US took decision of withdrawal from Paris climate agreement. The media has been used as a tool to attract support and especially the digital media. This is an era of trolls, the bigger leaders are using this technology in their support. The applications like Facebook, Twitter and many more which were once considered as an effective medium of transmission of information or an important platform for the democratization of Information, is being used as a suitable space by the political campaigners and demagogues to shape the truth in their own way. It is no surprise, therefore, that the far-right has found social media much more useful and conducive to their message than traditional media. In contrast, traditional media are platforms that pursue the presentation of opposing opinions and fully detailed objective information. The Economist calls this an era of “post-truth politics.” From Trump to Erdogan and to Brexit leaders, these politicians rely on “assertions that ‘feel true’ but have no basis in fact.” Feelings, not facts, “are what matter” in this sort of politics. These leaders design their lies in a fashion that attacking them only feeds their narrative further. It sheds more spotlight on groundless allegations. Post-truthfulness builds a fragile social edifice based on wariness. It erodes the foundation of trust that underlies any healthy and modern civilization. When many of us peddle fantasy as fact, it is happening in the world of polity around the globe, society loses its grounding in reality. Society would crumble altogether if we assumed others were as likely to dissemble as tell the truth. We are very close to that.

### **What is media**

The media is the mean of mass communication, it was not created to put forward the objectives of only certain people or work to satisfy a certain group in the society, but the real media is known for its loyalty towards the last citizen of its country. They have to look for the facts and stories that can be circulated to general masses through an easier mean. An independent media is nothing but the sign of a successful democracy.

There are some ethics for professional journalists, which need to be followed in letter and spirit by everybody. These include honesty with the content, independence in carrying out any operation, impartiality or objectivity with their reports and stories, and the fourth one, a journalist must go deep, to find out the origin of the matter. There should be a stronger consciousness among journalists for their contribution to society, not just to their organisations. The digital media and big data analytics environment offer the potential to personalise and customise information to individuals that could also pose major ethical dilemmas to practitioners.

### **Digital media and its effects**

In the last few years, people have switched from print journalism to a more digitalised form of media. The social networking sites have had changed the whole scenario of the market, people and especially the new media houses focus more on sensational news, news that can attract likes and subscription. Consequently, people have started using it as product. The emerging media houses, which majorly work online and on social networking platforms have not been allocating money for investigative journalism. Rather, they believe in creating content on the populist feelings and attains certain agendas. According to Pew research centre, around half of the world’s population is getting their news from Facebook and Twitter which are major social networking platforms. It has impacted the people’s decision right from politics to economics in the world, the US presidential election and the Brexit are prominent examples of this impact. As people are relying more on the social networking sites for their newsfeed, as they want to stay updated they like to know what is “going on” every second.

### **Fake news**

Fake news is not new but as Mark Thompson points out in his new book *Enough Said*, “our digital ecosystems have evolved into a near perfect environment for distorted and false news to thrive”. In the last weeks of the US election, according to an analysis by BuzzFeed News, fake stories such as the Pope endorsing Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton selling weapons to ISIS outperformed real news on Facebook, generating more shares, reactions and comments. BuzzFeed found that 38% of posts shared on Facebook by three right-wing politics sites included “false or misleading information” during the campaign of presidential election in the America.

### **Major examples and its impacts around the globe**

America is home to both, Facebook and Google it has the biggest digital advertisement market in the world, and the number of users is enormous. The number of users is increasing in every part of the world, the technological transformations had

made the majority of the developed countries to rely on the newer source of information. The leading news papers and researchers have come to conclusion after seeing these signs, that automation, robots and algorithm-generated information and news combined with personality profiling had been particularly powerful during the US presidential and Brexit winning campaigns.

45th Presidential campaign of U.S.A was one of the important event for the world of media. The use of certain online newsgroups, Breitbart (Breitbart News, is a far-right American news, opinion and commentary website founded in 2007 by conservative commentator Andrew Breitbart. The site has published a number of falsehoods and conspiracy theories, as well as intentionally misleading stories) and individuals like Donald Trump have surpassed all the lines. This has terrified the whole world. In India which is the world's largest democracy and second oldest democracy after America, the usage of facebook and twitter happened first time in the 2014 general elections, where the current Prime Minister Narendra Modi exploited statistics and policies to defame the existing government. Same can be seen in the Europe too, just after the whole post-truth drama Germany announced that facebook or other distributors of news should be fined up to 500, 000 Euros for each fake news story it fails to take down from its site. It was the biggest threat to facebook from any Nation- state since its birth. This was the scenario just before election was going to take place in Germany and France. Germany and France, the decision by the German government will force the online platforms to have editors, who can edit the things, before it went viral. The Czech government had set up 'anti-fake-news' unit to monitor around 40 websites pushing conspiracy theories and inaccurate information about migrants in the 2016 October elections.

### **The case of Bowling Green massacre**

The Bowling Green massacre is a fictitious incident conspired and alluded by counselor to the President Kellyanne Conway in interviews with Cosmopolitan and TMZ on January 29, 2017. Conway said that it as justification for a travel and immigration ban on seven Muslim countries put forward by U.S President Donald Trump. Later, it was found that she was referring to the two women suspect, who have never been associated in any massacre. When people with such great post and influence generate such fake stories to achieve their political goals, it gets tougher for the media to tell people, the reality.

### **Summary**

We are seriously in the middle of some kind of 'Industrial revolution' in the media. At the heart of this revolution is the emerging Tablet PC explosion and the rise of social media bringing in demands for new ways of newsgathering and distribution.

In spite of the advent of post-Truth era, Technology hasn't changed the need for a compelling story. The story should be well-written, fact verified and credibly sourced as journalism should be. But digital tools offer new ways to tell the story and web applications like Facebook, twitter, blogs, and linkedin provides distribution platforms that are unmatched. Digital content can be delivered anytime, anywhere, to any-

one on social media networks, television, radio, mobile phone .The challenge of the coming years will be to reinvigorate the public purpose of journalism and to assist media to reconnect with citizens more effectively. This existential crisis requires, above all, for journalists to recommit to their craft with reporting that reaches out to their audience and listens to what is being said and reports it in context.

How media rebuilds public trust in introspects will be a major question in the coming years, and not just for academics and students of mass communication. The information crisis is one that touches on the prospects for democracy. The rise of propaganda, hate-speech and self-regarding politics with an extremist edge threatens the very foundations of any democracy . Internet, which is spreading its net all over the globe, is an excellent platform for the people to share their thoughts on a matter. But, this very liberal nature of internet had become a problem for its users. This paper tries to establish the fact that ethics and values of Journalism must not be compromised at any cost in any political culture.

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## DIALOGUE AS A KEY METHOD OF PEACE-KEEPING IN THE HYBRID WAR

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### ABSTRACT

Ukraine, among all the European nations, does have the most experience dealing with the phenomenon of a “hybrid war”. The Russian Federation has attacked Ukraine right after the Revolution of Dignity has reached its climax, exploiting the political instability the country was in. So called “green men”, having no identification marks, have organized and successfully completed the Crimean referendum, which has led to Russia’s illegal annexation of Crimea. This has been a major act of hybrid war started by the Russian Federation against the sovereign state of Ukraine.

Afterwards, Russian army with the support of local separatists has invaded the East of Ukraine, starting a military conflict that has been going for more than three years now. Simultaneously, Ukraine has been facing attacks in various areas such as trade embargos, political and religious propaganda, cyber-attacks, economic blackmailing etc.

These are all levels of warfare of the new era: a hybrid war. The world has little to no experience dealing with such kind of warfare, which is why it is extremely important to work out the margins of possible response to such actions.

Is it justified to use one’s military power, when an actual war has not been declared? What are the actions a country must take in order to respond to such warfare? These are the questions we must ask ourselves in the era of modern conflicts, and yet these are the questions which can be answered with plentiful of diverse possibilities.

Classic war could be finished by the act of capitulation of one party. Hybrid war could be finished only by the dialogue. This dialogue must be at two levels: national and international. National dialogue must be conducted between national authorities and locals. International one must be between Ukraine supported by civil states and Russia.

### Introduction

Ukraine is a new field for experiments in the context of the hybrid warfare. Russian Federation dared for this experiment more than three years ago. But there was no bloodshed in the case of Crimea occupation: Ukrainian soldiers surrendered their positions without fighting. After quick victories of one side and shameful relinquishment of other Mr. Putin decided

that he could occupy not only Crimea but whole South-East of Ukraine – from Kharkiv to Odesa. Local separatist groups where created in the biggest cities in region: Kharkiv, Lugansk, Donetsk, Dnipro, Odesa etc. Destructive actions were suppressed by local pro-Ukrainian activists and military in majority situations. Only Lugansk, Donetsk and nearby settlements decided to play in deadly games known as “New Russia”, “Little Russia”, “People’s Republics” etc.

After 3 years of hybrid war total number of militarists losses is near of 3 000 persons<sup>45</sup>. Russian military losses are intended on the level of 1 500 persons<sup>46</sup>, local separatists and international terroristic volunteers (preferably from Russia but also from other countries including EU members) – near of 5 500 persons, civilians – 2 000 persons<sup>47</sup>. Number of injured people could not be even counted.

Now it is easy-understandable that Donbas conflict could not be resolved only by usage of military power but only by the multilateral dialogue.

### International dialogue: past, present, future

#### The First Minsk Agreement

The First Minsk Agreement is an agreement on a temporary armistice in the war in eastern Ukraine reached in Minsk on September 5, 2014. The First Minsk Agreement is generally recognized as a first international step of the peacekeeping actions made by international community. OSCE Representative Ambassador Haydi Thalyavini, Second President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma, Russian Ambassador in Ukraine Mikhail Zurabov, representatives of the self-proclaimed “Donetsk People’s Republic” (hereinafter – DPR) Oleksandr Zakharchenko and “Luhansk People’s Republic” (hereinafter – LPR) Igor Plotnyskyi participated in the elaboration and signing of the peace agreement. The signatures of Zakharchenko and Plotnyskyi under the agreement are the autographs of private individuals<sup>48</sup>. The text of the agreement does not stipulate any recognition of the Donetsk and Luhansk “people’s republics” but merely consolidates the “special status” of the two regions that under the control of pro-Russian militants.

The work of the contact group in Minsk was continued and the parties signed the follow-up memorandum on the night of September 19, 2014. Representatives of Ukraine as well as terrorist groups of the DPR and LPR through the mediation of the Russian representative signed a memorandum which provides for the implementation of paragraph 1 of the Protocol.

<sup>45</sup> 5 channel. (2017) *The Ministry of defence declared losses in the 2017*. [Online] Available from: <https://www.5.ua/suspilstvo/u-minoborony-nazvaly-vtraty-zsu-na-skhodi-vid-pochatku-2017-roku-148471.html> [Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> September 2017]

<sup>46</sup> ARESTOVYCH, O. (2017) *The real human losses of Russia at the Donbass and in Syria: the cure goes to thousands of people*. Glavkom. [Online] 19<sup>th</sup> April Available from: <http://glavcom.ua/columns/arestovich/spravzhni-lyudski-vtrati-rosiji-na-donbasi-ta-u-siriji-lik-yde-na-tisyachi-osib-410106.html> [Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> September 2017]

<sup>47</sup> ESPRESSO TV. (2017) *Three years ATO. As the war in the Donbas began*. [Online] Available from: [http://espresso.tv/article/2017/04/14/try\\_roky\\_ato\\_yak\\_pochynalosya\\_zvilnennya\\_ukrayiny](http://espresso.tv/article/2017/04/14/try_roky_ato_yak_pochynalosya_zvilnennya_ukrayiny) [Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> September 2017]

<sup>48</sup> OSCE. *Protocol on the results of consultations of the Trilateral Contact Group, signed in Minsk, 5 September 2014* [Online] Available from: <http://www.osce.org/home/123257> [Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> September 2017]

The armistice was announced at the same time as a warning on the introduction of another wave of sanctions against the coalition of world powers against Russia if it does not finish the aggression and the suspension of NATO's partnership with Russia.

#### **Main points of the First Minsk Agreement on September 5, 2014<sup>49</sup>:**

1. Ensure an immediate two-way cessation of the weapons usage;
2. Ensure monitoring and verification by the OSCE of non-use weapons;
3. Decentralize power in particular through the adoption of Law on Special Status;
4. Ensure continuous monitoring at the Russian-Ukrainian state border and verification by the OSCE of security zone establishing in the border areas;
5. Immediately rid all hostages and illegally detained persons;
6. Adopt the law on prevention of prosecution and punishment of persons in connection with the events that took place in separate districts of Donetsk and Lugansk regions of Ukraine;
7. Continue the inclusive national dialogue;
8. Improve humanitarian situation at the Donbas;
9. Ensure holding of local elections in accordance with the Law on Special Status;
10. Withdrawal of the illegal armed formations, military equipment, fighters and mercenaries from the territory of Ukraine;
11. Approve the program of economic revival of the Donbas and restoration of vital activity of the region;
12. Provide personal security guarantees to consultation participants.

