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Original Article

HISTORICAL MEMORY IN THE KALININGRAD REGION: THE COMMON AND PARTICULAR ACROSS GENERATIONS

The paper examines the age-related aspects of the perception of the Kaliningrad region's history by its residents. The study is based on the transcripts of eight focus groups, which included 48 people. The respondents represented four age groups: 18–25 years, 26–39 years, 40–54 years, 55 years or more. The study revealed both common and particular aspects of the historical past perception by different generations of people living in the Kaliningrad region. All age groups are uniform in their interest in particular historical events and personalities of Russian history. However, there are differences in their perception of the significance of the Victory Day, the role of Stalin's personality, and their attitude to the USSR. The respondents mostly criticize the Soviet Period of the Kaliningrad region's history for the lack of attention to the pre-war German cultural heritage. However, they highly appreciate the first settlers' contribution to the development of the region and approve of the renaming of Konigsberg to Kaliningrad. Age differences manifested in the assessment of the Post-Soviet period of history: older age groups expressed a more critical point of view while younger residents considered the Post-Soviet period in conjunction with modernity. The historical and cultural heritage of the German period is of high value to the residents of the region. At the same time, opinions differ regarding restoring the Royal Castle and styling the Soviet and modern buildings after pre-war German architecture. The authors conclude that, in general, the perception of the historical past is associated with the socio-political situation in which the respondents were brought up.

Keywords: *Kaliningrad region, historical memory, history of Russia, regional history, generations*
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Original Article

© ***Regina Grigorieva, Marina Martynova***

PARTICIPATION OF BELARUSIANS IN THE FORMATION OF KALININGRAD SOCIETY

The paper shows the place of Belarusians in the formation of the Kaliningrad society and the Kaliningrad socio-territorial community, based on close social ties, regional culture, and possessing a number of features of regional identity. The authors give a demographic portrait of the Kaliningrad Belarusians in dynamics, from the time of the formation of the Kaliningrad region to the present day. The conclusion is made that there is a gradual change of self-consciousness among young people. Young men and women with Belarusian roots are involved in the formation of the Kaliningrad society based on the Russian language and elements of local culture. At the same time, two multidirectional processes are observed in the Kaliningrad region. Along with integration of different groups of population and the process of formation of common cultural elements and regional identity which has been going on for decades, there are processes of unification of residents along ethnic lines, and their interest in traditional culture, history of their families and their ancestral homelands is growing. Due to the general activation of ethnic life in the country, in the Kaliningrad region the mobilization of the ethnic component is noticeable, also among the Belarusians. The study is based on the results of surveys of high school students, statistical data and other sources.

Keywords: *Kaliningrad region, Belarusians, demographic portrait, identity, regional history*
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Original Article

© *Olga Zykina*

NATIONAL HEROES OF RUSSIA AS PERCEIVED BY STUDENTS OF SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES IN MOSCOW, ST. PETERSBURG AND KIROV REGION

Appealing to historical memory in order to identify and analyze the personalities significant for nation-building allows, among other things, to judge the key reference points that determine the direction of society's development. The empirical data was based on the results of a mass survey conducted among students in Moscow, St. Petersburg and the Kirov region in 2018–2019. One of the results of the current study was the creation of a list of personalities who, in the opinion of young people, can be considered a source of pride for Russians. Among the named heroes the names of the rulers of the Russian state from antiquity to the present day are mentioned in the first place — more than half of the respondents give preference to this category of figures. The names of famous writers and military leaders are also mentioned relatively frequently. Moscow students are beginning to pay attention to the work of scientists and statesmen who do not have the highest authority. A comparative analysis of the responses depending on the age, gender, ethnic and civic (inclusion of oneself in the Russian community) of students indicates the importance of these parameters in the formation of historical memory and makes it possible to show a number of features of youth perception of Russian reality.

Keywords: *national heroes, values, nation-state, historic memory, patriotism, Russian identity, students*

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Original Article

© ***Daria Sabinina***

THE PLACE IMAGE AS SEEN BY RESIDENTS OF THE SMALL RUSSIAN TOWN STARITSA IN TVER' REGION

The article is devoted to the perception of a small town by its citizens. In this paper, we consider the case of Staritsa town in Tver' region. The topic has become relevant due to the broad interest in tourism development throughout Russian regions. The study is based on questionnaires, expert polls, in-depth and thematic interviews used the human ecology approach. The survey data was processed using the SPSS software package. As a result, significant cultural, religious and natural sites were categorized. These spaces and locations were mentioned by residents as personally meaningful, providing the connection between them and their town. The age-related aspects of choice were analyzed as well. We also distinguished between the residents professionally involved in tourism and those not associated with it. Clichés and administrative restrictions often influence the judgments of experts. This sometimes leads to the rejection of individuality of certain places or the town itself. Residents not directly involved in the tourism industry provide more variable lists of valuable sites that form the town's image and its specific features.

Keywords: *human ecology, space and place, natural and cultural environment, small town, tourism*
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Original Article

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THE PSKOVO-PECHERSKY MONASTERY IN THE CULTURE OF THE RUSSIANS AND SETO OF THE PECHERSKY DISTRICT OF THE PSKOV REGION: MONASTERY IDENTITY AND LOCAL PRACTICES

The article analyzes the narratives about the Holy Dormition Pskovo-Pechersky Monastery collected among the population of the Pechersky District, both Russians and Seto. Interest in this subject is caused by the uninterrupted activity of the monastery, which has never been closed since its foundation in the late XV century. The research is focused not on monastic or pilgrimage practices but on the worldview concepts and activities of the local population, the so-called "natives". One hundred interviews reflecting the situation in the Soviet period after the Second World War and Post-Soviet time in the town of Pechory and its outskirts are supplemented by archival evidence. The research is based on the concepts of "lived religion" and local identity. Analysis of narratives revealed that the population perceived the monastery as a sacred locus, a monument of history and architecture, an object of pilgrimage and tourism, an enlightener, employer, sponsor, a keeper of ideological and economic resources. As a constant backdrop of local realities, it produced not only religious but also various secular practices. Thus, the convent identity of the local population was shaped independently of individual's conscience. In spite of the significant restriction of monastery influence in the Soviet period, in particular the prohibition for children and young people to visit the convent, it continued to play a key role in local culture as a religious center, historic dominant, an object of pride for local historians, a recreation zone, a source of information, etc. The attempt to transform the town of Pechory from a monastery center into an industrial settlement failed due to the collapse of the USSR and the economic crisis. In the Post-Soviet period, the monastery started to reestablish its influence rapidly as a symbolic master of the Pechorsky District.

Keywords: *Russians, Seto, Pskovo-Pechorsky Monastery, identity, monastery culture, Soviet period, Post-Soviet period, religion, daily life.*
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Original Article

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PARISH CHRONICLES AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE ABOUT THE PEASANTS OF THE SMOLENSK PROVINCE

The article examines the tradition of writing parish chronicles in the Smolensk province in the 19th century and reveals its characteristic features, such as reliance on published examples, the combination of a formalized structure and authors' subjective assessment. Based on the analysis of the parish chronicles, published as historical and statistical descriptions of parishes, the image of a Smolensk peasant from the point of view of a parish priest is reconstructed. There were two stable images — a Great Russian and a Belarusian differing in personality, lifestyle and appearance, which were associated with ethnicity. The priests explained these differences by natural, socio-historical and cultural factors. In general, a peasant was seen as characterized by prudence, discretion and sympathy to the poor. At the same time, it was noted that superstitions, vices (such as drunkenness, foul language, theft), family breakdowns were common among them.

Keywords*: parish chronicles, ethnic identity, peasants, Smolensk province*
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Original Article

THE LOSS OF INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

How can someone lose his or her first language? How can a language disappear, leaving no speakers left who speak it? Why are indigenous languages disappearing? This paper considers the various ways that languages are lost and what it means to the native speakers. I will look at examples in Papua New Guinea and North and South America. I will also note the dilemmas of the multitude of migrants moving to new cultures and languages in the modern world.

Keywords: *first language indigenous languages, Papua New Guinea, North and South America, migrants*

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How can someone lose his or her first language? How can a language disappear, leaving no speakers left who speak it? Why are indigenous languages disappearing? Why does it matter? Why are some indigenous people organizing and working together to recover not only their cultures but their languages?

The International Decade of Indigenous Languages (2022–2032), as declared by the United Nations, began January 1, 2022. "It is an opportunity to shed light on the critical state of Indigenous languages and to bring resources to Indigenous communities' efforts to revitalize and reclaim Indigenous languages to ensure the healing, well-being and prosperity of Indigenous communities" (*Angarova* 2021: 1). *Cultural Survival* has devoted a special issue to "Securing the Future of Our Languages: Investing in New Indigenous Languages Speakers." Indigenous people know only too well that the loss of language follows the loss of land, community, and survival opportunities that they have depended on for millennia. Colonial theft does not just take land: in the end, it also takes community, culture, language, indigenous knowledge, histories, control and futures.

This paper considers the various ways that languages are lost, what it means to the native speakers, and what actions indigenous people are taking to reverse their losses and reclaim their heritage, and their futures. I will look at examples in Papua New Guinea and North and Central America. I will also note the dilemmas of the multitude of migrants moving to new cultures and languages in the modern world.

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Papua New Guinea

In my anthropological field work in Papua New Guinea during ten visits from 1965 to 2005 I was able to see various ways that local people lost their languages[1].

Papua New Guinea was first colonized by the Germans in the north and the British in the south. A pidgin English developed which contained some German words learned from early colonizers, e. g. "raus" (get out!) and "bung" (meet). Most of the words derived from English and the grammar from Melanesian, according to linguists (*Jenkins* 2005). The purchase of land by outsiders was banned in the Trust Territory of Papua and New Guinea, which prevented the excesses of settler colonialism seen in places like the United States, Australia, and parts of Africa. In the mid-1960s, a few long-time European settlers in New Guinea, some married to local women, were allowed to purchase land to turn into plantations; including new coffee plantations. Those Europeans who stayed had to become citizens when Papua New Guinea became an independent nation in 1975.

The Europeans, as all white skinned people were called, originally came to do business and to set up coconut plantations, to which local labor was brought for 3 years at a time. They were then sent home with a trunk full of white man's goods: clothes and tools, and the language that evolved for communication between locals and the white bosses: pidgin English, now called *tok pisin.* The English and the Australians set up schools and aid posts and some hospitals, and some of the missions also set up schools and health care facilities; and English became the language people spoke in schools, colleges, European offices, towns, and official business. Many German Catholic missions continued and spoke English, and they were joined, and sometimes replaced, by American Catholic missions. The other major missions, the Methodists, generally were started by Englishmen but led by English-speaking Australians. The Methodist Bible had been translated in the late 1800s by the first Methodist missionary, George Brown, into Kuanua; the language of the Tolai of New Britain. This is the island on which George Brown first established his mission (*Clay* 2005). George Brown was English and spoke English to his immediate assistants.

Papua New Guinea is composed of the eastern half of a large island 700 miles long east to west, the western half of which was for decades under Dutch colonial rule. Now, since 1963, it has become a reluctant part of Indonesia. There are many smaller islands north of the big island, and they are part of what became Papua New Guinea in 1975: New Britain, New Ireland, New Hanover and Manus. I did my anthropological field research in New Ireland and its smaller neighbor, New Hanover[2].

