NOTES

CHAPTER 1


2. On the introduction of the term *revolution* in intellectual history, see Ilan Rachum, “Revolution”: The Entrance of a New World into Western Political Discourse (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1999).

3. This assumption was shared even by those who argued that “there is no agreed definition of revolution”; see Mattei Dogan and John Higley, “Elites, Crises, and Regimes in Comparative Analysis,” in *Elites, Crises, and the Origins of Regimes*, eds. Mattei Dogan and John Higley (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998), 9. They stated that revolutions “constituted political crises of the highest order,” leading to a situation where “political power is up for grabs.” It was implied here that the new order, although resting on the foundation of the old political and social system, would nevertheless be different.

4. Arendt, *On Revolution*, 112; Fred Halliday, *Revolution and World Politics: The Rise and Fall of the Sixth Great Power* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1999); Charles Tilly, “History and Sociological Imagining,” Tocqueville Review 15 (1994): 65. Tilly, though skeptical about patterns of revolution development, still believes one can see some general features. For him, revolution consisted of rapid and visible depreciation of state power, divisions in control over the major means of coercion, formation of antiregime coalitions, and other political shifts that neither guaranteed revolution nor constituted parts of the definition. Political scientists even tried to deuniversalize the Marxist theory of revolution that provided, at least in general outline, a universal pattern for revolutionary upheavals, claiming that “Marx did not try to create a general theory of the revolution relevant to all kinds of societies at all times.” See Theda Skocpol, *Social
5. Skocpol, *Social Revolutions*, 105.
6. Quoted in ibid.
8. Quoted in Skocpol, *Social Revolutions*, 133.
9. This was the case with political scientist Samuel Huntington. In his view, a revolution was a rapid, fundamental, violent change in the dominant values and myths of a society in its political institutions, social structure, leadership, government policies, and activities. The collapse of the old order led to the rise of a new one. A “complete revolution” implied “the creation and institutionalization of new political order into which an explosion of popular participation in national affairs is channeled.” Quoted in Skocpol, *Social Revolutions*, 129, 133.
11. Skocpol, *Social Revolutions*, 279.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., 57.
16. Ibid., 20.
17. Ibid., 36.
22. Ibid., 3.
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25. Ibid., 12.
27. Sorokin, Sociology of Revolution, 12.
29. Skocpol, Social Revolutions, 125.
32. Sorokin, Man and Society in Calamity, 124.

CHAPTER 2

2. Pitirim A. Sorokin, Man and Society in Calamity: The Effect of War, Revolution, Famine, Pestilence upon Human Mind, Behavior, Social Organization, and Cultural Life (1942; repr., New York: E. P. Dutton, 1963), 131. This was the first and last attempt to ration sex and provide it along with other commodities. However, something similar introduced much later by some Bolshevik groups included rationing women.
3. Bayley, Patterns of Policing, 35.
4. Ibid., 3.
5. Ibid., 28.
6. Ibid., 80.
8. Bayley, Patterns of Policing, 32.
9. A recent example would be the collapse of the Taliban in Afghanistan, which led to violent crime (Peter Baker, “Disorder Replaces Taliban in Southern No Man’s Land,” Washington Post Online, December 11, 2001). A similar process can be seen in revolutions in premodern and non-Western societies, where collapse of strong state power led to proliferation of violent crime.

The fact that the bandits’ job entailed murder and rape did not bother these people, because deep restraint was exercised when dealing with those to whom they were connected by blood ties or friendship. Outside the circle, anything was permitted (Simmel, *On Individuality and Social Forms*, 262). “For most of humanity, the tribe is the unit within which killing is considered murder, and outside of which killing may be a proof of manhood and bravery, a pleasure and a duty,” Erich Goode, *Deviant Behavior* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1990), 215. The culture (it still survives in some places) saw nothing wrong in killing enemies or mere strangers for fun, as a form of entertainment. Maureen Dowd, “Go Fly a Kite, Taliban,” *New York Times on the Web*, November 14, 2001.