Participants of the contact group in Minsk on September 19, 2014 agreed on the Follow-up memorandum with ceasefire, stop on the current collision line and the establishment of a 30-kilometer security zone in Ukraine points.

#### **Main points of the Follow-up memorandum on September 19, 2014<sup>50</sup>:**

1. Stop of units and military formations of the parties on the line of collision as of September 19, 2014;
2. Prohibition on the use of all types of weapons and offensive actions;
3. Within a day after the adoption of this memorandum, the removal of means of damage with a caliber more than 100 millimeters from the collision line at a distance of not less than 15 kilometers from each side including from settlements which makes it possible to create a zone of cessation of use of weapons with a width of at least 30 kilometers - security zones. At the same time, take part in the line of collision of the sides artillery systems of caliber more than 100 millimeters at the distance of their maximum range of shooting, tactical rocket complexes - 120 km;

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> OSCE. *Memorandum of 19 September 2014 outlining the parameters for the implementation of commitments of the Minsk Protocol of 5 September 2014*. [Online] Available from: <http://www.osce.org/home/123806> [Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> September 2017]

4. Prohibition on the placement of heavy weapons and heavy equipment in an area limited to certain settlements;
5. Prohibition on the installation of new mines and explosive engineering barriers at the border of the security zone, and introduction of the obligation to remove previously set mine and explosive barriers in the security zone;
6. Avoid flying aviation and foreign aircraft except OSCE vehicles over the security zone;
7. Deployment in the zone of the cessation of the use of weapons by the OSCE monitoring mission as part of the observer group of the organization within one day of the adoption of the memorandum. It is advisable to divide the zone into sectors whose boundaries are to be agreed upon during the preparation for the work of the monitoring group of the OSCE observation mission;
8. Removal of all foreign mercenaries from the conflict zone, both on the one hand and on the other.

The parties also decided to continue the exchange of war prisoners. At the same time the status of territories captured by militants at the talks in Minsk was not discussed.

Really, the First Minsk Agreement could not be properly executed from the very beginning. For example, in October 2014 the Russian Federation blocked the decision of the OSCE to expand the mandate of the mission on the Ukrainian-Russian border. The Russian Federation did the same in January 2016. Factually, controlled by OSCE border was the main security part of the First Minsk Agreement because after this action local armed group could be left without support from Russian Federation and would be destroyed in two weeks. But this was not part of Russian plan. So, on this and number of other reasons the First Minsk Agreement was not executed from both sides.

Furthermore, Russian terrorists began active hostilities just after the First Minsk Agreement and imitated elections to the "People's councils" of DPR and LPR in November 2, 2014. OSCE, EU, USA, other countries and organizations did not recognize elections. Only Russia was "respectful for the choice of the people of the Donbas"<sup>51</sup>. Factually, these quasi-elections were total fail of the First Minsk Agreement.

#### **Second Minsk Agreement**

Second Minsk Agreement is a set of measures to implement the Minsk Agreements agreed at the summit in Minsk February 11-12, 2015 by leaders of Germany, France, Ukraine and Russia in the format of the "Norman Four" and signed by a contact group composed of representatives of Russia, Ukraine, representatives of self-proclaimed republics in order to de-escalate armed conflict in eastern Ukraine.

Numbers of key-points of First Minsk Agreement and Follow-up memorandum were confirmed by the Second Minsk Agreement including immediate and comprehensive ceasefire, disposal of all heavy weapons by both sides, ensuring of the OSCE effective monitoring, restoration of full control

<sup>51</sup> PHILIPENOK, A. (2014) *The Kremlin asked not to consider the "respect" as a recognition of the elections in the DPR*. RBC. [Online] 7<sup>th</sup> November. Available from: <http://www.rbc.ru/politics/07/11/2014/545cb608cbb20f2fb97936f6> [Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> September 2017]



over the state border by the Government of Ukraine throughout the conflict zone, withdrawal of all foreign armed groups, military equipment, ensure holding of local elections etc. Numbers of conceptually new points were established in the Second Minsk Agreement also such as:

1. Ensure pardon and amnesty;
2. Ensure the release and exchange of all hostages and illegally detained persons on the basis of the principle of "all for all";
3. Ensure safe access, delivery, storage and distribution of humanitarian assistance to the needy on the basis of an international mechanism;
4. Definition of modalities for the complete restoration of social and economic ties, including social transfers, such as payment of pensions and other;
5. Constitutional reform in Ukraine with the coming into force by the end of 2015 of the new Constitution, which provides for a key element of decentralization;
6. Intensify the activities of the Tripartite Contact Group.

Nowadays international dialogue is developing on the level of Tripartite Contact Group meeting, EU and US sanctions etc. It must be noted that EU and US sanctions connected with the Donbas crisis indirectly but their main aim is the de-occupation of Crimea.

Future of the international dialogue on this question is indistinct. From the one hand, solution of the Donbass problem without permanent international support and pressure on Russia only by Ukrainian means is impossible. From the other hand, international community does not hasten in recognition Russia as aggressor and its influence to the Donbas situation at official level. E.g. European court of human rights did not call for a hearing in any case where Russian Federation was declared as respondent state that concerns Donbass conflict (more than 3 500 applications were submitted against Ukraine and Russia<sup>52</sup> at this point).

To sum up, international level of the dialogue mainly encompasses in two Minsk Agreements and measures on their performance. Tripartite Contact Group also has great influence to the international dialogue. But no one state recognized Russian Federation as a culprit of the Donbas crisis and sponsor of separatists and terrorists. But international dialogue for the resolving of Donbas crisis must be implemented on the national level.

### National dialogue: current issues

National dialogue totally depends on the actions on international level. From the other side, national dialogue is a required condition for the Ukrainian position at the international level. Main actions at the national level for the Donbas conflict resolution are connected with the reintegration, rebuilding of the de-occupied territory of Donbas.

Furthermore, the most disputable question at the moment is the Law on Special Status. First its' variant was adopted just after First Minsk Agreement – September 16, 2014 for the period of 3 years.

But it did not come into force because in early November 2014 separatist "republics" violated the First Minsk Agreement accords by conducting unauthorized elections of leaders and so-called parliaments.

Russian representative in contact group Borys Gryzlov mentioned that the three-year term of the Ukrainian law on the Special Status which is the basis of the Minsk Agreements expires in October 2017<sup>53</sup>.

Law on Special Status actually has such a potential significance: if the other party carries out Minsk agreements, then this law will apply to the political part of the Minsk treaties. And since the security conditions are not fulfilled, this law cannot be come into force.

The fact that the law expires is good for Ukraine because it makes possible to adopt new version of this law which is more in line with the Ukrainian interests. If it becomes clear that it is not possible to execute the political part of the Minsk agreements, there will be no need to adopt a new version of the Law on Special Status.

It must be noted that at international level Russian representative began to worry about the expiring of the Law on the Special Status. They are worried because the situation that they were trying to use in their interests is actually ruining.

Regular autumn session of Ukrainian parliament starts in September, 05, so new Law on Special Status could be adopted in the nearest future.

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<sup>52</sup> SYDORENKO, S. (2017) *Strasbourg is preparing to punish Russia for the Donbas: new ECHR decisions announced. European truth.* [Online] 2<sup>nd</sup> June Available from: <https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/articles/2017/06/2/7066617>. [Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> September 2017]

<sup>53</sup> Antikor. (2017) *Gryzlov: Kyiv strengthens the blockade of Donbas.* [Online] Available from: [https://antikor.com.ua/articles/186963-gryzlov\\_kiev\\_usilivaet\\_blokadu\\_donbassa](https://antikor.com.ua/articles/186963-gryzlov_kiev_usilivaet_blokadu_donbassa) [Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> September 2017]

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**POPULAR SCIENCE IN MASS MEDIA. DOES IT  
CREATE A DIALOGUE IN OUR WORLD TODAY?**

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**SUMMARY**

**Abstract**

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Science and mass media: historical note
  - 2.1. BBC case
  - 2.2. Russian TV channel Kultura
  - 2.3. Foreign language in 16 lessons for free or "Poliglot" case-study
  - 2.4. Russian context in numbers
- 3. Conclusion

**ABSTRACT**

Science is a great tool of international dialogue. That is why for many years such type of programs was a well developed TV format. Appeared after the second world war, popular science programs presented most significant discoveries in the era before the Internet to a wide audience. In the period of Cold war, political leaders translated certain messages through scientific achievements. In modern conditions, scientific outcomes reflect important political issues and foster international dialogue. Today science is truly internationalized with all the teams and laboratories which host researches from all over the world. At the same time average people are still far from scientific news. One can admit that mass media tend to mention mostly really big discoveries in such fields as IT, technologies and medicine while humanities and social sciences are less observed. Partly, such state of things is connected with the era of technologies and, as a consequence,

with a certain demand, which forms the agenda. Talking about science simply is also quite challenging for mass media. Thus, highly commercialized media tend to prefer the proven format when it comes to science. Moreover, each country has its own specifics in transferring knowledge through mass media. The objective of this paper is to observe Russian case and some international examples to find out if science in media provides any kind of dialogue or not.

**1. Introduction**

Science in a broad meaning is all around us, in our everyday life and actions. Some people tend to explain various phenomena using a scientific approach while others do not attach any importance to same events. Even though most of us have nearly the same knowledge to explain things, not everyone use them in everyday life. Today, with fast development of new technologies, scientific issues are rather associated with formal sciences than with humanities or social science. General term "Science" signifies a systematic organization of knowledge about the universe. Initially this word used for such type of knowledge which people can share and communicate to each other. That exactly what created a condition for dialogue and linked science to philosophy.

Over the centuries with development of natural and applied sciences, the sense of the word has been transformed. Modern science implies distinct features such as the approach, methodology and results. It also has a strong conceptual framework and vocabulary. This strict sense of the term created a certain distance because of complexity in its proper use.

Today science is truly specialized and advanced. This trend makes dialogue between academics and the audience almost impossible. The problem is also connected with the huge amount of information about the world which is getting harder to analyze and understand. Thus, a gap between the scientists and the public becomes significant and as a consequence, the dialogue becomes less possible. Members of academic society also frequently underestimate the importance of communication with audience and talks about most important findings in a simple mode.

Universities, as principal producers of new knowledge, need to find successful forms of knowledge dissemination. Therefore the variance between the formats of the representation of information in academic circles and within popular culture is a point for discussion. Transformation of the way scientific facts and ideas are presented is essential in all types of mass media in order for it to be comprehensible for the audience.

Social value of enlightenment activity is an important issue also when it comes to policy and ethics. Understanding this fact, governments develop different state programs aimed at covering scientific issues and mass media plays crucial role in it. Therefore, in this paper we observe historical example of BBC and the Russian context. In the focus is also the ways of science popularization and interaction with the audience.

**2. Science and mass media: historical note**

**2.1. BBC case**

Popular science programs as a genre evolved after the Second World War and presented most significant discoveries in

the era before the Internet to a wide audience. An article by Prof. David Smith<sup>54</sup> from the Centre for Research in Lifelong Learning covers the role played by universities and academics in disseminating knowledge via BBC radio during the 1950s. Although Smith examines the example of appearance of academics on radio only, such a study could give a general impression of the background process, which started at that time and in which the BBC, as a huge broadcasting corporation, was involved.

Looking back at the history of interaction between the academic community and mass media in the post-war U.K., the author of the article concentrates, in particular, on cases of scholars whose opinions were broadcast by BBC radio. During that time, academics appeared on BBC broadcasts in various forms. For instance, university professors took part in discussions on theology, philosophy, English history and archeology. Such multifaceted participation in production of knowledge and its embedding in the cultural context of today's media has been going on for at least half a century.

As such scholars took part in broadcasts by the BBC, a corporation that in the post-war years was called on to perform a cultural reconstruction of democratic foundations. BBC was trying to both revise and expand the boundaries of interaction with its audiences. At the same time, the structure of radio broadcasting changed significantly after the war. The new structure of radio broadcasting was developed to serve multiple purposes. Among these was the desire to raise the educational and cultural standards was of significant importance as well.

After the BBC introduced modifications in the structure of its broadcasts, scholars and university professors started to take part in programs aimed at “serious listener”. One can say that scholars started to speak ‘live’. Smith remarks that researchers and academics addressing the public directly produced major effect on the audiences, although their going on the air was not lab work or lecturing, but represented a different form of knowledge dissemination. It is important to point out that programs of this category were designed to report on and raise discussion about the most outstanding and significant studies. That was a special kind of a dialogue between scholars and wider audience.

All that said, the purpose of those programs could not be called purely educational, because they were aimed at providing listeners with opportunities of gaining awareness of a wide spectrum of cultural and scientific phenomena. This approach gave scholars the opportunity to share their ideas with large audiences, in the form of academic discussion. In their turn, listeners had the opportunity to interact with the best specialists in each area of expertise.