How an Individual Almost Lost His Language: Living with the Colonizers

When my colleague Nic Peterson and I first went to New Ireland in 1965, we had learned some pidgin English, now called *tok pisin,* from colleagues in Australia. When

[1] I did field work in the islands of New Ireland and New Hanover, which are now part of Papua New Guinea. Australia was the government when this was a Trust Territory of the United Nations and continues to serve in various capacities as needed. My first trip to New Ireland was in 1965 (*Peterson and Billings* 1965; *Billings and Peterson* 1967) followed by a longer stay in 1966–67 (*Billings* 1969, 1971, 1972, 1983, 1987, 1989, 1989a, 1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1992a, 1992b, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2007, 2015), and shorter stays in 1972, 1974, 1983, 1988, 1990, 1994, 1998, and 2005. I have not discussed or reported the loss of language in any of these publications.

[2] See note 1.

a government car took us to a village Mangai in New Ireland, where they said we could work, and left us there, we were completely unpracticed in speaking *tok pisin.* We were, therefore, very relieved and grateful when we were approached by a local man who worked in the European world and spoke English well. His name was Konda Aisoli, and he was one of five well-educated children whose parents had both died when they were young. He told us he was just home with his wife and their new baby, Rachel, for Christmas vacation, and he offered to help us. He came with us to see the local artist and to all the homes so we could make a map and take genealogies. When I apologized for taking so much of his time, Konda said that he had been away so much at educational institutions he had never had a chance to learn about his own traditions, and he was glad to have the opportunity to do so. He also told me that he was afraid he was losing his New Ireland language because he did not often speak it where he worked in the Education Department.

I found this a very unsettling revelation. If a person loses his language, who is he? Is a person the same person in a different language without the continuing foundation of his first language?

Before we left New Ireland after this first short field work experience, I lent Konda my copy of *Life in Lesu* by Hortence Powdermaker (1933), the only full monograph on New Ireland published at that time, Konda read it through and penciled in corrections in the spelling of New Ireland words; which showed, I thought, that he still had much of his native tongue.

In 2021 I got an email from Konda's baby daughter, Rachel, who had grown up to go to Australian National University and become a linguist. Konda had died when she was a teenager, but I was sure he would be very proud of her work studying languages.

Marrying Into Another Village

There are six major language groups in New Ireland, and many variations within these. All of these languages are derivations of Austronesian, a language thought to have come to the north coast of New Guinea and the islands about 3,000 years ago, along with Lapita pottery (*Bainton* 1976; *Jenkins* 2005). People in New Ireland know each other and come together for ceremonies. Marriages are often between people from different language groups.

My friend and major helper Milika had married her first husband, Gage, in the Notsi linguistic area and their children were born in that area. When Gage died, Milika and her children moved 3 language groups north to the Tigak and Kara language groups where her mother lived with her husband from that area. Milika then married Kasino, the local teacher who took over the care and teaching of the children. When Nicolas and I arrived in 1965, Kas also led the education of the anthropologists. As it turned out, Milika had been good friends with an anthropological couple (*Lewis* 1969) that had worked in the Notsi linguistic area when she lived there. She spoke *tok pisin* well and not only to me but to local women with whom she worked. She explained to me that she could not speak the local language correctly and people would laugh at her if she tried; so it was better for her to just speak *tok pisin.* It was not just language that she could not master locally: she said: her shoulder had not learned to carry heavy food bundles at the ends of a pole over the shoulder, as women did in the Tigak/Kara language area. In the Notsi language area women carried food in baskets hung on their heads. Milika said she also could not point her toes as the women in the Tigak/Kara villages did, so she preferred to stay out of most of the dances and help sing or play the drums. She had effectively lost her first language, except for simple communications, without acquiring confidence in another indigenous language; but she was very competent in *tok pisin.*

This is one of the situations that has led Papua New Guinea to gradually lose all its languages and move to *tok pisin:* when the Territory of Papua New Guinea became independent of Australia and the United Nations Trust Territories in 1975, the language that was adopted as the national language, to be spoken in Parliament, was *tok pisin.* In 1967 when I was attending a ceremony which lasted for nearly a month, the memai or "big man" leading the ceremony announced that he would speak *tok pisin* because I was there and he wanted me to understand. I was very embarrassed as well as grateful, but I soon realized that I was not the only one there who would benefit by his speaking *tok pisin:* there were people there, as many as 200, from five language areas; and when the memai once forgot and started to speak in his own language, someone called out "speak *tok pisin!"*

The linguist who has most recently studied the languages of New Ireland and of Papua New Guinea has found that *tok pisin* is gradually becoming the language that people speak, and indigenous languages are disappearing (*Jenkins* 2005). Jenkins sites Wurm, the linguist who has most completely covered the languages of New Guinea: "Wurm calls the New Guinea area one of the 'linguistically most complex and diverse areas in the world'" (*Wurm* 1975: 3; cited in *Jenkins* 2005: 4). He estimated 700 distinct languages, spoken by a population of only four million. There are two major categories of languages: the non--Austronesian, or Papuan, languages, spoken mainly in the interior of the big island of New Guinea. All the rest speak Austronesian languages, which were brought to the islands and along the coast by the travelers coming from Southeast Asia who started arriving in the New Guinea islands and the north coast about 3,000 years ago, along with Lapita pottery. They continued on to populate all of Polynesia with Austronesian languages. Austronesian languages are spoken throughout New Ireland, except for the Papuan languages still spoken by some in three villages that remain in the mountain area (*Derlon* 1997; *Jenkins* 2005; *Lithgow* and *Claassen* 1968). Unlike the Austronesian languages, the Papuan languages which are found throughout the big island of New Guinea "show no common grammar, and very little common vocabulary" and have "no affiliation outside the islands" (*Capell* 1969: 21; cited in *Jenkins* 2005: 5).

Jenkins distinguishes between "traditional Tigak," the name she uses for the languages of northern New Ireland, and "modern Tigak," Tigak as it is spoken now by the young people learning it when they are in contact with other languages, especially *tok pisin.* When they finish school, where English is spoken, they often move to the port town of Kavieng, New Ireland, or live near enough to visit there and meet other people who speak *tok pisin.* Their speaking of Tigak continues, but it is modified by the structure and vocabulary of *tok pisin* (*Jenkins* 2005: 190).

I saw that changing situation even in the primary school in Mangai village, where I lived, 50 years ago. Some students came from 1 or 2 villages away where a different language was spoken. *Tok pisin* was often a necessary supplement for communication even at this early level.

In the high schools, students came from different islands, and while English was taught and encouraged, *tok pisin* was the usual form of communication outside the classroom. In neighboring New Hanover, I saw an Australian Methodist school teacher swat, gently,

a child who was speaking her native tongue to a classmate and language-mate over the noon hour as they ate lunch. They were supposed to speak English.

This was a common practice in the United States, Canada and elsewhere in schools where it was decided that indigenous people should speak the language of the colonial conquerors.

How a Village in the Rainforest is Losing Its Language

Anthropologist Don Kulick has written the story of his fieldwork, which most of us would call heroic, in an isolated swampy village in Highland New Guinea; which began in the 1980s and continued on until 2014. He had malaria five times and every possible parasite, and the food the people ate, which they shared with him, was not something he was happy to eat. He could not go back again because of local violence, which had driven him away on two previous stays in Gapun. The return of intergroup violence has been a problem in the Highlands of New Guinea.

Kulick wanted to go to Gapun village because, alone in this world, people there spoke a language called Tayap; which turned out to be, he found, a language "as fully formed as English, Russian, Navaho or Zulu" (p. 29) When he got to the village he soon found that while many of the adults spoke Tayap to each other, the children could understand it but were not learning it. They were, instead, learning *tok pisin.* Men who had gone away to work on European-owned plantations had come home speaking *tok pisin.* It became clear that it was the language of whiteskinned people who had money and power, and it was necessary to communicate with them and with other plantations laborers from other places. When the men returned to their home villages, the women of the village soon learned it. The children soon followed. Kulick wanted to find out exactly how this happened.

Kulick was himself only able to communicate with villagers through *tok pisin,* which suggests that it was already well known in the village (p. 52). He spent many hours taping and making lists of words in Tayap; mostly with one old man who was the last remaining master of the language, people said. At the time of his first visit in the mid-1980s Kulick thinks about 90 people spoke Tayap; but by his last visit, only 45. He thinks the language will be dead in 50 years (p. 260).

Papua New Guinea has many languages, sometimes estimated at 500, most with fewer than 3000, many with only 500 or fewer speakers (Ibid.: 26). Tayap had only 90 speakers, in a population of 130. There were 45 out of 200 residents of Gapun 39 years later want change.

They want to become "modern". They want "modern living" like the white people have, with money and things (*Kulick*: 69–70). This is the sentiment that has fueled the cargo cults of Papua New Guinea, including "The Johnson Cult" of New Hanover (*Billings* 1969, 1983, 2002).

Why were the children learning *tok pisin* and not Tayap? Kulick observed that when a mother told her child to do something in Tayap, it was ignored — or as the response is called in *tok pisin,* the child would *bighed,* Big headed is the word used throughout Papua New Guinea to identify responses that show people doing as they want to do, and not as requested. If mothers followed with the same request to the child in *tok pisin,* accompanied by a threat of "pain"— hitting them — in *tok pisin,* the child showed "savie" or knowledge, which was a desired characteristic: the child did as told. The parents saw this chain of events as showing that the child was choosing *tok pisin* over Tayap, that the child preferred *tok pisin* (Ibid.: 114–5).

Why Maintain Indigenous Languages?

A language is created over time and, like the other arts of a culture, is a thing of beauty, complexity, historical information and clarity; a creation to be valued. But it may not be seen that way by people who are trying to acquire another language.

Our final goal as anthropologists must be, as Malinowski pointed out (*Malinowski* 1922: 25), to "grasp the native's point of view." Why do indigenous people want to learn or relearn or maintain their indigenous languages? Like their arts, languages contain much more knowledge than is ordinarily discussed, such as the meaning of the details (*Billings* 2007) and the values and social structure conveyed in style (*Billings* 2015). There has been a large body of research accumulated since 1980 on a societal contrast originally proposed by Tonnies in 1918: gemeinschaft und geselleschaft. Now this contrast is referred to as Individualism and Collectivism (*Hsu* 953, 1973, 1983; *Bernstein* 1964; *Lomax* 1968; *Hofstede* 1980, 1990 1991; *Billings* 1987; 1989; 1991a, 1991b; 1992; *Triandis* 1990; *Hemer* 2015). Understanding the importance of both language and style, the Maori and Pakeha people of New Zealand are using Maori ways of communicating in their joint conservation project which is restoring an area of Maori land (*Harms* 2015).

The disappearance of languages in the modern world is not of central interest to linguists who study the major languages of Europe and Asia. In the past anthropological linguists have wanted to record languages before they disappear, and they knew that someday indigenous people might want these records. Anthropologists have needed to know something of indigenous languages so that they can accurately carry out their work. Anthropologists who are linguists have made major records. But it is to the Summer Institute of Linguistics[1], which educates mission workers in learning and recording indigenous languages, that future generations of anthropologists and indigenous people will be grateful for the records they have made and kept.

Migration

People all over the world today have left their home countries and cultures and languages because they could not survive, or could not survive well, at home. War, poverty, conflict over resources, drought, climate change and local gang wars have contributed to making life so difficult and dangerous that people find it worth the risk, and the loss, to move to a place that they think will be better for them.

Moscow: When people from the same group move to the same place, they may be able to bring aspects of their cultures, their celebrations, their foods, their arts, and even their languages with them (*Martynova* 2015). Their children, however, are educated in a different language and culture and, while they may be bicultural and bilingual for a while among the older generation, but they will pass less and less of this on to their own children.