11. This practice can be found in modern Africa, for example Congo, which is seemingly endlessly embroiled in ethnic strife and the most macabre atrocities (“U.N. Probes Cannibalism Report in Congo,” *New York Times*, January 8, 2003). In the city of Drodro, 966 people were killed in early April 2003. Hamadoun Toure, spokesman for the United Nations force in Congo, commented: “Nearly 1,000 dead—I cannot remember a time when so many were killed in such a short space of time” (“U.N. Investigates Alleged Civilian Massacre in Congo,” *New York Times*, April 7, 2003). Remarkable also was the nature of those who committed the murders: women and children participated in “the bloody dawn raid.”


18. Emphasis on loyalty to the ruler was found all over Eurasia, especially in societies with warrior elites. Personal loyalty to the ruler as a cardinal virtue was emphasized in the Mongol empire and most nomadic societies. Savitskii even assumed that the tradition of killing a ruler’s wives and children and burying them together stems from emphasis on absolute devotion to the leader. Petr Nikolaevich Savitskii, *Kontinent Evraziia* (Moscow: Agraf, 1997), 345.


20. Ibid., 193.


22. Sorokin, *Man and Society*, 108. It was not surprising that preparation for war and full immersion in the culture of violence was an essential part of elite life. Direct force to receive wealth and ensure the flow of goods to the tribute collector was not only an attribute of medieval Europe or premodern societies but also can be seen in post-Soviet Russia, which has socioeconomic conditions strikingly similar to European feudalism. Iulia Latynina, “Nepravitelstvennyi Zakhvat,” *Novaia Gazeta*, March 26, 2001.


28. Ibid., 195.

29. This was also the case with the Mongols; see Vernadsky, *Mongols and Russia*, 110.


37. Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action: A Study in Social Theory with Special Reference to a Group of Recent European Writers* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1949), 346.

38. Ibid., 367.


42. Ibid., 372.


**Chapter 3**


13. At the beginning of the modern era there was a strong streak of anomie in the fabric of French society. Asocial drives endangered society’s very existence. “Durkheim had clearly shown empirically that beyond a certain point the extension of anomie is dangerous to physical life itself.” Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action: A Study in Social Theory with Special Reference to a Group of Recent European Writers* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1949), 392.


17. Ibid., 120.
18. The situation is similar in parts of the contemporary world that have experienced the collapse of authority and culture.


23. Ibid., 66, 68.


25. Gauvard, “De grace especial,” 166 (on homicide, see also p. 529); Chiffoleau, Les justices du pape, 162.


33. Ibid., 1.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid., 3.

36. Ibid., 6.

37. Ibid., 5.

38. Ibid., 12.


40. Ibid., 106.

41. See, for example, Zavtra, February 19, 2002.


43. Ibid., 270–71.

44. Gonthier, Délinquance, 171.


46. Simmel, On Individuality and Social Forms, 201–2.
47. According to some historians, the banditry could not have spread without the help of the nobility. Barkey (Bandits and Bureaucrats, 5) notes: “Fernand Braudel writes, ‘Behind banditry, that terrestrial piracy, appeared the continual aid of lords,’ an indication that the nobility was attempting to disrupt state-making through such innovative means.”