Since BBC radio programs were oriented at covering culture at large, talks about science and culture were not perceived as populism. The problem, however, was that radio required that topics be discussed in a different manner from in a university lecture, and not every scholar could adapt to that framework.

So BBC had to face the fact that in some areas of expertise it was impossible to find scientists or scholars who were able to address the audiences in a language the latter could understand, and to do that in accordance with the radio program format. The editorial board of BBC radio also confronted another problem. Audiences perceived programs, which purported to educate and raise the cultural awareness of listeners, and not only to entertain them, as “highbrow.” At the same time, many scholars raised their profile among the general public owing just to their participation in radio programs, because until then the academic community was regarded as rather exclusive and small.

Television at the time was taking center stage, and audience preferences started to change. Nevertheless, the period when members of the academic community were taking part in broadcasts on the national radio was an important stage in the BBC's history and an event of momentous importance for that type of program in mass media generally. Although editorials as well as academics faced the problem of finding an appropriate way of speaking about scientific issues on air, this transition between academic culture and popular format seems to be remarkable.

## 2.2. Russian TV channel Kultura

Each country has its own specifics in transferring knowledge through mass media and Russia is not an exception. In Soviet Union, popularization of scientific outcomes in mass media was flourishing and we can find many examples like the above BBC case. However, in 1990's the situation changed dramatically and the deep crisis of scientific journalism is still felt. During 2000's the main part of telecasts were unable to compete with entertainment projects and foreign popular science cycles, and that led to the loss of audience and closure of projects. Therefore, let us analyze the current situation and identify the specific features and problems related to popular science in Russia.

Russia as many European countries faced problems with funding of popular science projects in mass media, but especially on TV. The school of Russian science journalism is in deep crisis today and to save it is a new challenge for editorial board of different channels. There are few scientific projects on Russian TV which still able to compete with talk shows and soap operas. Most of such broadcasts is concentrated on “Rossija-Kultura”<sup>55</sup> TV channel.

The Russian theme-based television channel “Rossija-Kultura” features information and news on cultural matters both in Russia and abroad since 1997. It also shows broadcasts of historical and popular science documentaries, produces analytical programs and interviews with members of the cultural community. Although the television channel is part of a national media holding, it is unique because it is the only nationwide channel which is commercial-free. Moreover, absence of commercials within the content prevents the danger of blindly chasing ratings. In this regard there is a number of pop-science programs, but in our focus the “Polyglot” project which had a huge success.

<sup>54</sup> See Smith, David 2013. Academics, the “cultural third mission” and the BBC: forgotten histories of knowledge creation, transformation and impact. *Studies in Higher Education* 38/5. Vol. 38. Issue 5. P. 663—677

<sup>55</sup> Russian name of the channel is “Kultura” and it means Culture in English.

### 2.3. Foreign language in 16 lessons for free or “Polyglot” case-study

The purpose of this program is to give the viewer a general idea of the structure of a foreign language and teach them to build basic phrases within 16 lessons. The first series of the programs was dedicated to learning English, followed by 16-program cycles devoted to learning French, Spanish and Italian.

“Polyglot” broadcasts are introduced in the form of a live language lesson. Viewers see a class with several individuals who wish to learn language. The role of the teacher is played by famous Russian polyglot Dmitry Petrov. During these lessons he explains the structure of the language, simple grammar, main words and principles of phrases construction. The teacher-presenter gives different tasks that involve repeating or building phrases; the learners may still make mistakes, not understand elements of the language, be afraid of speaking it, etc. This means that the situation is close to a real-life language class and the viewer sees that learning something new may be difficult for most people, regardless of their profession and social status, everyone makes mistakes and people have different abilities in learning languages. The discussion at the “studio” lesson is lively and natural; it does not make an impression of a pre-designed or scripted work.

The project got a vivid feed-back in social media and on the official forum of the program. This case is a great example of the power of mass media in knowledge dissemination. The very idea of acquiring basic linguistic skills by watching TV and without paying anything is attractive for the audience. Project also has followers in internet and community where viewers can discuss lessons and ask questions.

### 2.4. Russian context in numbers

According to statistics, television in Russia remains the most popular, influential and accessible source of information. This trend remains constant over the years. According to survey<sup>56</sup>, conducted in 2016, 59 % of all respondents consider Television as the most trustable source of information about the news in Russia and the world. On the second place are on-line editions (newspapers, journals, news portals) with 20 %, Radio and Newspapers have only 9 % each. Therefore, provided numbers are representative and we can note, that even though TV is on the top of the rating, Internet editions overtook the popularity of such traditional mass media as Radio and newspapers.

Speaking about genre preferences, let us analyze data, provided by the Public Opinion foundation<sup>57</sup>. This, when asked “What programs do you watch most frequently?”, 54 % of all those polled said they watched news, 49 % watched feature films, 27 % preferred entertainment programs. Auteur programs are watched by 16 % of those polled, Educational programs by 14 % and Intellectual games by 12 %. The results given above confirm that audiences are most of all attracted by newsreels, feature movies and entertainment programs. However, educational programs and intellectual games has certain following. Answering the question “What kind of information

<sup>56</sup> See *Obščestvennoe mnenie – 2016: sbornik statej*, Moskva: Levada-centr, sample: 1,600 respondents. P. 150.

<sup>57</sup> The poll was run on June 4, 2017. Sample: 1,500 poll participants in 100 inhabited localities of 43 regions across Russia. The poll results were compiled in a paper which is available online at: <http://fom.ru/SMI-i-internet/13571>

makes you the most interest?”<sup>58</sup> 38 % of respondents choose “International relations” and 20 % said “Science and technologies”. Thus, scientific and technological issues interest viewers, and even though in terms of percentages these programs display more moderate figures, but at the same time there are fewer programs on those subjects on TV.

The above given statistics shows that the audience has a certain interest in topics related to technologies, science and culture. It also provides us with the understanding that on-line editions are getting more popular and accessible to a wider audience. This trend is likely to continue in the near future. Accordingly, not only TV, but also Internet can be a successful source for dissemination of knowledge. Internet unlike to television has more options for dialogue and interaction. Such tools as blogs, comments and forums devoted to a special topic provides public and scientists with the platform for vivid communication and feedback.

### 3. Conclusion

The popularization of science and knowledge today, when they have become an integral part of the social wealth of any country, are among the most important objectives. That determines the necessity of search for ways to overcome the crisis of popular science television and opportunities aimed at the revival of science popularization on TV screen. While “Rossija-Kultura” TV channel receive a solid support from the state, other channels suffer from commercialization of broadcasting and following the rating outcomes. Nevertheless, TV must meet the interests of society and develop a comprehensive program of knowledge dissemination.

The very idea that scholars may use mass media to disseminate their concepts and theories in a form acceptable for the general public is important, as well as the notion that mass media can be used to raise the audiences’ general culture awareness. New technological tools are also create a great potential and resources for dialogue between the audience and the academics. At the same time editorial boards and scientists must develop new ways of interaction with audience and speaking about science in accessible way. To understand and analyze what is happening in the world of science in our time means to speak the language of modernity.

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<sup>58</sup> The poll was run on June 4, 2017. Sample: 1,500 poll participants in 100 inhabited localities of 43 regions across Russia. The poll results were compiled in a paper which is available online at: <http://fom.ru/SMI-i-internet/13618>



## BRINGING UP UNCOMFORTABLE SOCIAL ISSUES: HOW TO MAKE PEACEBUILDING DIALOGUE EFFICIENT

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### SUMMARY

1. Introduction
2. Actors of the dialogue
3. Speechless dialogue: how to bring up issues without words
4. Practical issues: smaller-scale stories
5. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction

There is no doubt that dialogue plays a crucial role in forming and reforming public perception. Socrates suggested that “thought thrives on conflict” and the concept of conflict for him can be understood as a variety of opinions which are brought together. So, this famous expression refers to role of the open discussion on mentality and intelligent growth.

What are the main advantages of the dialogue and why is it required to obtain peace? The answer is that both dialogue and peace are based on common principles: freedom of self-expression and openness to versatile opinions, willingness to become more flexible and readiness for acceptance of another person. Dialogue involves “a process of genuine interaction through which human beings listen to each other deeply enough to be changed by what they learn... No participant gives up her or his identity, but each recognizes enough of the others’ valid human claims that he or she will act differently toward the other.” (Saunders, 1999, p.82) Even expression of disagreement is a form of involvement to reach mutual understanding. All these points make it evident that dialogue forms an optimal platform to deal with complex issues.

Moreover, dialogue is an inclusive and interactive process. That is why it requires personal active participation, the use of creativity and constructing. As the matter of fact, each participant of the dialogue can be identified as a stakeholder who has a responsibility for decision making. So it gathers a diverse set of voices and if handled properly helps to find sustainable solutions.

However, not every public discussion encourages all its participants to come in terms with their roots. It seems that some attempts fail just at the beginning when the actors of the dialogue don’t recognize each other’s equality and humanity. And though a lot of scientific researchers on this topic have been made it seems that the question of building an efficient peacebuilding dialogue is still open.

### 2. Actors of the dialogue

The key point on how to create the right conditions for peacebuilding dialogue is to understand the goals and challenges of its actors. The main principle formulated by UNDP is that “dialogue should not feel imposed from above or outside” (UNDP, 2009). Unfortunately there is no reason to force discussion if people are not ready for that, even though this preparation phase may require a plenty of time. However even if some representatives express their motivation to begin discussion, it is necessary to make “actor mapping” that will help to involve all interested people from different communities and with versatile backgrounds. This will allow the atmosphere of openness and equality.

After the preparation phase is over the main challenge is to build optimal conditions for discussion platform so that it doesn’t turn into champ of battle.

### a. Third side

There is no doubt that objectivity requires a detached view. If two sides are not efficient in creating the right conditions for discussion platform that means that they need independent referees that act for both sides without any personal preferences. That is why the third actor of the dialogue should be an observer preferably from independent side. However, this person(-s) should be recognized by all other actors of the dialogue as an authority. Otherwise the role in mediation will be useless. Such external actors might have different specialty and can include experts from academic institutions, think-tanks, professional mediators, diasporas, NGOs or private companies and individuals and sometimes even political or religious organizations (national and international).

The main advantage of external third parties is the guarantee of transparency of the process. Very often the need of the dialogue is “organised in states with contested, weak or failed institutions, or where institutions are deemed not inclusive enough and require reforms to increase their legitimacy” (Harlander, 2016, p.9). However, it is very important not to exclude internal institutions so that all actors of the dialogue understand that the responsibility for decision making is not transferred to another side. The main role of third parties is to “approach the conflict parties in a consistent and co-ordinated manner” (Cantin, 2014, p.20). To sum up, good platform for discussion is creating multiple spaces where interested groups and independent authorities are presented.

### b. Government vs citizenry

Of course government support plays a crucial role in resolving conflict situations as it has legislative power to control the process. Still every government often acts like monopolist. Especially it is prevailing in the countries where public policy institutions are not very well developed or countries with so-called young democracy. In particular, a lot of independent initiatives are asked to work on behalf of the government. Otherwise, they are considered as a threat to national security. The only option is to inform government about dialogue process and to include it as an independent external actor. All in all, it will increase publicity of the process and its transparency.

It wouldn’t be honest to say that government is not interested in public conversation as such practices create the image of

freedom. Probably that is the reason why dialogical interactive genres are so popular in modern mass media (especially “talk shows” and so on). And though it is evident that such programs are not efficient for promoting democratic principles and free speech it shows that government has a plenty of reasons to become an associate of dialogical process. Still the most common mistake of mediation projects is to take up a negative position upon the governmental structures and to push it out of the dialogue which is worst-case scenario that may lead to retaliatory measures from the government and exclude the safe conduct of the process for all its actors. And one should however note that without arrangements of safety guarantees peacebuilding dialogue fails.

Coming back to the identification of the third side it is evident that the referee would never be admitted by the government if he/she has political ambitions. For example, one of the most powerful and popular NGO in Russia The Anti-corruption Foundation with its leader Alexey Navalny is depicting the working model of how professional investigations should be made. Though their contribution to the cause of public policy development is extremely significant their work is often discussed (if discussed) in narratives that not even remotely resembling their projects. One of the reasons why it happens is the fact that A. Navalny announced a bid to seek presidency and is considered as a politician rather than civic activist. In such case all activity of the whole NGO is considered as translation of ambitious campaign promises and that hardly have any advantages all civil society institutions within the country. All in all, finding optimal balance between governmental interaction and independent representatives is the fundamental basis of creating an efficient platform for peacebuilding dialogue.