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[1] The Summer Institute of Linguistics is an educational organization in Texas that grains people who want to be missionaries in linguistics — they learn to speak indigenous languages. (I met 2 of these in New Ireland and they are amazing.) Anthropologists can study there too if they wish — it is a very good education in linguistics.

Martynova has studied the changing life and culture of migrants into the megalopolos: specifically, into Moscow (*Martynova* 2016). Migrants in the megalopolis show their meals preferences in a multicultural community. New folk cultures and traditions have been introduced into the Moscow community, especially the introduction of new meals in new restaurants, decorated in traditional ways.

Martynova also pays attention to the evolution of traditional culture in the modern world in Russia as elsewhere, requiring of migrants a process of social and cultural integration from the point of view of the major Moscow indigenous population. Martynova does not discuss language, but presumably, as elsewhere, languages are learned and retained as long as the old folks live and speak it; but gradually, as young people are integrated into the schools and cultures of the new place, they learn and rely on the language and culture.

Chinese: Chinese people everywhere have made a particular impact on the cultures of the world while retaining, in many cases, their language. When I first went to Papua New Guinea, arriving at the small Port Town of Kavieng, I was very surprised to see that 3 of the 4 streets in the center of town were lined with Chinese shops, all of which had food for sale. Local people of all backgrounds sought out this very good and affordable food. The Chinese are not the only mobile populations to start restaurants making their meals available to all, but they must surely be the most universally known[1]. They usually come as communities and retain their language, at least.

Heritage Languages in Canada: Canada, three decades ago, had a program where adults taught "Heritage Language" classes on Saturday morning to young people, who did not learn their heritage language or customs in school. It is unclear whether or not this effort continues. The Wichita Asia Festival (below) has had some of the same objectives: to give the young people an opportunity to learn their heritage.

Siberian Peasants: Elena Fursova (2015) has studied the movement of whole groups of people who, for whatever reasons, leave their homelands and settle in new paces. She focuses on the traditional knowledge of local people throughout their changing history. Her work has been with peasants of Siberia who rename the new places they come to with the familiar names of places from which they have come[2]. They maintain important aspects of their culture by reapplying their knowledge of agriculture and maintaining their respect for nature (*Fursova* 215: 171–5).

Asians in Wichita, Kansas USA: When 75,000 Vietnamese came as refugees from war to Wichita, Kansas in 1975, a few Asian professors at the local university, Wichita State University, were concerned that they were likely to become an "Asian proletariat;" and, in order to bring some understanding to the local American population, they started the Asian Association. This organization, which continues nearly 50 years later, annually presents performances of the dances, arts and cultures of Asian groups, along with opportunities to buy the foods and art objects which are characteristic of the various cultures. Today at least as many local Wichitans of European heritage as local descendants of Asian immigrants attend the festival, to which the whole city looks forward. Many young people still speak their parents' first languages, but mostly to the grandparents in the home. The Asian community has generated grocery stores, restaurants and five Buddhist temples which are cared for by Buddhist monks who come to Wichita for a year or two at a time. There are also Vietnamese services at a local Catholic church. Many immigrant Vietnamese, including the temporary immigrant Buddhist monks, attend the Wichita Indochinese Center to learn English as a Second Language. The Director of the Indochinese Center, who is from India, has been active in maintaining the Asian Association and the annual Asian Festival for many years.

[1] When I came to Wichita in 1969, there were few restaurants and nearly all were standard American. Most were not restaurants but fast food drive-throughs; except for 2 Chinese restaurants and one long established Mexican restaurant. Now there are several Vietnamese restaurants, two Thai, two Indian, a Pakistani, a Japanese, Malaysian, Iraqi, one from El Salvador, many Hispanic, and several Lebanese.

[2] This is probably a common, if little noted, practice. Wisconsin in the United States was settled by German populations, and the largest city, Milwaukee, has three beer breweries with German names; Schlitz, Pabst and Blatz. Milwaukee is a Native American name, but Berlin, Wisconsin tells of its German migrants. An area of the state of Kansas settled by people from Pennsylvania has several names from western Pennsylvania: Erie, Girard, Crawford County and others.

Displacement of Indigenous Communities by Political and Economic Powers

The Decade of Indigenous Languages, designated by the United Nations, that has begun in 2022 will continue until 2032. Cultural Survival has devoted an issue of the journal to the loss of indigenous languages: it is "dedicated to uplifting the voices and work of Indigenous educators, practitioners, linguists, activists, journalists, and communicators, who, against all odds, with limited to no resources, are strengthening their mother tongues and creating new language speakers through various media platforms and tools." (Cultural Survival 2022: 1)

Australia: Vanessa Ngala Farrelly grew up in Canberra, Australia with no contact with the Pertame, the group of indigenous people south of Alice Springs from whom she descended. At the age of 20 she went to visit them for the first time, and found some of the elders already engaged in a project to save the language. One of her grandparents, Christobal Swan, had made a list of Pertame words in the 1990s. She had worked for 30 years with police and hospitals and courts to translate for Aboriginal people, but the language was still not recognized or taught. She and other elders organized weekend language camps to pass the language on to young people, and Farrelly moved to Alice Springs and joined them. In 2019 Farrelly and Swan were invited to New York to the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. There they learned about methods of reviving indigenous languages, which they took back to Australia. They started classes in some local primary schools, to which some elders came as teachers, but they realized that the languages could only be revived by passing it from the elders to the young people at home, in everyday settings, the way children in non-colonial situations learn languages.

Veronica Aguilar grew up in Mexican communities but not where they spoke her grandparents' first language, Mixtec. Her parents never spoke it at home: fear of shame, where Spanish was the language of education, led them to speak the colonial language. When she grew up Aguillar tried to learn Mixtec at a distance by video call once a week with a teacher from her community, but she realized she could not learn Mixtec in this way. She went back to a community where it was still spoken by many to learn it "in an immersion environment" (*Aguillar*: 8).

All those who struggle to learn their heritage languages eventually reach this conclusion: that they need to learn by immersion in a community where the language is spoken. They also often state that they have had identity problems, which learning their heritage language helps them overcome: "I had the opportunity to ask myself many questions

during my 20s about who I was and the language I did not speak. Now, in my 30s, I know who I am and define my identity on my own terms … I'm Mixtec but I don't speak Mixtec. But I am going to regain my language…" (ibid.: 9).

Traditional Ecological Knowledge

Adriana Chos, citing Farrelly, writes that "The language is the voice of the land. When we talk about the connection of Indigenous Peoples and the land, we talk about a whole living system that is interconnected and interdependent. This reciprocal relationship has a regenerative component. There needs to be a respectful way to interact with the land because the land feeds us and gives us life" (*Chos* 2021: 11).

Chos points out that "Traditional Ecological Knowledge contains valuable techniques and solutions to address, adapt, and mitigate climate change and biodiversity loss such as wildfires, floods, droughts, changes in animal behavior, and other alterations experienced on our lands and territories. This knowledge is intrinsically embedded and transmitted through the language and, "When the knowledge is lost the consequences are irreversible" (Ibid.).

Folk Wisdom and Ecological Knowledge

Russian Peasants and Soil Conservation: Rudnev (*Rudnev* 2009) underscores the folk wisdom he finds that supports sustainability for nature in our industrial age. Indigenous people always mention the precariousness of the supply of water on earth, which is part of what folk wisdom has found at least temporary solutions for (*Rudnev* 2009: 6) "The meaning and value of Folk Heritage in exploiting the environmental traditions in small--scale, non-industrialized societies, has been based … on the perception that soil (earth) is the source of all life." Rudnev makes clear his view that it is the modern human outlook that has to change. He describes the contributions to knowledge of a sustainable environment made by Russian peasant communities that have lived and survived for long periods of time in the same place, and as communities. They have learned how to practice soil conservation.

Rudnev's argument reinforces the view of all the indigenous people who are trying to revitalize their languages, languages that sustained their communities and their knowledge and their ways of thinking and knowing, and their knowledge especially of the Natural world and its requirements. These have been notoriously ignored in the modern industrialized world, and we are all now seeing the consequences in what is called "climate change."

New Hanover, Papua New Guinea Tukul Kaiku writes of the special knowledge used in sustaining the lives of the people of her home island, New Hanover, Papua New Guinea. This knowledge is contained and identified in the local language, Tungak. This language is still the main one spoken in New Hanover, probably because it is spoken on an island and it has no indigenous competition. Many speak pidgin English, but the elders do not speak it to each other.

Knowledge of how to organize a large feast is held by the "custodian of complete nourishment", *mateng-masung.* The use of plants and herbs must always be reinforced with the appropriate body of rituals or procedural rites that summon the specialist spirit (anit) in that particular art" (*Kaiko* 2009: 97). These procedures show and produce respect for mother nature.

Sardine farming must be accompanied by a series of rituals and a particular plant species used. *Inavu* is a person who nurtures sardines or any fish species and uses "physical rituals in carrying out his art" (Ibid.: 101). He strengthens his own resolve through these rituals, which show pernatural fulfillment *(kanang)* and also reinforces community belief that his actions will benefit the community.

Birth control methods are kept by a keeper of the knowledge of the use of a certain bark. Women are helped by this knowledge when it is needed.

Myths and legends reinforce knowledge for young Lavongais of the supernatural creation (*pukpukis*) of their island. Myths and legends in the local language that show respect for animals, plants and people are told to young people when they come together in the evening (Ibid.:103).

"This oral transmission of knowledge has a role as they give effect to the sacredness of certain areas of the island. Or they serve as taboo areas where mortals dare not trespass for fear of being cursed. Therefore the use of the natural environment and the Lavongai exercise in sustainable development were contextualized into their spiritual and material coexistence with supernatural beings. Myths about caring and respect for animals, plants and people are told to young ones in the evenings when there are no disruptions and the child's mind is allowed to recreate scenes and settings for such." (*Kaiko*: 103–4).

Kaiku argues for the contributions made to a sustainable environment by communities that have maintained residence in places they know well; but she adds the importance of the indigenous language in identifying social roles, divisions of survival knowledge and designation of those responsible for knowing as named in the local Tungak language. Myths and rituals in the local language are part of the process that sustains this knowledge.

Lost Languages

Language as an essential container of indigenous knowledge about the natural world as well as about the ethics of respect for the environment and ways of revitalizing indigenous languages taught by those who had been carrying out this work, were discussed at a three-day virtual conference held by Cultural Survival Oct 5–7, 2021 (*Chos* 2021).

UNESCO has estimated that 230 languages became extinct between 1950 and 2010. UNESCO also estimates that "The world's remaining languages are predicted to disappear by the next century unless action is taken now. The world's remaining biodiversity hotspots are home to 70 percent of all languages spoken on Earth, showing strong geographic co-occurrence of Indigenous language speakers and biodiversity (Editorial comment, Cultural Survival: 9).

The work of Rudnev and Kaiku reinforce the assertions of indigenous people that the loss of their lands and resources and communities has led to their loss of their indigenous languages; and that this makes a difference to the conservation of the environment and the survival of life on earth. When the language is lost, the wisdom contained in it is lost; and the pride in speaking it is replaced by the shame assigned to it by ignorant colonial foreigners who have power without knowledge. This is why the loss of indigenous languages is not just of concern to indigenous people, but to all of life on earth; the two-leggeds but also the four-leggeds and the winged people and the plants which sustain us all.

Native Americans, like many people who did not grow up with writing and recording, were eloquent orators. Much if their recorded wisdom contrasts their ways with that of the white men who have taken over their lands.