51. Ibid., 42.


54. Ibid., 554.

55. Ibid., 201.


59. Ibid., 246.

60. Chiffôleau, Les justices du pape, 124.


66. Berce, History of Peasant Revolts, 100.


69. Bellamy, Crime and Public Order, 42.

70. Ibid., 49.

71. Ibid., 46.

72. Ibid., 4, 48.

73. Cuttler, The Law of Treason, 163.

74. Berce, History of Peasant Revolts, 100, 282.

77. Ibid., 160.
86. Ibid., 177.
88. Personal gain side by side with high moral standards was in no way limited to the West. In Imperial China an essential characteristic of a Mandarin bureaucrat was not just knowledge but high moral caliber. Still, what today’s West would regard as corruption was seen as essential for a Mandarin bureaucrat to supplement his salary. Paul C. Hickey, “Fee-Taking, Salary Reform, and the Structure of State Power in Late Qing China, 1909–1911,” *Modern China* 17, no. 3 (1991).
89. The same connection can be found in post-Soviet Russia, which some scholars assert has traits of feudalism. Boris Berezovskii, for example, received wealth from direct connections with Yeltsin. In some cases he behaved exactly as a feudal baron; he did not formally control the enterprise but worked through his management, who were like vassals from whom he collected a form of tribute. Robert Cottrell, “Mr. Bigsky: Review of Paul Klebnikov,” *Godfather of the Kremlin: Boris Berezovsky and the Looting of Russia* (New York: Harcourt, 2000) and Chrystia Freeland, *Sale of the Century: Russia’s Wild Ride from Communism to Capitalism* (New York: Crown, 2000),” *New York Review of Books*, October 19, 2000.
92. Ibid., 23.
94. Ibid., 193.
95. *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, “Cloak and Sword Drama.”
96. Geremek, The Margins of Society, 147, 150, 154. Students were not the only literate ones who could easily be criminals; among them could be poets such as Villon (128).
97. This would not be at odds with post-Soviet Russia, where under Yeltsin bandits became absolutely legitimate and were regarded as the "new violent entrepreneurs." Georgi Derluguian, The Invisible First: Russia's Criminal Predators against Markets and Themselves, Program on New Approaches to Russian Security, Police Memo Series 77 (October 1999), 48.
104. Bellamy, Crime and Public Order, 47.
105. Similarly, in the wake of the destruction of the USSR, criminals looked for a powerful sponsor or sponsored various businesses themselves. See Vladimir Shlapentokh, "Early Feudalism: The Best Parallel for Contemporary Russia," Europe-Asia Studies 48 (May 1996): 393–413.
106. Victor Davis Hanson, The Wars of the Ancient Greeks (London: Cassell, 2001), 64.
112. Barkey, Bandits and Bureaucrats, 5.
113. Ibid., 176.
120. Ibid., 624.
121. Ibid., 593.
122. Ibid., 623; see also Benoit Garnot, Crime et justice aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (Paris: Imago, 2000), 79.


127. Chiffoleau, Les justices du pape, 141; on banditry see p. 117.


130. It was employed, for example, by peasants during Jacquerie to torture captured nobles. For example, one “knight was tied to a spit and roasted before the eyes of his wife and children, who were then offered the flesh to eat.” Stuart Flexner and Doris Flexner, The Pessimist’s Guide to History (New York: Quill, 2000), 49.


134. Ibid., 73–74.


144. Ibid., 487.


148. Ibid., 283.

149. *Encyclopedia Brittanica Online*, “Jacquerie.”


153. Ibid., 265; on Jewish pogroms, see also Richards, *Sex, Dissidence, and Damnation*, 103.


157. Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance*, 149, 151. The correlation between subsistence crisis and crime was not always evident; a rise in prices sometimes corresponded with a decline in crime.

158. Ibid., 190.

159. This universal connection between uprooted people and crime can be seen among refugees. See, for example, Peter Gatrell, *A Whole Empire Walking: Refugees in Russia during World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 29.


161. Ibid., 14.


167. Ibid., 38.

169. Jütte, Poverty and Deviance, 165.
173. Bellamy, Crime and Public Order, 6. This information about England could be applied to France.
174. Ibid., 75.
175. Jütte, Poverty and Deviance, 181–82.
176. Ibid., 180.
178. Ibid., 6.
179. Ibid., 7.
184. Ibid., 99.
188. Ibid., 167.
189. Ibid., 193–94.
190. Ibid., 35, 39.
191. Ibid., 40.
192. Ibid., 131.
196. Parisian thieves could be compared to prerevolutionary Russian peasants. Most were not proprietors of commune land but received allotments according to a “moral economy,” depending on the number of sons, roughly correlated to the size family the peasant needed to feed.
201. Ibid., 108.
202. Ibid.
203. Ibid., 129.
204. Chiffoleau, Les justices du pape, 123.
205. Ibid., 170.
206. Ibid., 169.
207. Gonthier, Délinquance, 26–27.
208. Elias, The History of Manners, 198.