### **3. Speechless dialogue: how to bring up issues without words**

Modern epoch of mass media and social networks dictates new rules for spreading the news: image today seems to be more powerful as it can be spread practically instantly among internet users all over the world. As for me, there is one image made during revolution in Ukraine of 2014 that stick to my memory so deeply that became a symbol of this event. It is a photo of Ukrainian woman who places carnations into shields of policemen “Berkut” after the first crackdown on mass protests.

What does this action mean? No words were said (perhaps because there were no conditions to conduct efficient negotiations), but silent peacebuilding act turned out to be more multi-layered and comprehensive than a dozen of long discussions. Of course it doesn’t imply that the dialogue should give place to another forms of actions, but such “speechless forms” can add new discourses in which problem is found.

Moreover, such speechless acts forces public identification of the problem. Symbolic actions will be more likely interpreted by the communities as they are of greater interest because they play upon natural human curiosity and heighten their interest. The matter of fact is that they promote the insertion of slanted problem on a bigger scale which can finally make it a social cause. Beyond peradventure, social cause involves in a dialogue more perspective potential actors than specific problem that is the matter of concern of one community. So

nonverbal acts are a basis for creating a platform for perspective dialogue.

Finally, symbolic meanings are by definition more conciliatory and tolerant as they have an effect on imagination and emotions rather than rationality and stereotypes connected with surrounded world/nations/religions and so on. As Lisa Schirch (2005) depicts, “ritual and symbolic acts that engage the senses, passions, and emotions to create a “unique social space” that includes cooperative images and activities.” That means that it uses another language that engages into the dialogue on uncomfortable topics in interactive way that is more appropriate for public.

And after all, dialogue is not only a form of communication with each other, but rather a form of self-knowledge. The concept of polyphony and dialogic structure by M. Bakhtin researches the approach of consciousness formation: “human thought becomes genuine thought, that is, an idea, only under conditions of living contact with another and alien thought, a thought embodied in ... someone else’s consciousness expressed in discourse” (Bakhtin, 1999, p. 88). Though the researcher wrote about narration text, it is possible to assume that the process of the thought exchange should not be limited to direct word forms. Any artistic or indirect discourses are very advantageable. In a nutshell, nonverbal forms can be even more efficient form of dialogue especially if they transform the ideas that are not yet acceptable for society.

### **4. Practical issues: smaller-scale stories**

It is known that one need to start from the beginning. If society is not ready to tackle with the topics that are considered uncomfortable there is no reason to plan benchmark setting campaign. On the contrary, it might fall into disrepute and be regarded as propaganda that cram down throats from the outside. So, the optimal solution is to practice small actions firstly.

In my own practice I have used dialogue as peacebuilding tool in several campaigns. It is important to mention solidarity campaigns where my colleagues and I created a platform of transferring support to international societies. Of course, selected events have no power to change public opinion globally, but they affected it in a certain way.

One of the greatest challenge was to organize a solidarity action on Ukraine independence day. Here all calls and doubts became one: in general Russian public is not ready for an objective dialogue with modern Ukraine and rejected their path and choice and vice versa Ukraine accepts any Russian temps for a public discussion very doubtfully. So we have chosen nonverbal event and decided to bring yellow and blue flowers (the colors of Ukrainian flag) to the monument of Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko that is situated in the center of Saint-Petersburg. As it happened in the evening there were a lot of people around and we were asked a lot questions and ... the conversation began. Though we had also faced aggressive comments our main goal was reached: the dialogue as an inclusive and interactive form of communication started. Moreover, publications in social networks lead to wider coverage of target groups. That means that local event got even international response as we have received comments from different cities and countries not to mention Ukraine. From my point of view, this story is about a small success as it shows that local

act can be an active contribution to the perspective platform for dialogue.

The next challenge is the campaign in solidarity with Crimean Tatars. Crimean Tatars is a vulnerable group today as a lot of their representatives voted against in Crimea referendum in 2014. Since then they noted discrimination from local governmental structures and social condemnation in Crimea region. The key problem is that most of Russian population is not informed about their problems as they are not reflected in mass media. Again, there is no opportunity for a constructive dialogue as people do not recognize the existence of the problem. So the decision was to make a photo exhibition that depicts representatives of Crimean Tatars community and has an annotation about certain forms of discrimination they face. Moreover, there was a screening of modern film about the deportation of Crimean Tatars in 1944. Screening was followed by vigorous debate and a lot of people showed their interest in taking a further look at this topic. I suppose next year we will be ready to launch more intense campaign and will involve more partners. In fact, it was not the only result of this campaign: the expat community visited the event and was involved into this discussion. The success of interactive action was that Crimean Tatars representatives felt themselves not a part of opposition no one wants to hear. They were glad that there are people who are interested in their problems, their culture and their language. The most surprising fact is that when different communities interact for common goods other issues and stereotypes are becoming less pressing. To conclude, even short term dialogue between separated groups who face different problems, but share the same fundamental values can solidate them and become a great inspiration for future campaigns.

## 5. Conclusion

To sum up, dialogue is advantageable not only finding the solutions but also for identifying the problem which is crucial step conflict mediation in national and international communities. Though dialogue is not sufficient when it is forced it is possible to hasten a process if the right tools are used. It is important to mention that there is no general solution; each case needs to be researched separately. Still, the right attitude and direction can be defined. Finally, dialogue is not diversity of monologues, but the ability to listen and each other and to use self-reflection. That is why it doesn't matter which form of dialogue would be used - verbal or nonverbal; the main thing is that it promotes the expression of the problem and its identification.

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## DIALOGUE AND BILINGUALISM: ONE OF THE BIGGEST CHALLENGES IN UKRAINE

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## SUMMARY

1. How many languages do you need to conduct a dialogue?
2. "You're from Ukraine. So you must speak Russian?"
3. Artificial bilingualism: historical aspects
  - 3.1. The chronology of Ukrainian language destruction
  - 3.2. Beginning of Russification: 1654 – the day that never happened?
  - 3.3. The start of Russification: economic and social reasons
  - 3.4. Cultural Russification: artificial bilingualism
  - 3.5. Russification during Soviet time
4. Passive bilingualism
5. "The one who does not know his past, does not deserve his future"

## 1. How many languages do you need to conduct a dialogue?

"Why do you switch to Ukrainian when I speak to you?" – I asked my Russian-speaking friend, when he was doing it again.

"Dialogue should be conducted in one language", - he said. But what happens when for dozens or hundred years people had no chance to conduct a dialogue in their language? And when there was no dialogue at all – only the directions from above? In this thesis – the cultural, political, historical and economical aspects of bilingualism challenges in Ukraine,

along with personal experience.

My Ukrainian friends, who are Russian-speaking, in most cases switch to Ukrainian language, once I start talking to them (being raised in Ukrainian-speaking family, I find it difficult and not very comfortable to switch to Russian). I am grateful to them for doing it, because neither TV nor magazines or newspapers did it to me during my childhood or student years. I read books in Russian, watched TV in Russian and found many jobs where I could not apply because still my Ukrainian (read: official language of a country) would not help there. For many quality magazines where I dreamt to work, for many websites, the employers still would give a preference to a Russian-speaking person. Of course, over the last 3 years the number of Ukrainian-language media is growing, Ukrainian language is becoming more wide-spread, and while abroad, people try to speak Ukrainian not to identify themselves with Russia. There are more books published in Ukrainian language, more people from the Russian-speaking parts of Ukraine (Eastern, Southern Ukraine) who are starting to speak Ukrainian more eagerly. The situation seems to get better, but the other issue – what was the reason for it? (Aggression from Russia on the territories of Ukraine? Crimea occupation and many political manipulations?). The challenge of bilingualism would not be so big, if there were not many other aspects of it.

Ukrainian people understand both Ukrainian and Russian, we speak two of these languages (some better, some worse) and we are able to keep the dialogue, when somebody is speaking Ukrainian from birth, and the other one – Russian. We might seem to be in a perfect situation: knowing two languages by default should be a big advantage (like, for example, not many Russians would say they speak Ukrainian, or Belarusian). Why instead of a benefit, we found ourselves in a situation when we have to fight for the right of dialogue?

## **2. “You’re from Ukraine. So you must speak Russian?”**

That’s one of the most frequently asked questions I have to answer, when I travel. I always said I speak it, but why should I, if I have my mother tongue, and it’s not Russian? And why should I speak Russian, if I am not from Russia?

I use it when I talk to people who do not understand my language: it can be Russians, people from post-soviet countries (like Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Moldova and so on). But why should I do it in Ukraine, if everybody perfectly understand Ukrainian?

But it’s now that the situation is like this. Everybody can freely choose what language to speak, to write, to express themselves. There’s been a long period in Ukrainian history when the rights of Ukrainian-speaking citizens were violated, Ukrainian language was prohibited to use in schools or universities, and police was carrying out the searches at people’s homes to find Ukrainian literature. Those days are in the past, but they had a big influence on the bilingualism challenges we face now.

## **3. Artificial Bilingualism: Historical Aspects**

### **3.1. The chronology of Ukrainian language destruction**

Why do I want to call the Bilingualism artificial? Because if there were not some historical, social and economical aspects, we would not get the situation in which people are bilingual. Because of its geographical position of Ukraine, it’s location

between Europe and Russia, our country has always been in a difficult situation – occupied by other countries or in a state of war. Russian language was forcibly put on the citizens of Ukraine. Let’s see what was the beginning of this process, and how we get to the point of bilingualism, that is considered to be natural now.

The story of Russification goes back to 17<sup>th</sup> century. In historical sources, this process means the actions and conditions, aimed to strengthen the Russian national-political superiority in the countries, that belong to Russia, or are influenced by the Russia. The Russification is carried out by making people who are not Russians by nationality to speak Russian language and transiting them into Russian culture, for the further assimilation.

It was caused by Russian the Russian politics regimes – firstly by tsar (imperial) regime, and them by Soviet regime, and by the conditions of other countries, that were part of Russian Empire or USSR respectively.

### **3.2. Beginning of Russification: 1654 – the day that never happened?**

The beginning of Russification is traditionally identified with the spreading the political influence of Russia to Ukraine. It happened after Cossacks Revolution and Ukrainian Liberalization War. After Bohdan Khmelnytsky, leader of Cossacks, won the war and got liberty of Ukraine, one of the most controversial agreements in Ukrainian history was made (since the historians cannot find its written version). The agreement took place at Pereyaslav Council, also known as Treaty of Pereyaslav, convened in January 1654, when Ukraine suffered of frequent invasions of other countries, and Bohdan Khmelnytsky was searching for protection, the Russia was chosen. The eventual consequence was the dissolution of Hetmanat in 1775, the imposition of serfdom in the region and the start of Russification. That time is considered to be the start of occupation of Ukraine by Russia, in cultural terms, when Ukrainians were told that Ukrainian language does not exist and is the dialect of Russian language, and numerous laws started to prohibit the use of Ukrainian language.

1654 year was imposed by USSR as a year when two brother countries were united, however, in reality, it was the symbol of chauvinistic intentions of Russian empire towards Ukraine. However, the illusion, created by Soviet Union is leaving the heads of progressive Ukrainians, who understand that 1654 year was not a year of unification, but a day that did not happen, as many progressive historians are saying. Pereyaslav council was modified by Soviet government, as till today nobody ever saw the original documents of this agreement, as well as nobody knows what was the approval procedure for it, and if it happened or not. Therefore, there are no sufficient reasons to say that it was a voluntary reunification.

Bohdan Khmelnytsky was trying to get out of “brother’s hugs” with making the contacts with Transilvania king, Swedish king – however, it was already too late, since Russian emperor did not consider Ukraine as a subject of international law.

### **3.3 The start of Russification: economic and social reasons**

The start of Russification was not cultural. Its original sources were lying in economic and social life. The ideologists were glorifying the Russian Empire period that brought most of the



benefits to Ukrainian economy and social life, and made the foreign product markets (especially agriculture) opened for Ukraine. But the truth was, it was turning Ukraine into economical outsider. Ukraine got the access to western markets; however, it was happening through Russian mediation, and through transit centers, controlled by metropolis. The ideology of Russian foreign trade had nothing to do with the philosophy of free trade, and was used only to establish the economical and, as a result, political domination.

### 3.4. Cultural Russification: artificial bilingualism

Cultural Russification was the most visible one, since the global result of it was instilling new system of values and motives, first of all in everyday life.

The artificial bilingualism came into life with a list of laws, issued by the government, which limited the use of Ukrainian language.

The important date in the calendar of extermination of Ukrainian language was 1720 year - the decree of Peter I on the prohibition of book-printing in the Ukrainian language and the removal of Ukrainian texts from church books. Then there were 3 important laws that almost stopped the development of Ukrainian language:

1863 year – Valuev circular, that prohibited printing of Ukrainian literature: “no Ukrainian language exists, and no Ukrainian language could exist”.

1876 year – Ems’s Decree of Alexander II that prohibited printing any Ukrainian literature, as well as importing any Ukrainian literature from abroad. Ukrainian theater performances, songs etc were prohibited as well.