"We know that the white man does not understand our ways. One portion of the land is the same to him as the next, for he is a stranger who comes in the night and takes from the land whatever he needs. The earth is not his brother but his enemy — and when he has conquered it, he moves on. He leaves his fathers' graves, and his children's birthright is forgotten." Chief Seattle, Suqwamish and Duwamish (*Nerburn* and *Mengelkoch* 1991: 5).

Native Americans feel very much a part of Nature as is often the case for people who live directly on the resources of the land. They see the land and all its inhabitants as their brothers and they do not take or kill what they do not need for their own survival.

"What is man without the beasts? If all the beasts were gone, men would die from a great loneliness of spirit, for whatever happens to the beasts also happens to man. All things are connected. Whatever befalls the earth befalls the children of the earth." Chief Seattle, Suqwamish and Duwamish. (*Nerburn* and *Mengelkoch* 1991: 2).

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Original Article

LEGAL STRUGGLES OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF GUATEMALA

Guatemala has a population of 17 million residents of which 41% are Maya; 1.77% are Xina people; 18% are of European descent; and 41% are of mixed indigenous and European ancestry. For several centuries the legacy of indigenous peoples in Guatemala has been under siege. There is overwhelming evidence that the indigenous peoples of Guatemala, in their history, have suffered from colonialism, economic imperialism, genocide, crimes against humanity, dispossession of their lands and resources, criminal gangs, and problems related to climate change. The above issues are examined within the framework of international law. International law and organizations could help to rescue their culture which will benefit all of humanity.

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Introduction

There is overwhelming evidence that the indigenous peoples of Guatemala, in their history, have suffered from colonialism, economic imperialism, genocide, crimes against humanity, dispossession of their lands and resources, criminal gangs, and problems related to climate change. Anthropologist Jennifer Schirmer has described Guatemala as "A Violence Called Democracy" (*Schirmer* 1999). The above issues will be examined within the framework of international law.

Demographics

Guatemala has a population of 17 million residents of which 41% are Maya; 1.77% are Xina people; 18% are of European descent; and 41% are of mixed indigenous and European ancestry (National Institute of Statistics of Guatemala 2020: 1). Professor Richard Fagen notes that the indigenous peoples "have kept their language, culture, and identity" and that "Most of them survive by a combination of subsistence farming and ill-paid seasonal work on central plantations" (*Fagen* 1981: 89).

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Historical Background from the Pre-Columbian Era Through the United States-Backed Military Coup of 1954

The Mayan Empire emerged in approximately 2600 BCE (*Torres* 2018: 9). It included what is today known as Central America, excluding Panama. The Mayans built large temples, pyramids, schools and outdoor sports arenas (Ibid.). Some cities had more than 50 thousand residents. The people grew squash and corn, and made tools with clay and stone (Ibid.).

Internal conflict, drought, famine, and disease destroyed the Empire even before the Spanish invasion (*Torres* 2018: 21–22). The Spanish conquerors brought new diseases such as smallpox, influenza, and yellow fever to Mayan lands in the 16th century. Guatemala was the leading component of the Spanish Central American colony which was called the Kingdom of Guatemala; the latter included not only Guatemala but also Chiapas (which is now part of southern Mexico), El Salvador, Belize, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica (*Foster* 1987: 70).

In 1821 most of Central America including Guatemala, obtained independence from Spain. In 1823, Guatemala, Belize (which was part of Guatemala then), El Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica and Chiapas formed The Federation of Central America as an independent republic (*Torres* 2018: 32). Later a Guatemalan secessionist movement resulted in Guatemala becoming an independent republic, by itself, in 1847. Guatemala has long been known for production of coffee, sugar, and bananas. Many of the indigenous people worked on plantations run by persons of Ladino descent.

In the next approximately 50 years there were numerous political fights and armed confrontations involving large landowners, urban businessmen, the military, peasants and workers, indigenous and nonindigenous (*Foster* 1987: 152–185). By 1898, Guatemala's dominant wealthy elite were more firmly intrenched than ever. Manuel Cabrera became President after the assassination of President Reino. Cabrera is most remembered for allowing the United Fruit Company from the United States to enter the political and economic life of Guatemala (*Chapman* 2007: 83). Many years of brutal oppression of the Mayans and the working class in general followed. Finally, in 1944, there was an armed revolt against the authoritarian oligarchy. The 1944 Revolution was led by Army Major Francisco Javier Arana and Army Captain Jacobo Arbenz Guzman. Under the new regime Jose Arvelo, self-described "Christian socialist", was elected President on a platform of land reform and expansion of labor rights (*Chomsky* 2001: 154).

In 1950 Jacobo Arbenz, a moderate socialist, was elected. He implemented an agrarian reform program which transferred uncultivated land to peasants and landless peasants and gave greater rights to workers. Unfortunately, the land reform program only included a minority of lands held by wealthy landowners.

The United Fruit Company (UFC) and its corporate allies and the big landowners feared that Arbenz was moved toward some kind of socialism which threatened their interests. John Foster Dulles, U. S. Secretary of States in the Eisenhower Administration (1953–58), was the former lawyer for the United Fruit Company. In 1954 the United States, acting through its Central Intelligence Agency, engineered a military coup led by Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas of the Guatemalan Army. He was flown into Guatemala on a CIA plane. Juan Torres states that: "The reason for supporting Armas was that the United Fruit Company expected Arbenz to uphold land ownership laws unfavorable to the UFC" (*Torres* 2018: 33). Arbenz left the country fearing for his life. Thus the Eisenhower Administration was complicit in overthrowing the government which had had two previously elected presidents by the voters of Guatemala. It should be noted that during the Arbenz government from 1950 to 1954, the U.S had issued economic sanctions against Guatemala in opposition to the land reform program.

Guatemalan Genocide and Other Related Crimes

To understand the military coup of 1954 it must be understood that throughout history Guatemala's plantation owners had taken over vast tracts of land, originally mainly occupied by Mayan people and they needed a cheap source of labor (*Grandin* 2009: 2). An emerging urban business sector also needed low labor costs. The state passed laws of forced labor, debt and vagrancy laws which helped to ensure a sufficient labor supply. This was exacerbated by a history of racism against the Mayans (Ibid.). After the fall of the Arbenz government, the Guatemalan military and allied paramilitary units employed violence "fundamentally aimed against the excluded, the poor, and the Maya as well as those who struggle in favor of a more equitable society" (Ibid).

By the end of 1956 "only 0.4% of those supposed to benefit from the land reform program had retained their land" (*Schirmer* 1999: 14). On November 13, 1960 young military officers, with a socialist orientation, attempted a coup with the purpose of "social justice, a just distribution of national wealth and against the los gringos imperialisticos (Ibid: 15). Four guerilla groups were formed to support indigenous peoples, peasants, workers, and students and eventually united under the title of Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity.

The Guatemalan government as well as the United States accused the guerillas of seeking a Communist revolution and a socialist reorganization of society. It was somewhat unclear whether members of the Guatemalan Right were motivated more by racist attitudes toward the Maya than worrying about a "Communist revolution." In any event, the Maya were perceived as the largest block in support of the radical insurgents. Thus they were targeted by the Guatemalan state. The civil war, which lasted from 1960 to 1996, was largely a battle between the Maya and the Guatemalan state.

The Guatemalan military with the assistance of the United States launched a counterinsurgency strategy, mainly against the Maya (*Grandin* 2009: 2). A 1968 declassified U. S. State Department report made clear how the U.S. viewed the counterinsurgency method:

"Murder, torture and mutilation is alright if our side is doing it and the victims are Communists (*Foster* 1987: 244)".

Although the world has probably not noticed, the U.S. government played an important role in the repression and genocidal policies directed against the Maya. In an interview with anthropologist Jennifer Schirmer, Guatemalan Naval Captain Alberto Yon Rivera in 1996 stated as follows: "It is quite simple and I won't deny it; between the 1960s and the 1990's we had a structure from the C.I.A. The money, resources, the training, and the relations were all through the C.I.A. Later, this was supplemented by the DEA (Drug Enforcement Administration). This was the case because our intelligence, in the end, had to serve the interests of the U.S." (*Schirmer* 1999: 171). Dr. Schirmer had accumulated various information about US and CIA covert aid to the Guatemalan military. General Hector Morales Gramajo, a former Guatemalan Defense Minister, and a prominent leader for many years in the army, told Dr. Schirmer in an interview in 1990 that: "The C. I.A.

has been working all along with us, so this kind of information is not that unusual" (Ibid.: 169). General Gramajo mentioned that the US CIA station chief in Guatemala had brought in people for intelligence training and "for more modernized intelligence methods and analysis" (Ibid.: 170). The US government also provided millions of dollars in aid from Congress to the Guatemalan military. This aid was for military salaries, equipment such as computers, walkie-talkies, special fire arms, communications gear, metal jeep parts, and other assistance (Ibid.: 171). In addition, even at the height of the genocide being led by Rios Montt (General in 1981–2 and also President after a coup in 1982) the Guatemalan government had the full public support of the US government. On a trip to Guatemala City in 1982, President Ronald Reagan described Montt as a "man of great personal integrity and commitment" who is "totally dedicated to democracy" (Ibid.: 33). It should be noted in passing, as we shall discuss later, former General and President Montt was found guilty of the crime of genocide in 2015 by a Guatemalan court.

Although the political repression and extrajudicial killings have occurred, in varying degrees, up to the present, the worst years were from 1981 to 1983 — especially for the Mayans. During the period of 1981–1983 the Guatemalan military and allied paramilitary groups engaged in selective and indiscriminate massacres, destruction of indigenous personal and real property, houses, sacred sites, cattle and other animals, sexual violence, forced disappearances, forced displacement, and forced recruitment into civil patrols which forced indigenous people to fight their own people and sometimes kill them. There were also numerous acts of kidnapping, deprivation of liberty and separation of children. Most of the victims were Mayans.

Despite the horrors committed by the Guatemalan state there was no referral by any country to the UN Security Council as in the case of Bosnia, for example; nor was there any action taken in the International Criminal Court or in a hybrid type court as in Sierra Leone, for example. However, as a consequence of the United Nations' brokered Peace Accords of 1996 between the Guatemalan Government and the Guatemalan guerillas the parties agreed to the establishment of a truth commission which was called "The Commission on Historical Clarification in Guatemala". It was a three-person commission. The Chairperson, a German international law professor, was appointed by the UN Secretary-General. The other two members were Guatemalans who were selected by consent of the parties to the Peace Accords. One was a distinguished Mayan scholar and the other a distinguished Guatemalan law professor of European descent.

From 1997 to 1999 the Commission gathered statements, and testimony from a large number of witnesses; documents from the Guatemalan Government and declassified papers of the United States Central Intelligence Agency.

The Commission had to decide whether the Guatemalan state had committed acts of genocide in violation of international law. It should be noted that the Commission generated findings that can be considered acts of genocide but also can be considered crimes against humanity and war crimes under provisions of international human rights law.

Article II of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) states as follows:

"In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such

(a) Killing members of the group

(b) Causing serious bodily harm or mental harm to members of the group

(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part

(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent birth within that group

(e) Forcibly transferring children of that group to another group."

Crimes against humanity, under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, and under customary international law, include extermination, enslavement, forced labor, deprivation of liberty, imprisonment, torture, forcible transfer of populations, sexual violence, enforced disappearance, and other inhumane acts intentionally causing great suffering or serious injury to the body or physical health.

These crimes must be shown to be widespread or systematic.