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4. Ibid., 123.
6. Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action: A Study in Social Theory with Special Reference to a Group of Recent European Writers (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1949), 111.
7. Samuel K. Cohn Jr., introduction to The Black Death and the Transformation of the West by David Herlihy (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 5. The similarities between AIDS and the plague have been highlighted by noting that AIDS is the only epidemic to destroy as many people as the Black Death, approximately forty million. “AIDS Set to Surpass the Black Death as Worst Pandemic,” New York Times on the Web, January 25, 2002.
12. Ibid., 11.
14. The ancient residents of Kiev were fond of hot baths, which fascinated observers. The tradition continued in late medieval and early modern Russia, though the streets of major Russian cities were as dirty as those in Europe.
16. Ibid., 69.
26. Ibid., 11.
27. Ibid., 28–29.
28. Ibid., 23.
29. Ibid., 30.
33. Ibid., 35.


53. Ibid., 198.


62. Ibid., 31.
64. Altman, *Plague and Pestilence*, 201.
66. “The Kosciuszko Chair of Polish Studies,” Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, *Bulletin* 1 (Fall 2001): 40. Other nature events could lead to devastation, for example, locusts, which since ancient times were a danger to crops, dooming many people to starvation. An 1875 swarm in the United States was recorded as “1,800 miles long and 110 miles wide, equaling the combined area of Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Vermont.” Carol Kaesuk Yoon, “Looking Back at the Days of the Locust,” *New York Times on the Web*, April 23, 2002.
67. The ratio of deaths in battle and disease and starvation can be seen in the Congo, where it could compare to France during the Hundred Years War. Only a small proportion died because of the violence. The great majority were victims of starvation and disease. Barbara Crossette, “War Adds 1.7 Million Deaths in Eastern Congo, Study Finds,” *New York Times*, June 9, 2000.
68. Henneman, “France,” 86.
75. Bronislaw Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 31. Pandemic diseases can affect economic performance even in modern times. The spread of AIDS and other infectious diseases in the former USSR and Africa is a good example. A CIA prediction for 2015 stated, “AIDS and such associated diseases as TB will have a destructive impact on families and society. In some African countries, average life-spans will be reduced by as much as 30 to 40 years, generating more than 40 million orphans and contributing to poverty, crime, and instability. AIDS, other diseases, and health problems will hurt prospects for
transition to democratic regimes as they undermine civil society, hamper the evolution of sound political and economic institutions, and intensify the struggle for power and resources.” *Global Trends 2015: A Dialogue about the Future with Nongovernment Experts*, Publication of the National Intelligence Council, 2000, 24 (Internet version). Regarding the devastating implications of AIDS for the former USSR, see also Abigail Zuger, “Infectious Diseases Rising Again in Russia,” *New York Times on the Web*, December 5, 2000.