1881 year – a ban on teaching in schools and church proclamation in Ukrainian language.

Then, year by year, there were issued different other laws like bans on translation from Russian into Ukrainian language, bans on baptizing children with Ukrainian names, closing Ukrainian universities and other anti-Ukrainian language campaigns.

### 3.5. Russification during Soviet time

Since the Soviet times the government was cultivating the idea of “Russian speaking citizen”. This citizen had clear advantages over people who were speaking Ukrainian language. It was impossible for Ukrainian to pursue his/her career, if the person did not switch to Russian language. Government and media imposed this cult of “Russian speaking” person. Every family from the village or some outskirts was dreaming that their child would go to the big city like Kyiv, Kharkiv, etc. and will start speaking Russian language there, and will become “a higher cast”.

The program of Ukrainian language destruction was very masterly planned. First of all the government had to get rid of people who were the biggest support of Ukrainian language and culture: peasantry and intellectual elite.

Khrushchev, during the period of liberalization, continued the politics of Stalin, but with more liberal methods. There was developed the program of accelerated Russification in all the republics of Soviet Union. It created the illusion that the population voluntarily refused of learning and speaking their native language and it empowered the government to call Russian language “second native language”. That’s what Khrushchev, one of Soviet Union leaders, did during the 22<sup>nd</sup> party

congress: *“It cannot go unnoticed, how many people showed the desire to learn Russian language, that already became second native language, the tool for international communication, engaging every nation into the cultural achievements of Soviet Union and world’s culture”*.

On the beginning of 60s, the Academy of Sciences of Soviet Union, there was created a special program to get the equality of languages in Soviet Union. However, some languages were more “equal” than the other. The languages were divided into groups of promising and unpromising languages. Russian language undoubtedly went to the first group, together with Georgian, Armenian, Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian. Ukrainian, with all the rest languages of Soviet Union republics “joined the club” of unpromising languages.

The final stage of Russification was the plan to unify the “closely related” languages into one: “Great Russian language”.

Western Ukraine was the significant site for the development of Ukrainian language and culture. Therefore, the government focused first of all on this district. The mass Russification started from there. One of the important methods of Russification was to relocate people to purely Russian territory: far north, Urals, Baltic republics. The reason and logic was easily understood: Ukrainians, who were relocated, could get along with the citizens only with learning Russian, which means they will get rid of their idea of being an independent nation. Ukrainian intelligent elite was opposed to USSR program, and protested against it in political and cultural ways. The famous literature work by Ivan Dziuba, called “Internationalism or Russification”, was waking up people to fight for their language and culture, for their freedom. The massive opposite movement was called “decedents movement”, however, most of the activists were sent to the exile to the camps, where they were repressed afterwards (during Brezhnev time).

The government came back to Stalin’s methods of fight with Ukrainians and their culture and language, however, those methods were masterly disguised.

In 1971 Brezhnev called “Ukrainian issue” settled, and stated about the creation of new historical community “soviet people”. The forcing of Russification went on, and the statistics from 1970s-1980s clearly shows its success: for example, in 1987, in Kyiv, only 70,000 out of 300,000 of scholars were studying in Ukrainian language. The lectures in universities and other higher education institutions were held in Russian. Only some humanitarian classes were taught in Ukrainian. Most of the published books were duplicated in Russian, with the purpose of “demand increase”. The Ukrainian editorial circulation decreased, or was totally liquidated.

During the 1970s-1980s Ukrainian language was omitted from the theaters. Only 2 out of 50 created in 1980s studio theaters were in Ukrainian language. In 1983 there was issued a law, that foretold the forcing learning of Russian language, division of school classes by language of studying and 15% salary increase for Russian language teachers.

At that time, the problems of bilingualism in Ukraine were shown at clearly distorted point of view: to masquerade the Russification program of the government. Despite the false stated by media, the director of Institute of Linguistics, I. Bilodid, was saying, *“Bilingualism in Ukraine – is that type of bilingualism, when two languages are on the same level of development and functionality, equally used by population”*. The problem of bi-

lingualism was called “harmonious” and the issue – “solved”. However, when regarded scientifically, the bilingualism in Ukraine was far from “harmonious”, but more asymmetrical, since the population of Soviet republics HAD but DID NOT CHOOSE to learn Russian, while the Russian population could go just with using the Russian language, without learning the language of the territory they lived. This is how it can be explained the fact, that, for example, in Latvia, in the end of 1980s, 80% of Latvians knew Russian language, while only ¼ of people who inhabited the country, speak Latvian. Unfortunately, this idea was still kept in the minds of people even after Ukraine proclaimed its Independence in 1991. Ukrainian language still cannot set free from the imperial pressure.

**4. Passive bilingualism**

One of the other aspects of bilingualism in Ukraine is its passive nature. While most of the people are passively bilingual, they despite the fact what language is native for them, Russian or Ukrainian, understand both languages. First of all, Ukrainian language as the official language of a country, does not impose any limitations on Russian language. That’s why Russian speaking people don’t have any problems with the access to information in the Internet or media, or any other institutions. However, it simplifies the life of people who are able to learn Ukrainian, but who does not want to do it, because Russian language is occupying a lot of space, and is spoken by many and understood by most of the population. As a result, we have the situation in which people can speak whatever language they want, but they do not make many efforts to learn the native language of a country. Active actions are the result of positive changes in Ukrainian society. People who no more want to associate themselves with Russian Empire, or USSR, make efforts and sacrifice time to learn Ukrainian language on decent level. These are people who don’t want to obey the cultural and language occupation. And people, who belong to those who were fighting for their right to hold the dialogue in their native language.

**5. “The one who does not know his past, does not deserve his future”**

Coming back to that question I hear so often: “So you are Ukrainian. You must speak Russian?” I want to say, “No”. I am Ukrainian, I am living in independent country that has a state language, spoken and understood by more than 46 million of people. I truly believe that everybody can choose the language to speak, but I believe that everybody should respect the language of the country. What everybody should respect even more, it’s their past, their history. The problem of many Ukrainians, especially those who do not care about the language they speak, is lack of historical knowledge, lack of understanding why we became bilingual. There is a huge list of dates, even bigger list of people who were killed for speaking their language, for writing in their language and for defending the rights of Ukrainian language. The situation with the bilingualism we have right now is something that could not happen naturally, but only as a result of hundreds of years of invasions and occupation. The bilingualism is our benefit, on one side, is the threat, on the other.

With the current situation in Ukraine bilingualism is becoming more challenging than ever before. It sends us to our roots, makes us learn our history, understand why we have a situation like this, and, on the other side is a valuable lesson to people who are building a new country. **The dialogue can be conducted in one language; it can be conducted in two languages, but the first and foremost language is the language of respect.** Yes, I am bilingual. Yes, I understand and speak Russian. However, in my country I choose to conduct the dialogue in Ukrainian language. It’s my right that my grandparents were fighting to get for many years.

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**DISCOURSE OF JUSTICE: THE ROLE OF EUROPEAN PUBLIC APOLOGIES FOR PAST CRIMES IN THE RECOGNITION AND RESTORATION OF DIGNITY OF VICTIMS**

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Since the end of World War II, victims of historical injustices have increasingly turned to restitution, be material or moral,

as a means of dealing with their painful past. In response, the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and early 21<sup>st</sup> century have witnessed an unprecedented upsurge in official apologies issued by Western politicians, to admit and atone in earnest for human rights violations committed by their predecessors against some domestic or transnational group. Europe in particular has long been at the forefront of lifting itself out of its moral morass via this more-than-words form of reparation. In view of the majority of literature on the impact of apology speeches on diplomacy, law and state identity, the paper delves into the contribution of state apologies to the protection and promotion of dignity of victims of past crimes. First, it sketches the concept of state apologies and seeks to explore what has spawned the vogue for state apologies as well as what an effective apology speech entails. Second, the paper examines how the official act of confession and contrition represents collective efforts to redress moral wrongs, reconcile the violator-violated relations, and restore human dignity of victims of past abuses.

## 1. Introduction

*What do I say when it's all over? Sorry seems to be the hardest word."*

Elton John

It is not a task of ease and comfort for any human being to admit an error, or to acknowledge that his/ her erstwhile deed has inflicted inconvenience and injury, harm and hardship, suffering and sorrow on others. More often than not, it is tacitly understood that the apologizer must put honesty and honor above personal self-pride and self-protection with the ultimate goal of repairing and reconstructing badly damaged relations on morally sound foundations. It is hence a more daunting challenge for a state leader or a government to publicly apologize for the past wrongdoings perpetuated by their predecessors. Nonetheless, the growing saliency of Western state apologies since the 1990s, together with other forms of reparations, historical commissions, and court trials, in societies emerging from a history of mass violence has brought about "the age of apologies". Europe, through its tragic history and time-honored endorsement of human rights, has been in the vanguard of issuing official apologies to past victimized populations within and across the borders. In 2000, Pope John Paul II delivered the most sweeping papal apology ever, expressing compunction for the errors of his church over the last 2,000 years towards Jews, indigenous peoples, women, and the poor and the unborn. In 1997, British Prime Minister Tony Blair issued a statement on the Irish Potato Famine that swept across Ireland in mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, which amounts to the first apology ever offered by the British authorities.<sup>59</sup> Eight years after his reign, in 2015, Blair apologized for the Iraq War and admitted that the invasion triggered the rise of terrorist ISIS state. In 2000, the Belgian government apologized for his country's inaction during the Rwandan genocide and in 2002 for its role in the 1961's assassination of Patrice Lumumba, the first prime minister of Congo, Belgium's former colony. In 2013, the Dutch government made a formal public

<sup>59</sup> Edwards, J.A. & Luckie, A., 2014. British Prime Minister Tony Blair's Irish Potato Famine Apology. *Journal of Conflictology*, 5(1).

apology for thousands of summary executions carried out by Dutch troops in its former colony of Indonesia. The Second World War, ridden with numerous violations of human rights, was a dark and doleful period in European history. Upwards of 50 million people lost their lives, including at least 15 million deaths as a result of state policies that deliberately sought to exterminate large numbers of "undesirable groups". While Nazi Germany was matter-of-factly culpable for the bulk of these atrocities, the Allied powers, including France, were also guilty of many horrors. Nevertheless, most European countries refused to offer apologies for the collusion. Not until July 16, 1995 did Jacques Chirac during the commemoration of the Vel d'Hiv raid become the first French president to publicly admit the gross malfeasance committed by both the French state and French citizens in brutally deporting French and foreign Jews to Nazi death camps in the Second World War.

The qualitative paper seeks to address the question: How do European state apologies contribute to the protection and promotion of the dignity of the victims? Notwithstanding the author's awareness of slight and subtle differences between state apology, government apology, official apology, these terms in this paper are interchangeably used. It is imperative to outline the conception of public apologies and what an authentic state apology encompasses. Analysis is then to be made into what role state apologies play in the recognition and restoration of dignity of victims.

## 2. The concept of public apology

An apology is a speech act uttered by a wrongdoer to relieve the guilt, remove any potential retaliation, request forgiveness, to rectify whatever "unreasonable, unjustified, undeserving, and inequitable."<sup>60</sup> By initiating such a justice-based dialogue, the apologizer evinces a willingness to be humiliated to some extent as well as admits his/ her fault and failing, responsibility and accountability. The act of apology, from linguistic perspective, is face-saving for the hearer and face-threatening for the speaker.<sup>61</sup> With a view to restoring a former relational equilibrium, the apologizer asks to be forgiven and gives recipient the authority to pardon. The formality of the ceremony in which an apology speech filled with petulance and promise is delivered, the power and prestige of the deliverer and the appropriateness of timing call into play the role of state apologies.

## 3. The role of the dialogue of justice for victims

First, the confession of a moral wrong, be timely or belated, denotes that the group of victims carries a certain moral value, and that this moral status has been transgressed since the perpetuation of wrong. Historically in international affairs, little attention was paid to the principle that harms should be acknowledged.<sup>62</sup> The dominant way of thinking was reflected by Thucydides in the "Medien dialogue,,: the strong do what they have the power to do and the weak accept the inevitable. The apology phenomenon has put this "might is right,, to the test. It stands to reason that in verbalizing remorse for human rights abuses, the powerful and prosperous are apologizing to

<sup>60</sup> Tavuchis, N., 1991. *Mea culpa: a sociology of apology and reconciliation*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, p.27

<sup>61</sup> Jackson, J., 2012. *The Routledge handbook of language and intercultural communication*, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, p.153.

<sup>62</sup> Gibney, M., 2008. *The age of apology: facing up to the past*, Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press.



the realitively powerless and poor. Apologies acknowledge serious affronts to human dignity, and affirm that the injustice endured by the decent beings will not be repeated. On the contrary, to deliberately disregard and deny their pain and privations would be imprudent, since unacknowledged and unaddressed bitterness are likely to result in suppressed rage and smouldering resentment towards violators and their accomplices. Nagging feeling of helplessness and lowered self-worth, at worst, may culminate in violence and vengeance.