War crimes under the Rome Statute and the Geneva Convention include willful killing, torture, willfully causing great suffering or serious injury, extensive destruction and appropriation of property not justified by military necessity, compelling a war prisoner to fight against his or her own people, intentionally directing attacks against a civilian population not taking part in hostilities (UN Convension…; Rome Statute 1998a; Rome Statute 1998b).

The Commission received evidence concerning four different Mayan regions of Guatemala. What follows are representative sections of the Commission's comprehensive findings.

The Commission found in the 1980's that "The Army came to identify the indigenous peoples as the "internal enemy" (CEH 1999: Section 3230, p. 24 in *Higonnet*). The commission found that the Guatemalan Government believed that a majority of indigenous peoples were supporting the guerrillas because of the indigenous peoples' "lack of available land and immense poverty (Ibid.)."

The Commission found in Section 3234 of its findings that "Racism polarized Guatemalan society, dividing it into two big groups indigenous people and Ladinos. Racism occupied an influential place in dominant Guatemalan classes' ideas about and treatment of "the Indians" (CEH 1999: Section 3230, p. 24).The Commission found that the Guatemalan military made no distinction between combatants and non-combatants. A witness, from a Mayan village, testified as follows: "…they accused us of being guerillas and we didn't even know who these groups were, but they blamed the community for this and then they burned all our houses, they killed our parents, our families, our grandfathers and even kids, even pregnant women and they even killed our animals and ate them" (CEH 1999: Section 3252, p. 31). The Commission admitted into evidence a CIA document of 1981 which states as follows:

"During the battle it was impossible to differentiate between a member of the guerilla and an innocent civilian, and according to the soldiers, they were forced to fire at anything that moved. Comment: The Guatemalan authorities admitted that many civilians were assassinated in Cocob; many of them were undoubtedly non-combatants. The repercussions of this incident will reflect negatively upon the army throughout the area" (CEH 1999: Section 3258, p. 32).

Indiscriminate massacres of Mayan civilians were documented for all of the Mayan region surveyed by the Commission (CEH 1999: Section 3258, pp. 40–46, 89–91,111–115, 117).

Witnesses told the Commission that" children of nursing age were killed by throwing them against the floor or walls" (CEH 1999: Section 3334, p. 51). There were also many selective massacres. One Army officer told members of the village: "You have to tell me who the witch doctors are that perform their magic, because they have to be finished off;

we don't want the witch doctors to perform rituals against the military" (CEH 1999: Section 3271, p. 35).

Another witness gave the following statement to a Commission investigator: "The Army arrived dressed in civilian clothes and then lined up the people in the central plaza — women, men and children — and started asking for identification cards. Before that, they had accused the people of being guerillas and a man who had his face covered appeared and began to signal the commander. The commander gave the order to shoot anyone who tried to get away. Thirty-five people died in the massacre and soldiers took away another 35" (CEH 1999: Section 3281, p. 38).

The Commission found that during the years 1980–1983 the military murdered a variety of community leaders such as Mayan priests, members of peoples' lands committees, members of committees on development, mayors, leaders of cooperatives, Mayan teachers and professors (CEH 1999: Section 3281, pp. 34–35, 87–88, 108–11).

The Army used "scorched earth policies" against Mayan villages. The Commission found that there were only three massacres in which the town or village was not burned to the ground. The Commission found that "The rest of the villages where there were massacres were physically destroyed either during or after the massacre. Likewise, many villages where there were no massacres because the population fled, were burned to the ground or destroyed. In general, the period of indiscriminate massacres coincides with the physical destruction of communities" (CEH 1999: Sections 3305, p. 44). One witness from a Mayan village testified that "They destroyed our houses, they robbed our possessions, they burned our clothes, they took away the animals, they cut down the milpas (cornfields), they persecuted us day and night" (CEH 1999: Section 3390, p. 71). In another region the witness testified that the Army exploded a bomb on a house that caught fire. The witness stated that women and children were burned alive (CEH 1999: Section 3520, p. 111). It should be noted that sometime the Army Airforce would drop bombs "A vast majority of the communities in the region suffered forced displacement. The displacement ranged from four to six weeks in some places, too much longer periods of two years in other places" (CEH 1999: Section 3541, p. 115). When people were forcibly removed from the village they were taken to other places where they were subjected to Army surveillance. They were not allowed to leave the compound. Some people who fled hid in the mountains for long periods and endured great physical and medical hardships.

The Commission found that: "The persecution during the displacement shows the desire to exterminate. There was nowhere safe to hide. The Army tirelessly chased after noncombatants, who were eliminated without any means of defending themselves" (CEH 1999: Section 3471, p. 93).

The Army had no problem killing vulnerable people. Witnesses testified that: "In one of the beds, there was a baby that was scarcely 8 years old. …A soldier took it in his arms and the other soldier put the barrel of the gun in its mouth and with one shot, blew off the top of the baby's skull" (CEH 1999: Section 3472, p. 93). There was evidence that indigenous people were forced by the military to fight against and/or inform on other indigenous people either in their own villages or in other villages. Mayans were forced to murder other Mayans.

One example was where Mayan people were forcibly conscripted into the so-called Civil Patrol. The Commission found that the Army used these Patrols to carry out killings in some cases. According to Commission data, the Civil Patrolmen participated in four massacres "with the greatest marks of cruelty" (CEH 1999: Section 3441, p. 75). In one village some of the Mayans were forced to hang other Mayans suspected of being guerillas (CEH 1999: Sections 3340, 3341, p. 52). These were ordinary people not connected to the Civil Patrol. The Government sought to fragment and undermine the social cohesion to weaken what the Government believed was the main base of the revolution. A document of the CIA, admitted into evidence by the Commission, stated that the "indigenous population is totally in favor of the EGPC (Army of the Poor, which was one of the Guerilla groups" (CEH 1999: Section 3253, p. 31). The CIA concluded that it was necessary for the Guatemalan military to kill non-combatants (Ibid.).

There was also much torture and sexual violence in all of the indigenous areas. In one village soldiers "cut off the ears, their nose and they poured salt in the wound" (CEH 1999: Section 3407, pp. 74–75). Sexual violence including rape in public was common in the area (CEH 1999: Section 3407, pp. 53–4, 76, 96 and pp. 120–121). Women were raped in front of their husbands and even in front of their children. Frequently after the sexual attacks they were then killed. Some young women were so badly damaged that they were unable to have children. The military was always eager to send a message to the indigenous population: supporting the guerillas has deadly consequences.

There was evidence of destruction of places that were deemed sacred sites. One example was that of a village which had a ceremonial place according to custom for community events. It was destroyed by the military. Corn fields were destroyed not only to eliminate sources of food but also because of the cultural significance to the people. In the case of another village the Commission made the following findings: "In the village of Cotzil, the soldiers dug trenches in the place where the Mayan ceremonies were held; the soldiers had orders to assassinate whoever they found…The village was razed, they burned everything: homes, clothes, dead people and animals" (CEH 1999: Section 3353, p. 54).

After considering all of the evidence the Commission (CEH), in 1999, concluded that there was evidence "that human rights violations were directed at a purposely discriminatory manner against the Maya population in these regions" (CEH 1999: Section 3582, p. 127). It was further concluded that "In almost all of these cases, the perpetrators' objective was to kill the maximum possible number of members of the (aforementioned Maya) group" (CEH 1999: Section 3588, p.129). In addition, the CEH found that: "In studying happened in the four regions, the CEH established that alongside the mass killings — which were enough to guarantee the elimination of the groups identified as enemies — Army units or Civil Patrolmen systematically committed acts of cruelty and other cruel, inhuman and degrading acts. The effect of these acts was to terrorize the population and destroy the basic elements of social cohesion between members, particularly when they were forced to witnesses or commit these acts themselves" (CEH 1999: Section 3590, p. 1290).

The Commission held that the physical destruction of Mayan communicaties, the massacres, the forced displacement, sexual violence, torture and forcing people to fight against their own people were done intentionally and constituted acts of genocide" (CEH 1999: Section 3693–3695, p. 1320). The Commission found that the Guatemalan state had failed to honor its duty to investigate and punish acts of genocide in its territory all in violation of the United Nations Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (CEH 1999: Section 3604–3606, p. 132). The Commission further held that persons who committed genocide, whether they be "governmental leaders, functionaries or private citizens should be prosecuted" in Guatemalan courts or in an international court (CEH 1999: Section 360, p. 132–133).

The CEH also found that attacking civilians not engaged in hostilities constituted a violation of the laws of armed conflict as set forth in Common Article 3 of the Geneva Convention 1949, ratified in 1952 (Ibid.). The Commission construed the phrase "intent to destroy," in whole or in part, of Article II of the Genocide Convention" as only requiring a general intent to destroy a particular population in whole or in part, regardless of the subjective motive (CEH 1999: Section 3607, p. 133). Thus, it was not necessary to show that intent was based on race or ethnic hatred. It does not matter whether the Government's objective was military or a desire to eradicate socialism. Furthermore, the CEH made clear that the state actors need not have intent to destroy the whole ethnic group; intent to destroy part of the targeted population is enough.

During the years of 1981–1983 there were 200,000 or more indigenous people killed and 400 indigenous villages destroyed (*Herman and Peterson* 2010: 93; *Roht* 2009: 135). This is not to mention the many people who disappeared.

Since the Commission has no enforcement mechanism it had to rely on recommendations made to the Guatemalan Government to secure some restorative justice to the victims. One may ask what was the value of the Guatemalan Historical Clarification Commission? One thing which was helpful was that it made known to the Guatemalan people and to the world the acts of genocide and other related crimes which were committed. Such findings of 1999 would hopefully stimulate greater respect for international human rights. However, neither the Guatemalan state nor the United States has ever fully acknowledged the culpability of these two governments. Also, neither Taiwan nor Israel, who assisted the Guatemalan military at various times, have been held accountable.

Generally, as Edward Herman and David Peterson have observed, in the United States the word "genocide" is usually reserved for countries which the U.S. opposes while the U.S. either denies the use of the word genocide or plays it down with respect to countries it is allied with (*Herman and Peterson* 2010: 29–112). This pattern also applies to the International Criminal Court.

The Commission did make a series of recommendations in 1999 in its "Memory of Silence" document. The CEH recommended various provisions for preservation of the memory of the victims; reparations; economic compensation for personal and other injuries and damages resulting from the genocide; cooperation from the Guatemalan state to help find the disappeared and to allow exhumation; showing mutual respect and observance of human rights; steps to ensure respect for Mayan culture and symbols; reform of the judicial system to prevent impunity for violations of law; and measures to ensure the primacy of civilian power over the armed forces (CEH 1999: "Memory of Silence" recommendations, pp. 201–222 in *Higonnet*). These recommendations were made to the Guatemalan Government.

The Commission also recommended that the Guatemalan Government ratify several international human rights conventions and treaties. In response the Guatemalan Government, between the years 2000 and 2003, did ratify the following international agreements:

1) The Inter-American Convention on Forced Disappearances.

2) The additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights regarding social, economic, and cultural activities.

3) The Optional Protocol of the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

4) The Optional Protocol of the Convention of the Rights of the Child and the Children in Conflict.

5) The International Convention Against Torture (*Mersky* 2005: 3).