Moreover, consciously consigning their suffering to oblivion would be immoral. Morally significant bonds are created with all other human beings, including victims with self-respect and moral worth, who did not deserve mistreatment and malfeasance. The intentional ignorance of atrocious historical happenings as well as their moral and material repercussions mean that the dignity of sufferers is of little consequence, which in fact adds insult to the injury<sup>63</sup>. If no sense of sorriiness and shame are exhibited, the wronged are far from recognized as morally equal human beings, deserving of respect from those who wronged them and the general public. Even if the actual victims have passed away, their descendants are still likely to suffer from the grievous wrongs inflicted on their ancestors and be in need of "moral restitution". Breaking the neglectful silence and doing honor to victims of diminished dignity on account of physical and psychological torment are bound to trigger a healing process and marks a separation from the wrongdoing of the past and a stepping stone to reconciliation in the future. Second, a publicly observed apology serves an educative function<sup>64</sup> as it draws attention to basic social norms and values, particularly to the renewed identity of victims. State violations are historically framed as "necessary" and "lawful" responses to some perceived threat, and thus retain a certain legitimacy with some parts of the population. Harassment, abuse, massacre, and terror are state-sanctioned methods of dealing with prejudiced minorities or political enemies, and society's basic moral compass is thus rewritten to cast all challengers of the regime as "deserving" of what they obtain. An apology helps reinterpret state actions as wrongs that breach social norms, and propel a society to confront these abuses and reflect more deeply upon what it means to be a member of the polity. It redefines human rights abuse in a more enlightened and just manner, clearing victims of past abuses any guilt and humiliation heaped upon them by former perpetrators. It is beyond dispute that a state apology cannot speedily or substantively secure national consensus on basic values, or reconciliation, yet it can solidify public-spiritedness<sup>65</sup> and spark free and fair public debate about what those values ought to be or ought not to have been. The fact that state apologies inculcate a new sense of justice to young generations is also instrumental in the promotion of past victims' dignity.

It is popular belief that a society will not be able to successfully pass into the future until it courageously confronts its erroneous moral residues. The need to seek political truth is gaining ground, perhaps best exemplified by the establishment of truth commissions in societies attempting to break away from dictatorial pasts. Arguably, the most evident effort

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Coleman, K.P., Prager, C.A.L. & Govier, T., 2003. Dilemmas of Reconciliation: Cases and Concepts. *International Journal*, 59(1), p.224.

<sup>65</sup> Anon, 2008. Who's sorry now? *The Economist*. Available at: <http://www.economist.com/node/12339527> [Accessed September 5, 2017]

has been the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa, which has striven to deal with the nature of apartheid rule against the democratizing multiracial country. Rhoda Howard Hassman contends that the truth commission phenomenon has been a "non-Western affair,, and that apology is nothing less than the West's own version of the truth commission<sup>66</sup>. State apologies and the TRC are essentially analogous. The work of the TRC was premised on the postulation that there exists a potentially healing power in being able to narrate one's personal and collective story, in having the story recognized by a public body, and in being publicly acknowledged as unsuspecting victims. In the same vein, a state apology seeks to recognize and revive the victims' dignity by making their injustices heard by the whole society, especially by the new generations, whose lives are probably temporally and spatially apart from past justices. Unlike the functioning of truth commission, stories of victimhood are recounted not only by the victims themselves but by successors to violators, who make public their acknowledgement and atonement in a ceremonious manner.

Third, in a less direct fashion, an official apology is also capable of fostering a viable and critical reading of history, driven by justice and morality, Nietzsche alludes to critical history as "the systematic interrogation of the basic assumptions and presuppositions used in our historical understandings". As Nietzsche argues, a critical history requires "the strength to break up and dissolve the past"<sup>67</sup>. Critical interrogation remains skeptical of what he calls "monumental" histories, which ground the present in some distorted "great moments" appeal to the past. Similarly, Nobles contends that apologies reshape the meaning of the past and "dislodge monumental histories"<sup>68</sup> by resituating wrongly victimized beings at the center of historical interpretation. While an apology may not attain such a critical reorientation on its own, it "implicitly redraws the topography of historical truth"<sup>69</sup>, and thus redirects our attention to the centrality of engaging in a critical history. In this regard, saying sorry for past misdeeds contributes to a much broader debate about national identity and history, to which honorable victims belong.

It should be noted that the top-down self-reflexivity cannot undo the past and wipe the slate clean, yet the substantive shift from shunning the past, stillness and silence to confession and contrition for moral malaise has produced a new scale: Moral issues came to dominate public attention and political issues and displayed the willingness of nations to embrace their own guilt and endorse the restoration of dignity to victims.

Apology is rooted in the very structure of modernity, with its freedoms and individualism but also its networks of relations, which oblige guilt for choices of action or inaction.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Howard-Hassmann, R., 2012. Official Apologies. *Transitional justice review*, pp.1–25

<sup>67</sup> Breazeale, D. & Hollingdale, R.J., 1997. *Nietzsche: untimely meditations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.75

<sup>68</sup> Nobles, M., 2008. *The Politics of official apologies*, New York: Cambridge University Press, p.19.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid

<sup>70</sup> Fette, J., 2008. Apology and the Past in Contemporary France. *French Politics, Culture & Society*, 26 (2).



According to French political scientist Philippe Moreau De-farges, the time of repentance represents another perception of history<sup>71</sup>: one that will no longer be written by the winners, the powerful, and state authorities, but by previously ignored, dominated, and excluded peoples. As Elazar Barkan<sup>72</sup> claimed, the writing of history has changed focus from the history of perpetrators to the history of victims. With the supplantation of the victorious elite stories with the victimized grass-roots histories, the public is confronted by history as the territory of justice, whereby the dignity of scores of human beings is deprived of and damaged. In the democratization of historical memory, the public with the passage of time encounters its own identity that includes much-mourned tragedies and not only the triumphs. Although the political system may seem reluctant to take radical steps to heal contemporary wrongdoings, it seems more willing to entertain the possibility of amending historical injustices.

Additionally, some commentators have gone as far as to argue that the use of apology in response to a former violation of a moral or legal norm has itself become “a universal norm”. This growing currency also gave rise to the inclusion of apology in international law as a formal remedy for contravention of international law, albeit subordinate or auxiliary to other remedies such as monetary compensation. In concrete terms, the function of apology as a remedy for wrongful conduct is authoritatively stipulated in the UN International Commission’s Draft Articles (hereafter the Articles) on Responsibility of States for International Wrongful Acts, which the Commission finally adopted and referred to the General Assembly in 2001<sup>73</sup>.

#### 4. Conclusion

Offered by top leaders and directed to victimized communities of past human rights abuses, state apologies epitomize collective efforts to create sanative, rehabilitative and reconciliatory impact and part of a much larger attempt at seeking, establishing, and understanding history and justice. It remains unknown whether or not those injured regard apologies as a valid means of settling disputes. The trend to more frequent use of apologies has occurred without regard to whether or not they satisfy a social need for justice. Apologies cannot reverse the past wrongdoing but still can redress the past so that it resonates differently at present for those who feel aggrieved by it or accountable for it. First, apologies promote victims’ sense of moral value, and represent a first step at integrating victims as decent citizens. Second, apologies can perform an educative role as they generate public reflection about social norms by focusing discussion on their pain and suffering and requiring a new consideration of desired relations between the state and society and among citizens.

It should be noted that state apologies serve not only to address the past but also to advocate a harmonious future, in that they assure victims—and the rest of society—that victims were not at fault for what happened and emphasize common values shared by everyone in society. Third, public apologies occupy a crucial role in a renewed reading and critiquing of history that gives prominence to respect for victims of injustice and reexamination of truth.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Barkan, E., 2014. *Guilt of nations - restitution and negotiating historical injustice*, New York: Norton.

<sup>73</sup> Gibney, p.17

## ARCHIVING PARTITION MEMORIES: REWORKING INTEGRATIVE CULTURAL ORIENTATIONS

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### SUMMARY

1. Introduction
  2. Research methodology
  3. Literature review
  4. Interacting with survivors of 1947 partition
  5. Workshop module on reinforcing the tradition of composite culture in India narrating Ramayana as a reflection of syncretic culture in India
- Bibliography

### 1. Introduction

Culture according to Raymond Williams is a way of life. When we talk about culture it includes art and architecture, language, poetry, music, paintings, dance, food habits, customs, traditions and geographical conditions. After the encounter with Islam from the eleventh century onwards, we can see from the view of philosophical thought, architectural styles, musical composition to modes of thinking, styles of living, moral outlook, etc. everything has shown the evidence of the composite culture.

The Partition of Indian Subcontinent in 1947, into two independent nations; India and Pakistan was the sudden rupture of interweaved symbiotic cultural fabric of the Indian Subcontinent. Across the Indian subcontinent, communities that had coexisted for almost a millennium attacked each other in a terrifying outbreak of sectarian violence, with Hindus and Sikhs on one side and Muslims on the other - at least half-a-million people died and nearly ten million or more became migrants.

This collective tendency of religious segregation has arguably been the root cause for several violent incidents throughout post-Independence history of the Subcontinent. The 1947 mayhem of communal violence left deep scars and as it is evidenced there has been a long shadow of Partition stirring into the present all through the decades. What is required is a rebuilding of the trust that existed before partition. Sometimes,

there are vested interests of the politicians who tend to steer the collective consciousness of the society towards conflict zones without people's conscious comprehension of the phenomenon. The need is to make people conscious of the values of inter-relatedness, especially in a society which has a rich cultural diversity. A mere exposure to official history, statistics and politics cannot sensitize the young adequately to the need to sustain humanity in themselves. In-depth interviews with Partition victims could help bridge the gap between the younger generation and the older generation and their history, which actually got caught in the macabre 1947 riots of nearly 70 years ago. The religious and cultural differences of the communities have to be understood and respected for inter-communal trust to develop. For this a variety of ways and strategies of learning must be evolved.

This research paper investigates the existing elements of the composite culture. In this paper the focus has been given on:

- On the understanding of the Partition of Indian Subcontinent in 1947, into two independent nations India and Pakistan and the rupture of the symbiotic culture that had existed in the Indian Subcontinent for more than a millennium.
- To bring to notice the light memories of 'living together despite differences' i.e. to show case through literature, moments of mutual compassion and respect for what we understand as the "other". This is done through the study of composite culture as recorded in the Pre-Partition eras in literary and historical texts.
- To gather and understand the immense variety of the experiences of Partition that is recorded through interviews of the people of the older generation.
- To make modules for workshops to sensitize other students and offer cultural orientations vis a vis inter-community relations in the Indian Subcontinent.

## 2. Research methodology

- Before embarking on the actual collection of personal narratives, there was a need to understand the history of partition by gathering knowledge about the events leading to and surrounding partition.
- A comprehensive questionnaire was formulated for the interviews to be conducted with the Partition survivors. These interviews were to be video graphed and each one required the presence of at least two persons. Four interviews were conducted with men and women who were over 85 years of age.
- Modules were now planned for workshops on "Syncretic Culture in India" to be used in colleges and schools for other students to be exposed to what had been the learning outcomes of this research project. These modules are created to forefront elements of Sufi music, folk culture, use of language and literature as features of "composite culture".

## 3. Literature review

This research paper has demanded a wide review of literature in trying to understand the 1947, Partition of Indian Subcontinent and the rupture that it caused to the syncretic association among the different communities of India. The analysis of official reports, essays, books, news articles and policy papers gave a broader idea of the problem and also the trajectory for this research paper.