What is most interesting is that because Guatemala signed these agreements it gave individual aggrieved persons the right to pursue claims of human rights violations in certain international judicial or quasi-judicial bodies such as the UN Human Rights Committee and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. It does not appear that these remedies have been used very much. However, in 2008 the resident of an indigenous village filed a complaint with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights against the Guatemalan government alleging multiple violations of the American Convention on Human Rights committed by the Guatemalan military. This case arose out of an indiscriminate massacre in 1982. Two hundred and two people were killed including women, children, and the elderly. The Commission found that the state should be held liable and should prosecute those who committed the orders. After the Commission's ruling, the Guatemalan government failed to properly investigate and prosecute the offenders. Thereupon, the Commission referred to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights which conducts trial-type proceedings which include live witnesses, depositions, and production of documents. The Court made a decision on November 24, 2009 which held that the Guatemalan government had unjustly delayed the proceeding and had not held the offenders responsible. The Court issued a judgement on behalf of the members and relatives of the village in the sum of fourteen million five hundred quetzals as damages (Decision of Inter-American Court of Human Rights, pp. 1–80).

In the Guatemalan Courts there have been convictions of military officers and others involved in the genocide (*Roht* 2009, ft 4: 136). Former President and former Congressperson Rios Montt was convicted of genocide after he left Congress in 2016. His conviction was overturned by an appellate court in Guatemalan and he was retried but died before completion of the trial in 2018.

Rigoberto Menchu, a prominent Mayan leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner, filed a complaint in a Spanish Court which has universal jurisdiction over human rights claims. Ms. Menchu's complaint named various officers and individuals who participated in the genocide. These included criminal and civil claims. After eight years of legal battles, including extradition proceedings, the Constitutional Court of Guatemala refused extradition of the defendants from Guatemala to Spain (Ibid.: 138–147). Ms. Menchu brought her claim in 1999.

Despite some convictions obtained by Guatemalan prosecutors in Guatemalan courts, most of the culprits, including former Defense Minister, Hector Gramajo, avoided prosecution. In many cases in the Guatemalan courts there have been lengthy delays and appellate court rulings dismissing or overturning convictions.

In 2006 Guatemala entered into an agreement with the United Nations to joint an International Commission Against Impunity the purpose of which was to reform the judicial system and obtain convictions for corruption. Guatemalan had faced international criticism for too much impunity. Although these efforts were not very successful former President Perez Molina was convicted for corruption in 2015 and is now serving a prison sentence (Dissent: 103).

In 2019 conservative Jimmy Morales, who has close ties to the Guatemalan military, terminated Guatemala's participation in the international commission against impunity. However, recently the Guatemalan Constitutional Court has suspended termination of the Commission. Morales is now under investigation for campaign finance fraud.

The United States State Department, in its Human Rights Report of 2018, noted that Jose Maurio Rodriguez Sanchez was charged with genocide involving a Mayan genocide during the civil war which lasted from 1960 to 1996. He was found guilty by a 3-judge panel (US SD Report 2018: 2). The Report also notes that from January to March of 2019 at least three indigenous rights advocates were killed because of their political activity. Two of them were involved in indigenous rights activism (US SD Report 2019: 20).

Dispossession of Indigenous Lands and Resources

The indigenous peoples of Guatemala, who were engulfed by settler colonialism and economic imperialism throughout their long history, lost much of their traditional lands and resources. What is left is currently threatened by corporate developers, allied with the Guatemalan state and by international business and finance.

For thousands of years the physical environment has been under the control of the good stewardship of the Maya whose knowledge of the interconnection between human beings and nature allowed them to survive as a people.

Indigenous peoples of Guatemala have been aided somewhat by the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous peoples (2007), the International Labor Organization Convention 169 (1989) and the American Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2016). These documents require the Guatemalan Government and its corporate allies to engage in consultation with the affected indigenous peoples for the purpose of obtaining their consent before economic development projects can proceed where the people's culture and livelihood are materially affected.

There is a growing consensus in the international community and at the United Nations that not only informed consultation is necessary but also informed consent. I have discussed the issues of consultation and consent in greater detail elsewhere (*Phillips* 2015: 121–126).

The impact of international law has apparently caused the Guatemalan Congress to amend the Guatemalan Constitution to require consultation with indigenous peoples before economic projects can commence. The Guatemalan Constitutional Court in 2018 ordered the Energy of Mines to comply with the ILO Convention 169 consultation guidelines in negotiating with the Xina population with respect to the San Rafael gold mine before the mine could continue operating (US SD 2019: 21). A similar result occurred in a 2019 case before the same court. The Court ordered the Fenix Nickel Plant to suspend the mine's operation until the required consultation with the affected peoples had been achieved by the state and the company (Ibid.).

Indigenous peoples successfully obtained compensation for damages caused by a state approved construction of the Chixoy hydroelectric dam from the years 1975 to 1985 (Ibid.).

The construction of the dam caused 400 deaths and thousands of people displaced. As of October 2019, these people have received 98% of the settlement or 26 million dollars (US SD 2019: 3).

In 2013 the Guatemala Constitutional Court had ruled that the Government must respect the results of municipal referendums on whether mining projects can be constructed (*Phillips* 2015: 125).

In spite of the hopeful developments the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights reported in 2019 that there were mine operations near the Barrio Nuevo area despite lack of consultation. The Government seems to have allowed mining companies to build mines and conduct mining operations in a number of indigenous areas without any consultation whatsoever and in spite of objections registered by the voters in local elections. Furthermore, there is evidence that the Guatemalan Government has not cooperated with indigenous people to establish effective demarcation of lands rendering it difficult for indigenous people to establish title to their traditional lands and resources (US SD 2019: 21).

The Guatemalan Government, like the U.S. and Colombia, does not appear to require consent of indigenous peoples before mining and other projects and other projects can be approved. The Guatemalan Constitution only requires consultation. Moreover, as the U S State Department Human Rights Report of 2019 indicates there are still irregularities in the Guatemalan judicial system.

Indigenous peoples of Guatemala remain subject to the power of big landowners, multinational companies, international business and finance and therefore the threat to cultural and environmental sustainability continues.

Criminal Gangs

Indigenous and other peoples in Guatemala have had to face the problem of gangs. Since the Peace Accords of 1996 many young men who served in the military are with the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (UNRG or guerillas) became unemployed and had easy access to weapons (*Valdovinos* 2020: 1). Too many of these persons have turned to criminality as a way of making a living.

I interviewed many Guatemalans during the years 1996–2004, when, as a lawyer, I represented many Guatemalans in U. S. Immigration and Federal Courts. I can now recite something I learned.

A frequent situation was that gang members, who were armed, demanded money from ordinary citizens in exchange for their safety. Sometimes furniture and appliances were removed by the gangs from people's homes. At times the real property and houses were expropriated by gang members for their use. Citizens frequently had to pay a set sum of money every week or every month to these criminal elements. People who failed to comply were threatened with execution. There were times when person who refused to cooperate were killed or their families were harmed. Gang members, like the genocidal military of the past, had no problem sexually abusing women and killing or abusing children. When individuals did call the police most often no one came. Also, many individuals were afraid to call the police because they feared they would be killed or injured or have members of their families killed or injured by gang members if they found out that the police had been called. Sometimes honest policemen were harassed and even killed by the gangs. Frequently people would find death threat notes on the doors of their homes. There were instances where gang members killed people or injured members of their families if it was discovered that they were cooperating with the police. Some police may have been corrupt. Another factor is that police departments often lacked sufficient personnel and equipment because of cuts in public spending. Spending cuts had been required and/or encouraged by international banks and the International Monetary Fund. Lack of police pro-

tection is one consequence of the dominance of neoliberal economic doctrine throughout the western hemisphere. Neoliberalism, led by the United States, supports and emphasizes privatization of public services, tax cuts for the wealthy, and limited social spending. The gangs have existed in all parts of Guatemalan, rural and urban since about 1980. Many of the current Guatemalan arrivals at the border of the United States have reported in the press that their decision to come to the U.S. was because of the fear of gang members. Most of the people I interviewed viewed the revolutionary movement as supporting the interests of the poor against the big landowners, the military and rich businessmen. They had little knowledge of or interest in ideology.

John Washington, in his recent study of asylum seekers coming to the U.S. from Central America and Mexico, and the problem of criminal gangs states as follows: "The police in the northern triangle of Central America and Mexico — perhaps in no small part because of the United States' longstanding favoring and financial support of strong-arm, iron-fist rule — are not only corrupt but ineffective: another argument showcasing the governments 'lack of control' " (*Washington* 2020: 62–63). Washington observes that criminal conviction of gang members are rare in Central America and Mexico. His study was completed in 2020.

Gang violence coupled with widespread poverty and climate change accounts for a large number of Guatemalans leaving their country and seeking asylum abroad. Guatemalan have been seeking asylum in Nicaragua, Costa Rico, Panama, and the United States. Eighty percent of the asylum seekers come to the U.S. or seek entry thereto (*Valdovinos* 2020: 1).

International law mandates that nation states provide an opportunity for persecuted persons to file for asylum. Those Guatemalans who seek entry to the United States at or close to a port of entry or who are able to reach the U.S. interior, face serious obstacles in seeking asylum. These asylum seekers, who enter at or near a port of entry, by the U. S. border and are discovered are immediately arrested by the U. S. Border Patrol. They usually must wait for a hearing for an unreasonable amount of time in detention facilities that are commonly oppressive and unsanitary. Sometimes women have been sexually abused and forced to undergo unnecessary operation. Children have been separated from their parents by policies implemented by the Trump Administration. When an applicant for asylum does get a hearing on his or her asylum claim it is before an integration officer who is not a judge or legally trained. At this stage the applicant must show "a credible fear" based on a "significant possibility" that if returned to his or her own country he or she will be persecuted because of either their race, religion, nationality, membership in a social group and political opinion (8 U.S. code 1101a). If the applicant cannot establish that the threatened persecution occurs because of one of those five factors, then the officer will deny the application. The individual is then returned to the detention facility, which may be in Mexico, and eventually is removed or allowed to leave for his or her home country. A major problem is that many of the people at the border are seeking protection from gang members who have threatened their lives or have made life almost impossible. If an applicant wants to appeal from the decision of the officer he or she can do so. The appeal is to a U. S. Immigration Judge located near the border. However, there is a long delay sometimes for the applicant to get a hearing. In some circumstances the applicant can be released from the detention facility but the applicant must pay a cash bond to obtain his or her temporary freedom. Bonds are often set by the immigration judge for $1,500 to $20,000 (*Washington* 2020: 149). From my own experience and knowledge, I can assert that most Guatemalans coming to the U.S. are indigenous peoples and poor Ladinos. They often come with nothing more than their clothes on their backs. If a person cannot pay the bond, they must stay in horrific detention facilities that are still being maintained by the U. S. Not surprisingly, many prefer to return home although also many prefer to endure the terrible conditions of detention rather than risk death in Guatemala from the criminal gangs. Individuals can obtain free legal service from sympathetic lawyers and organizations.

Individuals who enter illegally, without being detected by the U. S. Patrol agents and who reach areas beyond the border regions can file for asylum and can remain free until their asylum application is determined by the U. S. Immigration Court and the U. S. Federal Courts of Appeal.

A major problem for all asylum seekers is that they have to show or present evidence that the past persecution or feared future persecution is related to race, religion, nationality, membership in a social group or political opinion. Therefore, if they enter because of poverty or climate change they are ineligible. The question arises whether persecution from criminal gangs, who are non-state actors is a ground for asylum or withholding of removal. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has recognized this problem and has adopted a legal position, under international law, that criminal gangs should be treated as de facto nation states. The Commissioner's ruling was issued in 2016. While the Commissioner's ruling was in connection in El Salvador it is certainly applicable to Guatemala.

John Washington explains the Commissioner's reasoning as follows with respect to the Commissioner's "Eligibility Guidelines for Assessing the International Protection Needs for Asylum Seekers from El Salvador" (*Washington* 2020: 29).