## History

Mainstream historiographical accounts of partition are generally concerned with the high politics of the event, and specifically, with discovering the causative agents of Partition.<sup>74</sup> So, for instance, Bipan Chandra and co-authors provide a comprehensive factual account that starts with the post-War weakening of Empire and concludes with Partition.<sup>75</sup> In their narrative, the Muslim League's insistence on nationhood, fueled by divisive politics of the colonial powers, caused partition. The cause-driven nationalist account of partition informed school textbooks in India and Pakistan, as Krishna Kumar's insightful study shows. Marxist historian Sumit Sarkar adopts a slightly different position, blaming partition on the bourgeois Indian National Congress.<sup>76</sup> Although his primary aim is to provide 'Jinnah's angle of vision'<sup>77</sup> on the main events of the freedom struggle, we may conditionally place Ayesha Jalal here. Jalal's work shows the conceptual difference in the demands made by the League and Congress: whereas Jinnah demanded Pakistan *in principle*, in terms of a separate state in the North-west and east or future dominion-hood, certain Congress leaders, like Sardar Vallabhai Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru, advocated the immediate partition of Bengal and Punjab as a way of gaining immediate power at the Centre, ridding themselves of Jinnah and preserving the Constituent Assembly.<sup>78</sup> Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's appraisal that Patel was 'the real flag bearer' of partition, although it was Jinnah who had raised the demand, supports Jalal's claim. Partition, in his account, was a 'betrayal', in which all were culpable: the Congress High command's impatience with Jinnah, Jinnah's refusal to yield to the Congress's Pleas, and the ineffective, unimaginative response of the viceroys – Linlithgow and Wavell – to the communal problem.<sup>79</sup> Another spectator, Penderel Moon, a British civil servant, narrates the factual matrix of partition in his *Divide and Quit* in so far as it pertained to the state of Bhawalpur, adjacent to Punjab.<sup>80</sup> In the absence of official records of the number of casualties, historians have retrospectively used spectator's testimonies, especially Moon's, to arrive at estimates. Mushirul Hasan has written extensively on partition. He is concerned with how the idea of Pakistan, and the consequent popularity of the League, came to be favored by the Muslim masses. He consistently resists the 'primordial' nationalist narrative that treats Muslims as a homogeneous category, with no shared cultural associations or points of contact with Hindus.<sup>81</sup> However, his attitude towards partition's violence ('pain and sorrow'), which he separates from the politico-civic fault-lines, is problematic. His dismissal of partition-as-violence – in his estimation, a memory to be preserved in popular imagination but with little purpose for history – ignores

<sup>74</sup> Bipan Chandra et al., *India's struggle for independence* (1989); D.N. Panigrahi, *India's partition: the dotry of imperialism in retreat* (2004)

<sup>75</sup> Krishna Kumar, *Prejudice and pride: school histories of the freedom struggle* (2002)

<sup>76</sup> Sumit Sarkar, *A critique of colonial India* (1985).

<sup>77</sup> Ayesha Jalal, *The sole spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim Lague and the demand for Pakistan* 5 (Rep. 1994)

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> Abul Kalam Azad, *India wins freedom* 201 (1988).

<sup>80</sup> Penderel Moon, *Divide and quit* (1961).

<sup>81</sup> Mushiruk Hasan, *Inventing boundaries: gender, politica and the partition of India* 13 (2000).

that the ‘pain and sorrow’ of partition.

For the purpose of this research paper, the most important work to engage with partition-as-violence is Gyanendra Pandey’s: *Remembering Partition: Violence, Nationalism and History in India*. As a subaltern historian, his emphasis is also on the ways in which history justifies and elides traumatic events that it wishes to disregard.<sup>82</sup> History ‘forgets’ events in three ways: first, describing them as a historical and inexplicable, and therefore, as incomparable ‘limit cases’, second, localizing the event so that it does not fit within the larger historical narrative, and third, by overly focusing, or indeed altering, the causes of the event.<sup>83</sup> Pandey traces all these methodological obviations in elite historiography on partition and that it becomes the responsibility of the other to account for the history of partition and its Violence.

### Literature

Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin’s *Borders and Boundaries: Women in India’s Partition* is the first feminist work on partition. They seek to recover the agency of the woman as the subaltern agent of history, and reveal the significance of violence by men enacted on women’s body during the partition. Crucially, through interviews with survivors and scrutiny of legal instruments, they examine State violence against abducted women and children through ‘recovery’ programs conducted after 1947.<sup>84</sup> Urvashi Butalia captures the collective memory of women, including some from her own family in “The Other Side of Silence” through oral testimonies. Butalia’s account is more vivid and personal, and highlights the fracture-lines of caste in partition-as-violence, apart from gender.<sup>85</sup> Subsequently, Kavita Daiya explores the ways in which nationalism constructs gendered ethnic identities, by discussing the impact of partition on the male and female body and conceptions of masculinity and femininity in literature and cinema.<sup>86</sup>

### 4. Interacting with survivors of 1947 partition

Ms. Krishna Gupta, Age - 87 years, Multan, Pakistan: She belongs to an army background and had information about the military operations as her brothers served in the military. She had the privilege of transporting her goods comfortably. Her family adjusted themselves to the Partition with ease. She has been participating in cross border cultural activities, and visited her college in Lahore.

Mr. Jaswant Singh, Age - 85 years, Gujranwala, Pakistan: His family came to know of partition very soon (as early as in 1942) and migrated to Rajasthan, India. They were not able to carry anything with them and he along with his father decided to go back and get their things. They were among the 400 people who were rescued by the army to move to the other side. His journey to rebuild his life was not easy, he had to quit education at an early age and take up tough jobs for sustenance.

<sup>82</sup> Gyanendra Pandey, *Remembering partition: violence, nationalism and history of India*.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid, pp. 45-66.

<sup>84</sup> Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin, *Borders and boundaries: women in India’s partition* (Rep.2011)

<sup>85</sup> Urvashi Butalia, *The other side of silence* (1998)

<sup>86</sup> Kavita Dayia, *Violent belongings: partition, gender and national culture in postcolonial India* (2008)

### 5. Workshop module on reinforcing the tradition of composite culture in India narrating Ramayana as a reflection of syncretic culture in India

The Hindu-Muslim intermingling in Indian Subcontinent has its roots deep in India’s long and idiosyncratic history. Despite the communal strife between the two communities over long periods, ties of friendship and tolerance are still evident although not pronounced. A significant part of the paper was to design modules for conducting workshops to sensitize people and offer cultural orientations vis a vis inter-community relations in the Indian Subcontinent. These modules are created to forefront elements of Sufi music, folk culture, use of language and literature as features of “composite culture”.

**Time required:** 3hrs

**Required no. of resource people:** 2

**No. of participants:** 25-30

**Material Requirements:** Audio -Visual equipment

#### Concept:

This module aims to celebrate the illustrious epic ‘Ramayana’ in a dynamic way and showcase it as a syncretic tradition as practiced in some part of India. India celebrates Ramayana: as a popular form of entertainment in different ways. Through the uncommon versions of the story of Ramayana the module tries to explore and re-enforce the forces of composite culture.

#### Introduction:

In a time when unveiled bloodlust is often seen seething on those strained lines that separate religions in many parts of the world, what more can one ask for in the name of its happy coexistence other than an interpretation of one’s text by the other. This is about the Muslim retelling of the pronounced Hindu epic Ramayana.

Interestingly many Ramayana storytellers come from Muslim communities. The Manganiyars of Rajasthan, for instance, who converted to Islam about 400 years ago, draw on Tulsidas’s poetry to sing of Ram’s life. In the Malaysian tradition of Wayang Kulit (shadow play), the puppeteers are Muslims, but the stories they perform are influenced by the Ramayana. The Mappila Ramayanam, coming from the folk song tradition of the Malabar Muslims or Mappilas, is another example of how the epic has crossed cultural boundaries.

The tone of the Mapilla Version of the epic is comical, with scenes such as the one where Ravana is shown struggling to shave because he has 10 heads, or the one where Surpanakha uses charcoal and honey to blacken her hair before she sets out to seduce Ram. The ballad is flavored by the Muslim milieu of its origin — besides the reference to the Shariat, Ravan is called Sultan and Surpanakha’s friend is called Fatima.



### Objectives:

The main objectives of the module include:

1. To try and contribute towards reworking of cultural orientations vis-a-vis inter-community relations in the Indian Sub-continent.
2. To understand the value of respecting “differences” of the “other” community by making students experience different re-telling of the Ramayana which demonstrate the owning of the epic by Muslims.
3. Attempt to re-enforce the forces of composite culture focused on nurturing communal harmony in the society.

### Methodology:

Step 1.

Divide the group of participants into 4 – 5 teams with maximum 5 people in each team.

Step 2.

The participants are made to watch and listen to the audio-visual clip of the narration of Mapilla Ramayana.

Step 3.

Participants are then told to discuss in groups, the significant elements of the narration, the difference they notice in the story as told by the Muslim narrator. Also there could be a discussion on how there is an owning of a text of people of one religion by the people of another religion.

Step 4.

Each group would be then required to make a short presentation on the basis of their discussion in groups, about what they experienced.

Step 5.

After the presentations, the expert resource person is invited to sum up the perspectives of different groups and also give a talk on the topic.

### Outcomes:

- Sensitization of students about the syncretic culture that existed in the past among the people of Indian Subcontinent.
- Greater understanding of Hindu – Muslim relations and the respect and compassion for each other’s community.
- Encourage sharing of cultural material

### Conclusion

As the discussion nears its close, we come to understand clearly, little space is devoted in history to the sync among people of different religions living peacefully before the partition of Indian Subcontinent into two parts. And the part that gets highlighted is the bitter communal politics that reigned in India in the last decade of colonial rule.

By bringing to light memories that are evidence of mutual compassion and respect and narratives illustrating the syncretic culture very unique to the Indian Subcontinent, it is hoped that religious fanaticism may fade away; in time, and a rebuilding of the trust that thrived before partition can happen.

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## MARY ROWLANDSON DIALOGUE AND CONTRADICTIONS IN AN EPISODE OF U.S. HISTORY

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The aim of this presentation is to provide a case-study which will enable a reflection concerning the presence of dialogic condition throughout the social and literary history of the United States.

The case taken into consideration, which is widely known in the USA though it has remained almost uninvestigated in the rest of the world – this being possibly due to some of its most american connotations, such as the iconic imaginary of the West and the frontier – concerns Mary Rowlandson, a colonist born in England who migrated to America in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and was taken hostage by three native American tribes in 1676, after the break-out of the so-called “King Philip’s War”, also called “Metacom’s War” by the name of the chief leader of the Indian confederation.

In the first place, the subject is dealt with from an historical point of view, through a brief but thorough explanation of the social and literary contest in which Mary Rowlandson lived, chiefly focusing on her Puritan mindset and education, and the role which was assigned to women in the community.

Then a close reading will be given of some short passages taken from the “Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson”, which Rowlandson published after her release, establishing the tropes of the first entirely American literary genre, the “Captivity Narrative”.

Rowlandson’s Narrative is of a special interest on this occasion, because it can be interpreted as a document of the dialogic process she had to undergo in order to survive in a hostile environment. In particular, it will be examined how in the writing process, the author tries to reach a compromise between the essential values of the Puritan mindset and certain aspects of the personality she develops as a result of her experience that apparently seem to challenge it, if outrightly stated.

Bearing this in mind, it remains understood that this presentation will also deal with those moments of Rowlandson’s Narrative where instances of “failed dialogue” may be found, out of which will ensue a discussion concerning the theoretical concept of dialogue.

Eventually, the elements drawn throughout the discussion will be employed to provide a basis for some considerations concerning the presence of Native-American heritage in whatever could be defined as “the American identity”.

## UKRAINE VS RUSSIAN FEDERATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE AS A FORM OF LEGAL DIALOGUE

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Violence erupted across the country after Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich abandoned a monumental economic and political association agreement with the European Union (EU) in November 2013.

The association agreement functioned as a beneficial trade pact that also would politically align Ukraine with the EU. It was years in the making and part of a monumental development policy by the EU to strengthen its ties with the former Soviet states. Yanukovich’s cabinet suspended preparations to sign the agreement eight days before a signature was expected. The Parliament followed Yanukovich’s lead when it systematically rejected six additional pieces of legislation that were required to meet the terms of the EU agreement.

Rejection of the EU agreement led immediately to protests in Kiev and other cities throughout Ukraine. The protests continued into December with violence breaking out and then into January, when the protests turned into vicious riots. In the early months of 2014, dozens of anti-government protesters were killed by state police as the protesters stormed government buildings in Kiev and elsewhere in Ukraine.

Before the end of February, the EU imposed sanctions against Yanukovich’s government for failure to control the growing violence, constitutional measures dramatically reduced the president’s powers, Yanukovich fled the capital to Rostov (Russia) prior to an impeachment vote, and the interim Parliament issued a warrant against Yanukovich for the mass murder of the protesters.

Immediately after Yanukovich’s overthrow, pro-Russian troops took control of Crimea and initiated an incremental process of accession of Crimea to Russia. On 01.03.2014, the Russian Council authorized the use of armed forces on the territory of Ukraine. In the following weeks Russian troops in Crimea were reinforced and also gathered at the Ukrainian border. After Crimea’s declaration of independence Russian troops openly took action in Crimea and, for example, forced Ukrainian military units to surrender and leave the peninsula. If and to which extent, however, Russian troops were already present before the referendum, remains contested. Russian authorities keep proclaiming that the soldiers who took control of Crimea after Yanukovich’s removal from office were actually independent Crimean “self-defense units”. Numer-

ous press reports, however, suggest that these soldiers were not only local militias, but in fact also Russian soldiers. While they did not wear official emblems, they have been spotted using professional Russian military equipment and military vehicles registered for the Russian Black Sea Fleet in Crimea.<sup>87</sup> Organizing and holding the referendum on Crimea's accession to Russia was illegal under the Ukrainian constitution. Article 2 of the constitution establishes that "Ukraine shall be a unitary state" and that the "territory of Ukraine within its present border is indivisible and inviolable". This is confirmed in regard to Crimea by Chapter X of the constitution, which provides for the autonomous status of Crimea. Article 134 sets forth that Crimea is an "inseparable constituent part of Ukraine". The autonomous status provides Crimea with a certain set of authorities and allows, inter alia, to hold referendums. These rights are, however, limited to local matters. The constitution makes clear that alterations to the territory of Ukraine require an all-Ukrainian referendum.