Mr. Washington states that:

"…the UNHDR explains that contradicting a gang is a political action. The gangs after all, have de facto political control over certain Salvadoran villages and towns, such as El Limon, the small village outside San Salvador where a mass grave was discovered in 2019…The gangs in these places charge taxes, they offer protection, they enact criminal punishment, they even evict, and dispossess people living in their territory" (Ibid.).

It is familiar U.S. asylum law that were a state is unwilling or unable to control non-state actors who persecute people because of one of the five factors mentioned above they can obtain asylum. Because of the Commoner's opinion, recited above, an asylum applicant could argue that refusal to comply with gang members' demands or informing police about gang activities is a form of political opinion rendering asylum applicable. However, U. S. Attorney General Jeff Sessions ruled in 2018 that: "Generally, claims by aliens pertaining to domestic violence or gang violence perpetrated by non-governmental actors will not qualify one for asylum" (Ibid.). It must be noted that Immigration Judges are administrative judges appointed by the U. S. Attorney General. Thus, Mr. Sessions' opinion, which was rendered in a case, is binding on the Immigration judges. Therefore, under the Trump administration, applicants have often been left without a viable legal argument even though their lives are threatened by out of control armed criminal gangs." However, asylum seekers can seek relief in the U.S, Courts of Appeal to override the U. S. Attorney General's opinion if there are available lawyers willing to work pro bono or at low cost on behalf of these people.

Problems Related to Climate Change

In the last several years large storms, rising sea levels and extreme drought are additional reasons why indigenous peoples in Guatemala are seeking refuge in the United States (*Macham* 2019: 1).

On January 7, 2020, the quasi-judicial United Nations Human Rights Committee in the case of Ioane Teitiota vs. New Zealand issued an important decision which could provide indigenous Guatemalans with an argument for asylum or refugee status, where there is a serious threat to life based on climate related disasters or conditions (Teitiota vs. New Zealand, January 7, 2020).

The Committee held that a state has an obligation to grant asylum or refugee status, under Article 6 of the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), where continued exposure to environmental degradation is likely to produce death or serious illness (Ibid.). This decision has some precedential value even though Mr. Teitiota lost his case because of insufficient evidence. However, this ruling can become part of general international law.

Conclusion

For several centuries the legacy of indigenous peoples in Guatemala has been under siege. International law and organizations could help to rescue their culture which will benefit all of humanity. International law can form the basis of what attorney Michael Tigar has called a "jurisprudence of insurgency" (*Tigar* 2000: 273).

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Original Article

© ***Saida Sirazhudinova***

GENDER AND THE FRONTIER IN THE NORTH CAUCASUS REGION

This article is written within the area of gender studies devoted to the gender space and gender boundaries, their impact on women's lives, and the role of women in society. The author turns to the study of these phenomena in the North Caucasus within the frontier theory. The study aims to identify the specificity and transformations of the gender issue through the prism of intra-social and external behavioral norms, the impact of borders on women's lives, and their position in society. The work is based on the empirical data collected by the author in four republics of the North Caucasus: Dagestan, Chechen Republic, Ingushetia, and Kabardino-Balkaria. The study showed the relevance of the gender division of space in a region where borders remain rigid, including the external ones. Society tends to maintain restrictions for women, shows indifference to their problems, and prefers not to intervene in the current situation. Moreover, new elements of "frontierism" and new social restrictions associated with rapid Islamization and traditional ways to interpret religion are developing. The most well-known organizations and activists in the region are those whose activities are related to the development of traditional culture and the protection of the language.

Keywords: *borders, gender, women's space, frontier, North Caucasus, postcolonialism, women's activities*

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Original Article

NEW ASPECTS IN THE STUDY OF FEMALE CORPOREALITY IN KARELIAN CULTURE

In regional Russian historiography, gaps remain associated with the study of women's everyday life. This is due both to the specifics of traditional culture, which tabooed conversation on these topics and to scientific traditions, which for a long time bypassed these problems. This article presents the results of archival research and fieldwork. It investigates some understudied aspects of the life of a Karelian peasant woman, connected with the physical and "cultural" body and the emotional sphere. These include menarche, visual markers of sexual maturity, the first wedding night, the first childbirth, and the ambivalent position of a woman in labor, the end of the fertile period. One of the article sources is the author's expedition materials collected from women born in the 1920s-1950s. Despite the retrospective nature of interviews, this information reveals previously unknown (sometimes quite emotional) aspects of women's everyday life. The material is presented according to the rituals of the life cycle, which mark the transition of a woman from one social status to another. At the same time, the author acknowledges the conventionality of this categorization since female corporeality was not limited to birth, marriage, and death but had many other aspects.

Keywords*: corporeality, women's history, Karelian culture, Karelian woman, history of Karelia*

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Original Article

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TRANSFORMATION OF TRADITIONAL MORDOVIAN MEN'S UNDERWEAR CLOTHING

The article aims to study the changes in the male underwear clothing as an essential element of the material culture of the Mordovian people. Mordva was the first large ethnic group to join Russia in the middle of the XVI century. The Christianization of the Mordva started from that moment on and played a significant role in its rapprochement with the Russian people. As a result of close intercultural contacts with different ethnic groups, especially with Russians, the Mordovian men's costume reflected influences of other cultures, beliefs, rites, and traditions. The most notable changes in the traditional Mordovian costume were observed in the late XIX — first quarter of the XX century and are associated with the use of factory-made fabric and borrowing individual costume elements from neighboring peoples living in Volga-Urals. The study of the literature on the topic showed that ethnographic sources and Mordovian folklore provide the most detailed descriptions of the manufacture of shirts, color selection, material, and clothing choice according to the season.

Keywords: *Volga-Urals, Mordva, male costume, ethnography, folklore, transformation.*

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Original Article

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FICTION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION ABOUT TRADITIONAL MEDICINE AMONG THE EASTERN SLAVS IN THE RUSSIAN FAR EAST

After the mass migration from the central regions to the Far East, the Eastern Slavs found themselves in an unusual ethnocultural and ecological environment. The new settlers faced a lack of medical care, so the methods of traditional medicine adapted to the Far Eastern conditions were in particular demand. The medical traditions of migrants have not been studied comprehensively yet, although there have been profound studies of individual aspects of folk medical practices. The article attempts to use fiction as a source for studying traditional medicine of the Eastern Slavs in the Far East. For the analysis we selected the works of writers from the Far East who traveled and studied their native land. It is concluded that fiction by Far Eastern writers can be an additional source of information about folk medicine of Slavic settlers in their interaction with the local population, other settlers, and adaptation to a new cultural and ecological environment. In some cases, fiction can encourage revision of the already known information.

Keywords: *folk medicine, Eastern Slavs, the Far East, Old Believers, fiction.*
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© Natalia A. Leibova, Svetlana S. Tur

NEW DENTAL ANTHROPOLOGY DATA ON THE PAZYRYK CULTURE POPULATION OF THE ALTAI MOUNTAINS

New data on the dental anthropology of the Scythian time (VI–III centuries BC) population of the northern local variant of the Pazyryk archaeological culture are introduced into scientific use. The data were obtained from 117 individuals representing the population of The Middle and Lower Katun River and the valley of the Charysh River. The purpose of the study is to test, based on dental data, the hypothesis of the close ties between the Scythian time population of the northern variant of the Pazyryk culture and the Kamenskay and Staroaleyskaya cultures of the Upper Ob region. The study revealed the proximity of the dental complex of the population of the Pazyryk culture of the Middle and Lower Katun on the one hand and both samples of the Staroaleyskaya and some samples of Kamenskaya cultures on the other. The individuals buried in Khankarinsky Dol ground, located in the foothills of the North-Western Altai, displayed a greater similarity with the Pazyryk population of the Central and South-Eastern Altai than with one of the Northern Altai. This conclusion is consistent with previously obtained archeological data. Thus, anthropological data confirm that the Pazyryk population, namely its northern variant, participated in the formation of the Staroaleyskaya culture.

Keywords: *Pazyryk culture, Staroaleyskaya culture, Kamenskaya culture, Mountain Altai, Scythian time, dental anthropology*

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Original Article

© Elizaveta V. Veselovskaya, Yulia V. Pelenitsyna, Olga I. Alyokhina, Egor A. Krykov, Anastasia M. Yudina

NOBODY IS FORGOTTEN, NOTHING IS FORGOTTEN

The article is devoted to the findings of military-patriotic search teams. It provides the results of the anthropological study and restoration of the lifetime appearance of the soldiers who died in the Great Patriotic War based on the exhumed remains. The work was carried out in the Laboratory of Anthropological Reconstruction of the Center for Physical Anthropology of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IEA RAS) within the research project "Restoring the appearance of fallen WWII soldiers". Project participants: employees of the IEA RAS, the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, students of Moscow State University and Russian State University for the Humanities, volunteers. The aim of the work is to obtain the most complete information about the appearance of soldiers who were found many years later on the battlefields. We also consider it important to draw attention to specific episodes of the war.

Contour and graphic reconstructions (face and profile) were made for each individual, verbal descriptions of appearance were prepared. Tables of individual measurements of the postcranial skeletons and skulls are presented. Based on osteological data, body length and constitution were determined. Individual lifetime head sizes were calculated based on craniometric data. Eight people are immortalized in portraits. It is possible that readers will identify their relatives who went to the front and did not return. And some more gaps in our knowledge of the Second World War will be filled by the new information.

Keywords: *anthropological reconstruction; facial reconstruction of fallen soldiers*
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Original Article

© *Aleksander P. Pestriakov, Olga M. Grigoryeva, Yulia V. Pelenitsyna*

CRANIAL VARIATION OF THE MONGOLOID RACE AND ITS GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

The large Mongoloid race is usually divided into three small ones: northern, eastern and southern Mongoloids. These three racial divisions were studied according to the special craniometric program. The material of the study consisted of 116 published modern cranial samples (52 northern, 42 eastern and 22 southern Mongoloid samples) using 11 metric traits of the absolute size and shape of the cranium. These traits were used to assign the samples to the categories within our cranial classification. The absolute majority of the northern Mongoloid cranial samples were classified as Golarktids. They are characterized by average or large crania sizes and the lowest vault among all Mongoloid samples. The crania of eastern Mongoloids, being of approximately the same size, have higher vault than the northern Mongoloids and are usually mesocranial. According to our craniological classification, they are Pacifids. Only 5 of 42 samples cannot be attributed to this type. Two samples of northern Chinese and the Hui sample (Chinese Muslims of Xinjiang) occupy intermediate position between Pacifids and Golarktids. The two brachycranial Korean samples with high vaults cannot be attributed to any of these types. The southern Mongoloids turned out to be more complicated in craniological terms. Samples from the eastern part of the territory are similar to eastern Mongoloids in shape, but much smaller in size, and thus can be considered a small version of the Pacifid type. But the western samples of the southern Mongoloids are mainly presented by a local type of Sundids, who differ from both Golarktids and Pacifids. Sundids have short, wide and medium-high crania, the smallest among Mongoloids. Interestingly, our Korean samples have a very similar shape of the crania, but much larger in size.

The local cranial type of Sundids is isolated on its modern territory. From the north and east there is a zone where the Pacifid type dominates, and the northwest (Indian subcontinent) and southeast (Australia and Western Oceania) areas are inhabited by the Tropid populations of a completely different cranial type.