Based on the limited factual evaluation of the situation during the referendum that is possible, especially the freedom of the referendum did not seem to be guaranteed, since pro-Russian soldiers had taken control of Crimea and controlled the public infrastructure.<sup>88</sup>

Resolution 68/262 adopted by the General Assembly on 27 March 2014 noting that the referendum held in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol on 16 March 2014 was not authorized by Ukraine:

1. affirms its commitment to the sovereignty, political independence, unity and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders;

5. underscores that the referendum held in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol on 16 March 2014, having no validity, cannot form the basis for any alteration of the status of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea or of the city of Sevastopol;

6. calls upon all States, international organizations and specialized agencies not to recognize any alteration of the status of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol on the basis of the above-mentioned referendum and to refrain from any action or dealing that might be interpreted as recognizing any such altered status.<sup>89</sup>

Also from the beginning in March 2014, as a result of the change of Government in Kiev, and the occupation of Crimea with the Russian Federation, rallies were held, mainly in the eastern regions of Donetsk, Kharkiv and Luhansk, and in the south, notably in Odesa. The main demand of these rallies was a referendum on the federalization of Ukraine or the union of certain regions with the Russian Federation, as well as recognition of Russian as a second state language. Supporters and opponents of that protest movement regularly clashed, with the first three deaths resulting on 13 and 14 March 2014. Armed groups seized public buildings, police and security facilities across the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, setting up

barricades and checkpoints in order to maintain control of the areas seized. On 13 April 2014, the Government announced the beginning of an "anti-terrorist operation".

The Government of Ukraine has accused the Russian Federation of deploying its troops in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, of attacking Ukrainian armed forces both from across the border and from within Ukraine, and of providing weapons and military training to the armed groups. OSCE monitors have observed the flow of persons in military-style clothing between Donetsk and the Russian Federation. Many of the Special Rapporteur's government interlocutors alleged that the intervention of the Russian Federation was to blame for the loss of life and other human rights violations caused by the conflict. While repeatedly denying any involvement of regular Russian troops in Ukraine, the President of the Russian Federation did admit unspecified military participation of the Russian Federation in the conflict, indicating that "We never said there were not people there who carried out certain tasks, including in the military sphere", and congratulating the separatist armed groups for their "major success".<sup>90</sup> He also said "I do not care about this (the prospect of a war with Ukraine), because we are not going to and will not fight against the Ukrainian people. Let someone from the number of servicemen try to shoot at their people, behind whom we will stand, behind, not in front, but behind".

17 January 2017 Ukraine submitted the lawsuit against Russia at the ICJ alleging the violations of the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism (Terrorism Financing Convention) and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD). The move did not come as a surprise, since Ukraine earlier announced its plans to take Russia to the ICJ over the annexation of Crimea and the conflict in eastern Ukraine. Although the major issue at stake is the unlawful use of force by Russia by annexing Crimea and conducting the war by proxy in eastern Ukraine, Ukraine invokes the breach of the two UN conventions that, although are relevant to the issues at stake, however, do not directly address the core of the dispute with Russia. The issues pertaining to terrorism financing and racial discrimination are largely peripheral to the major issue at stake. It is hard not to draw an obvious parallel between Ukraine's and Georgia's action before the ICJ. Following Russia-Georgia military standoff in 2008 in Georgia's breakaway republics of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, which Russia viewed as a peacekeeping operation to protect human rights of its nationals, Georgia launched the lawsuit against Russia before the ICJ on the basis of the violation of CERD. Similar to Ukraine v Russia, the issues with respect to violation of CERD were not central to the dispute. Undoubtedly, Ukraine was inspired by the Georgian example and, while preparing its submission to the ICJ, attempted to avoid pitfalls that were encountered by Georgia and led to the dismissal of the case on jurisdictional grounds.

<sup>87</sup> Julia Koch, *The Efficacy and Impact of Interim Measures: Ukraine's Inter-State Application Against Russia*, 39 B.C. Int'l & Comp. L. Rev. 163 (2016), <http://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/iclr/vol39/iss1/7>

<sup>88</sup> Christian Marxsen "The Crimea Crisis – An International Law Perspective", *Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht* (Heidelberg Journal of International Law) 74/2 (2014), 367-391

<sup>89</sup> Resolution 68/262 of the General Assembly of the UN on 27 March 2014

<sup>90</sup> Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions on his mission to Ukraine, Human Rights Council of the UN, 33 session, paras 10-11

### ***Jurisdictional Issues***

The exercise of the ICJ jurisdiction in contentious proceedings is premised on state consent. As Russia does not recognize the compulsory jurisdiction of the ICJ, the only avenue for bringing the action before the ICJ is to rely upon a treaty that provides for the possibility of judicial settlement in the ICJ and has been ratified by both parties. Given that both Ukraine and Russia are parties to the Terrorism Financing Convention and CERD, Ukraine invoked those two instruments as the basis for its action before the ICJ. Although the choice of the conventions as a jurisdictional basis is rather peculiar, it is explained by the fact that none of the treaties ratified by Russia and Ukraine provide for a jurisdictional basis to address the real issue at stake i.e. the unlawful use of force. Therefore, Ukraine followed in the footsteps of Georgia and alleged the breach of CERD, claiming Russia's denial of rights – accorded by CERD Convention – to non-Russian ethnic groups, such as the Crimean Tatar and ethnic Ukrainian communities in Crimea. The jurisdictional basis for Ukraine's action before the ICJ could be found in Article 22 of CERD:

*Any dispute between two or more States Parties with respect to the interpretation or application of this Convention, which is not settled by negotiation or by the procedures expressly provided for in this Convention, shall at the request of any of the parties to the dispute, be referred to the International Court of Justice for decision, unless the disputants agree to another mode of settlement.*

When the same article was invoked by Georgia as a jurisdictional basis for its claims, Russia argued that Georgia did not honour the procedural requirements in CERD. It contended that Georgia failed to adduce evidence demonstrating that it attempted to negotiate or employ any other mechanisms provided for in CERD to resolve the dispute. The Court upheld Russia's preliminary objection and dismissed the case on procedural grounds, concluding that Georgia neither attempted to negotiate CERD-related matters with the Russian Federation nor invoked any other procedures expressly provided for in CERD to settle the dispute (ICJ Georgia v Russia, paras 182-183).

Ukrainian officials have earlier stated that they were building up the case against Russia by attempting to negotiate in good faith with Russia over the alleged violations of both conventions, which is the prerequisite for bringing the case before the ICJ. Judging by Russia's response to Ukraine's lawsuit in the commentary posted by the Russian MFA, Russia clearly has a different perception of Ukraine's negotiation attempts. It maintains that despite Russia's “genuine” attempts to clarify the nature of Ukraine's claims with respect to the alleged violations of the UN Terrorism Financing Convention, it encountered “persistent unwillingness of Ukrainian authorities to engage in the substantive dialogue”, which “ultimately ended with Ukraine's unilateral withdrawal from consultations”. Russia also stated that Ukraine dismissed the prospect of settling the dispute through an independent arbitration tribunal and claimed that “Ukraine does not seek to settle the dispute, but rather attempts to find any excuse to bring the case before the ICJ”. The settlement of dispute provided for in the Terrorism Financing Convention differs from the settlement mechanism provided for in CERD. Article 24 of the Terrorism Financing Convention reads as follows: “any dispute between

two or more States Parties concerning the interpretation or application of this Convention which cannot be settled through negotiation within a reasonable time shall, at the request of one of them, be submitted to arbitration”. The same article imposes the six-month period from the date of the request for arbitration, during which the arbitration mechanism for the dispute should be in place, before the case could be brought up before the ICJ.

As to Ukraine's claims on the violation of CERD, Russia maintained that it engaged in the dialogue with Ukraine in good faith, however, Ukraine “showed the lack of interest in the substantive discussion of the issues at dispute”. Russia submits that it suggested to Ukraine to compare Russian and Ukrainian legislation on racial discrimination “in order to find a common understanding of the best way to protect the people's rights and substantively deal with each specific situation”. It is not entirely clear what exactly Russia was trying to get out of the suggested “comparative exercise”, as the parties had to attempt to negotiate their way out of the impasse, rather than exchange best practices on the implementation of the Convention. Russia also claimed that it encouraged Ukraine to review its practices with respect to the implementation of the Convention in Crimea “prior to its reunification with Russia”. It is clear that Russia advanced a flipside argument and, in doing so, attempted to divert the attention from the current issues at stake. It also maintains that Ukraine ignored its questions regarding the rights of the Russian and Russian speaking population in Ukraine, which are not relevant to the current dispute.

Although negotiations were attempted, the parties do not seem to have communicated about the same issues which form basis for Ukraine's action before the ICJ. The ICJ judges will have to evaluate whether negotiations within the meaning of both conventions indeed have taken place. A helpful guidance could be found in the case of Georgia v Russia, in which the ICJ construed what constitutes negotiations and to what extent they have to be pursued before it can be concluded that the requisite preconditions for bringing the case before the ICJ have been met.

Proving that both parties made a genuine attempt to engage in discussions, with a view of resolving the impasse, may prove to be a stumbling block in the proceedings. Of course, an attempt to negotiate does not have to lead to an actual agreement (ICJ Georgia v Russia, para. 158). However, the absence of evidence demonstrating a “genuine attempt to negotiate” would translate into the failure to meet the required preconditions. In the situations “where negotiations are attempted or have commenced”, the preconditions would be considered to be met “when there has been a failure of negotiations, or when negotiations have become futile or deadlocked” (ICJ Georgia v Russia, para. 159). Russia's litigation strategy would most probably be to undermine Ukraine's attempts to negotiate as being genuine. Ukraine would most likely maintain that the negotiations have become futile or deadlocked. The ICJ judges will have a difficult task to ascertain whether the procedural preconditions have been met given a highly politicised context, which underlines the ongoing dispute.

### ***Substantive Law Issues***

With respect to the violations of the Terrorism Financing Convention, Ukraine alleged that since 2014 Russia has esca-

lated its interference in Ukrainian domestic affairs by “intervening militarily in Ukraine, financing acts of terrorism, and violating the human rights of millions of Ukraine’s citizens”. Ukraine submitted that by instigating and sustaining an armed insurrection in eastern Ukraine, Russia violated fundamental principles of international law enshrined in the Convention. In light of the on-going armed conflict in eastern Ukraine, which has been recognised by the ICRC, various international NGOs and more recently by the ICC Prosecutor as being governed by the rules of international humanitarian law, one cannot help but wonder whether the choice of the convention is the right one. Although the government of Ukraine treats rebels who are fighting in eastern Ukraine as “terrorists”, the international community has described the situation in Ukraine as “hybrid warfare” where an international armed conflict runs in parallel to a non-international armed conflict. As the response to Ukraine’s claims with respect to the violation of the Convention, Russia maintains that Ukraine did not provide any information that was supportive of its allegations on the breach of the Convention. It also hinted that the situation in eastern Ukraine is governed by the rules of international humanitarian law, questioning Ukraine’s treatment of the DPR and the LPR representatives as “terrorists” in light of their earlier participation in the Minsk process with the view to resolve the dispute. The same objection on substantive law will be inevitably advanced by Russia in the ICJ. Ukraine’s rationale behind invoking the Convention as a jurisdictional basis is well understood, however, the prospect of the ICJ going into the substance of those claims is very slim, since a more accurate description of the situation in eastern Ukraine would be the violation of the rules and customs of war. Ukraine has better chances to succeed with its claims under CERD. With respect to the violations of CERD, Ukraine argued that after Russia seized Crimea by military force and attempted to legitimize its act of aggression through the illegal referendum, it created a climate of violence and intimidation against non-Russian speakers in Crimea that violates their rights under CERD. In its response, Russia evades to address the issues of the impact of the annexation of Crimea on the rights of non-Russian ethnic groups in Crimea by stating that it “pays great attention compliance with its obligations under CERD”. If the Court were to proceed with the examination of Ukraine’s claims under CERD, it would not be able to rule narrowly on the issues pertinent to the violations of CERD, without addressing the context in which the alleged breaches have taken place.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Marchuk Iryna (2017) Ukraine Takes Russia to the International Court of Justice: Will It Work? EJIL:Talk! [2017] Available from: <https://www.ejiltalk.org/ukraine-takes-russia-to-the-international-court-of-justice-will-it-work/> [Accessed:26th January 2017]



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