Keywords: *Mongoloids, cranial, cranial sample, cranial type, sphericity of the skull, evolutionary changes, Sundids*

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Original Article

THE ROLE OF AN EXPERT RESEARCHER IN THE SCIENTIFIC SUPPORT OF THE STATE NATIONAL POLICY IN RUSSIA (1990–2000-S): RESULTS OF AN EXPERT SURVEY

National policy problems came to the forefront in the socio-political life of the Soviet Union at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s. The multi-ethnic state experienced serious "overload" in the field of inter-ethnic relations during this period, which was a side effect of the democratization of political life and glasnost in the perestroika period. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the extremely unstable development of inter-ethnic relations in Russia in the 1990s (and partly in the following period) increased the importance of this sphere of state activity even more. The need for a broad application of scientific expertise in the developing and implementing state ethnic policy became a serious challenge for the post-Soviet expert community. The latter had to rethink the concepts and perceptions of nationalism and the nature of inter-ethnic relations inherited from the Soviet period, seek new forms of relations with the state authorities and develop mechanisms for influencing national policies in an accelerated manner.

Keywords: *state policy, inter-ethnic relations, ethnological expert activity*
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Original Article

© *Aliaksandr Hurko*

BELARUSIAN YOUNG PEOPLE'S IDENTITY. A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE TWO FIELD RESEARCH CAMPAIGNS IN 2012–2014 AND 2020–2022

The article presents the results of comparative analysis of the data obtained in the course of two ethno–sociological surveys conducted in the youth environment in one of the regions of Belarus — the Grodno Region. These researches are part of larger international projects "On the Border with the EU Countries: Ethnocultural Strategies of Young People in the Grodno and Kaliningrad Regions" (2012–2014) and "Longitudinal Research Experience of Identity and Life Strategy of Young People in the Kaliningrad and Grodno Regions" (2020–2022), carried out by teams of ethnologists of the Center for Research of Belarusian Culture, Language and Literature of the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus and the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, supported by two scientific funds: the Belarusian Foundation for Basic Research and the Russian Foundation for Basic Research. The aim of the projects was a comparative study of the dynamics of identity development and life strategies of young people in the territories bordering with the countries of the European Union in two countries: Russia and Belarus. The following were chosen as the main parameters determining the ethnocultural orientations of young people during the surveys: first, ethnic self-identification; second, linguistic identification; third, identification based on images of their native land; fourth, youth strategies in transmitting ethnic experience to subsequent generations. A number of regularities related to the ethno-cultural attitudes of young people were established and conclusions were made about the increasing dominance of civic identity over ethnic identity.

Keywords: *Ethnic identity, ethnic symbols, national identity, ethnic and cultural strategies of youth*
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Original Article

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ETHNOCULTURAL AND SOCIAL ADAPTATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS OF MORDOVIA

The article considers the activities of schools in the Republic of Mordovia aimed at creating conditions and organizing educational and adaptation processes for migrant children. The study is based on the analysis of educational and scientific literature and practical sources. The current social situation determines the research interest in the phenomenon of "children's migration", hence the importance of the present study. Migrant children are a special category of citizens who, due to their age, unformed psyche, and particular psychological perception of the educational and cultural environment, are subject to stress and often face conflict situations. The adaptation of children of migrants of school age is usually a lengthy process since they have to deal with a foreign language, a new school curriculum, socio-cultural environment, climate, and much more.

Keywords: *migrant children, education, linguistic and ethnocultural adaptation, socio-cultural space, educational and cultural environment.*
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Original Article

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THE ROLE OF FOOD IN THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN "US" AND "OTHERS" IN SOUTHERN ITALY

This article is devoted to a rather poorly studied aspect of migration research in the scientific discourse — the role of food in cross-cultural contacts between migrants and the local population, "newcomers" and "hosts". It uses concrete examples to consider food, its choice (the binary opposition "our"/"someone else's"), and the transition to a new foreign-cultural alimentary system not only as a reflection of the socio-cultural interaction of these two categories of the population in the context of modern Italian society but also as a factor in the formation and optimization of relations between them. Special attention is paid to a wide range of factors that influence the nature of these relationships on "food soil" and alimentary-motivated behavior of both migrants and the people of Italy. These include both historical, social, and cultural backgrounds and traditional attitudes of the population of certain social strata and certain regions. The analysis of purely "dietary aspects" of the immigration problem also allows us to clearly highlight the regional diversity of the population of Italy. Special emphasis is put on discussing migration policies of different autonomous regions of the country and its historical regions, which largely shape the way the broad layers of society see migrants and the role of the historical memory of the population in forming stereotypes about the "Other".

Keywords: *Southern Italy, traditional food, alimentary culture, migrants, local population, identity, historical memory, cross-cultural contacts*
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Original Article

FRIVOLOUS AMUSEMENTS OF VERY SERIOUS PEOPLE (REVIEW OF THE BOOKS ON LEISURE CULTURE IN JAPAN)

This text is a comprehensive overview of several monographs published in the 1990-s-2020-s by outstanding Russian experts in Japanese studies: S. B. Markarian, E. V. Molodiakova, E. E. Voytishek, A. R. Sadokova, and D. A. Trynkina.

The authors gathered the materials for their books during their prolonged field work in Japan or borrowed them from a huge number of Japanese sources, both books and articles plus internet resources, dedicated to festivals, games, rituals, supernatural beliefs, demonology, and other related subjects.

Keywords*: fuku, yokai, festivals, cards, games, good luck, blessing, demonology*
For Citation: Arutynov, Sergey A. Frivolous Amusements of Very Serious People (Review of the books on leisure culture in Japan). *Herald of Anthropology (Vestnik Antropologii)* 2: 292–309.
Author Info: Arutynov, Sergey A. — Dr. (History), Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Leading Research Fellow, N. N. Mikluho-Maklay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences (Leninsky ave, 32A, Moscow, 119334). E-mail: gusaba@iea.ras.ru
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Original Article

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THE CENTRAL INSTITUTE FOR SOUND AND AUDIOVISUAL HERITAGE OF ITALY: THE PAST AND PRESENT

The paper is dedicated to the history of the creation of the Central Institute for Sound and Audiovisual Heritage of Italy and the exploration of the heuristic possibilities offered by its storage. The foundation of the Institute stems from the legacy of the private collection of audio recordings "The Words of the Greatest", donated in 1927 to the Italian State. The first name of the Institute was "State Records", since the first archive mostly consisted of audio recordings on phonograph records. Thanks to the efforts of its first Director, video recordings were added to the collection. Moreover, the archive began to evolve from a deposit of mainly propaganda recordings to a scientific institution for the collection and conservation of audio and video sources. Having successfully survived the Fascist Era, the Institute became the largest center for the collection of recordings coming from different sources, such as the renowned Sanremo music festival, rich private collections of Italian folklore, artifacts from the history of recording instruments, as well as the mandatory copies of all audio and video documents produced in Italy. In addition, the Institute stores the unique access point to the Archives for Visual History of the state archives, which include interviews with the Italian victims of the Holocaust, as well as the databases of the Steven Spielberg Shoah Foundation. The sources of the Institute can be of considerable interest to historians, ethnologists, and anthropologists.

Keywords: *State records, Central Institute for Sound and Audiovisual Heritage of Italy, audio recording, visual sources, Holocaust, folklore, discography, phonograph record, Italian song, unique access point*

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Original Article

NEOPAGANISM AND NATIONALISM IN THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF RENE GIRARD

This article examines the theoretical legacy of Rene Girard, the French anthropologist. The text analyzes Girard's reflections on such phenomena as nationalism and neopaganism. The author examines his ideas about the genesis of these phenomena and the role of such girardian concepts as "mimetic desire", "mimetic violence" and "concern for victims" in their formation. As we learn from the work of Girard, he saw the origins of nationalism as an ideology in the spread of indiscernibility and resentment in modern societies since, along with the spread of egalitarianism, "mimetic rivalry" became ubiquitous in them. Girard's views on neopaganism can be found in "I See Satan Fall Like Lightning", where he distinguishes left and right wings in neopaganism, depending on their attitude to the cultural trend of "concern for victims". The article also offers an attempt to apply Girard's hypotheses and concepts to the study of Russian neopaganism, with examples from the history and texts of neopagan ideologues such as V. N. Emelyanov, G. P. Yakutovsky and N. N. Speransky.

Keywords: *Rene Girard, mimetic theory, nationalism, neopaganism, rodnoverie.*
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Book Review

© Olga Kazmina

BOOK REVIEW: TISHA M. RAJENDRA. 2017. MIGRANTS AND CITIZENS: JUSTICE AND RESPONSIBILITY IN THE ETHICS OF IMMIGRATION. GRAND RAPIDS (MICHIGAN): WILLIAM B. EERDMAN PUBLISHING COMPANY, 179 P.

The publication of T. Rajendra's book is very timely. The author's main argument is that for understanding the contemporary migration crisis and fair distributions of responsibilities between citizens and migrants, current relations between locals and newcomers should be put into historical context. Heated debates and ambiguous attitudes towards refugees and migrants in receiving countries create, according to Rajendra, different, sometimes diametrically opposed narratives, which often contain historical inaccuracies and even barefaced lies. She thinks that justice to migrants requires correcting these inaccuracies, fiction, and falsifications and creating narratives more truly describing relations between citizens and migrants. Hence, these inaccurate and incomplete narratives should be replaced with fuller narratives faithful to reality. Rajendra concludes that an adequate answer to ethical questions about citizens' responsibilities to migrants and potential migrants and the bases of these responsibilities requires not only new narratives but also new accounts on justice grounded on the ideas of responsibilities rather than the ideas of human rights that are typically used in the migration discourse. She calls it "justice as responsibility to relationships". T. Rajendra's book provides a fresh look at the migration crisis and the problem of undocumented migrants and offers a new approach to the reimagination and reconstruction of narratives about immigration — this complex and contradictory reality of our days.

Keywords: *migration, narratives, ethics, justice, responsibility.*
For citation: Kazmina, O. E. Book Review: Tisha M. Rajendra. 2017. Migrants and Citizens: Justice and Responsibility in the Ethics of Immigration. Grand Rapids (Michigan): William B. Eerdman Publishing Company, 179 p. *Herald of Anthropology (Vestnik Antropologii)* 2: 333–339.
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Book Review

BOOK REVIEW: MARTYNOVA, M. (ED.). 2021. LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA. MOSCOW: INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY RAS, 620 P.

The review of the collective monograph "Language and Identity: An Anthropological Study of the Situation in Russia" gives a very high assessment of this work. It is noted that the research is based on the results obtained in the course of a single project to study the current linguistic situation in the Russian regions. The general research methodology and tools allowed to carry out a qualitative comparative analysis of the language situation in many regions. The review agrees with the thesis of the authors of the theoretical part of the work that the absolutization of the role of language is most often connected with the entrenched ideas about the inseparable connection between language and ethnicity, or more precisely, with the character of ethnic identification, since language is seen as the main ethno-differential attribute, primarily by linguists themselves, but also by a wide range of ethnic activists and other persons involved in the practice of preserving cultural diversity in the country.

It is noted that the monograph describes different situations and shows that in some cases the language of minority groups has a high degree of "vitality" (such as Abazinian) and functions successfully, while in others there is a real threat of displacement of languages from the sphere of public use. But for all the diversity of the linguistic situations analyzed by the authors of the collective monograph, there are many similarities in the trends of linguistic development in Russian regions. It is especially noted that the monograph draws attention to the quality of language lessons, their content, the qualifications and specifics of the training of teachers who teach language subjects, i. e. to those problems which occur everywhere, but which rarely come to the attention of researchers. Here attention is also drawn to one of the most important problems connected with measures to preserve and develop minority languages, namely the image of the language.

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