82. Ibid., 127.
84. Herlihy, *The Black Death*, 64
95. See, for example, the wife of Edward II, “Edward II,” *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*.
102. Most people had little shame performing urination and defecation, so they did not hesitate to engage in sex in the presence of a stranger, behavior seen as truly uncivilized by Herodotus (*Histories*, 89).
105. Soviet society with its marginal role of money was structurally similar to feudal Europe. The sexual culture had features of Carolingian France. Sex life was quite promiscuous in the late years of Brezhnev’s regime, but there were few prostitutes. Most women who engaged in promiscuous sex (*bljadstvo*) did so for reasons such as enjoyment of sex, boredom, or social protest. A popular Soviet joke/proverb makes the difference clear: “Prostitution is a profession, *bljadstvo* is a call.” On sexuality in Soviet and post-Soviet Russia, see Dmitry Shlapentokh, “Making Love in Yeltsin’s Russia: A Case of ‘De-Medicalization’ and ‘De-Normalization,’” *Crime, Law, and Social Changes* 39 (2003): 117–62.
107. This practice can be seen among primates. Presumably it would ensure natural selection.
108. The notion of sex in which all males had sexual access to all females as a more advanced form of sexual organization has been questioned by some scholars. Friedrich Engels, for example, in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, in the Light of the Researches of Lewis H. Morgan* (London: Lewis and Wishart, 1943) suggested that promiscuity was the most ancient form of sexual relationship.
110. There were indications that prostitutes could be seen in French cities in the sixteenth century. See François Martineau, *Fripons, gueux et loubards: une histoire de la délinquance en France de 1750 à nos jours* (Paris: J. C. Lattes, 1986), 100.
111. The UN troops in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, in 1991 were comparatively well disciplined. Yet their presence led to a dramatic increase in prostitution. In 1991 there were six thousand prostitutes in the city; in 1992 there were twenty thousand. A. Betts Fetherston, “Voices from War Zones: Implications for Training,” in *A Future for Peacekeeping?* ed. Edward Moxon-Browne (New York: Macmillan, 1998), 167.


114. Richards, *Sex, Dissidence, and Damnation*, 117.


116. Ibid., 216; Richards, *Sex, Dissidence, and Damnation*, 117.


119. Ibid., 231


126. These authorities were not unique in their desire to make money on prostitutes: see “Nevada Considers Taxing Its Prostitutes,” *New York Times*, February 26, 2003.


129. Ibid., 127.

130. Ibid., 125.

131. One might add that drugs such as hashish had been known since the Middle Ages. Delumeau and Lequin, *Les malheurs*, 142.


133. Richards, *Sex, Dissidence, and Damnation*, 118.


137. Gauvard, "De grace especial," 816.
140. Ibid., 64.
145. Elias, The History of Manners, 118.
146. Ibid., 144.
148. Antony Beevor, "They Raped Every German Female from Eight to 80," Guardian, May 1, 2002.
151. Beevor, "They Raped Every German Female."
154. Many rapists assumed that violence was essential to sexual gratification. These views were common in military culture, especially if moral restraint and fear of punishment were removed. This was, for example, the case with the Soviet soldiers who engaged in rape sprees after the invasion of Germany. For most, rape was a way of satisfying sexual desire and humiliating and punishing the defeated enemy. Quite a few were convinced that the women enjoyed the rape and could receive sexual gratification that way. One soldier recalled his sexual exploits: "They all lifted their skirts for us and lay on the bed." Fetherston, "Voices from Warzones," 165.
155. Rossiaud "La prostitution," 75.
156. Ibid., 293.
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157. Ibid., 77.
158. Ibid., 293.
159. Gonthier, *Délinquance*, 313.
163. Ibid., 297–98.
164. Ibid., 293.
168. Ibid., 7.
171. Ibid., 16; on the spread of group rape, see also Gonthier, *Délinquance*, 139.
183. J. R. Hale, “The Soldiers in Germanic Graphic Art,” in *Art and History: Images and Their Meaning*, eds. Robert I. Rotberg and


**Chapter 5**


15. Ibid., 9–10, 30.


18. Ibid., 31.


25. Ibid., 34, 36–38.


27. Ibid., 300.


36. Wood, *The King’s Army*, 44.


43. Ibid., 357.


46. Ibid., 156.


57. Goldsmith, “Poor Relief,” 183.
60. Ibid., 168.
61. On the role of slavery, including slaves as soldiers, see, e.g., Richard Hellie, *Slavery in Russia, 1450–1725* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).
62. Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats*, 176. The following quotations from this source are cited by page number in text.
64. Koch, “Poor Relief in Montauban,” 73; Cowan, *Urban Europe*, 159.
74. Ibid., 274.
90. Goldsmith, “Poor Relief,” 92.
91. Ibid., 142, 145.
93. Leah Otis, “Nisi in Postribulo: Prostitution in Languedoc from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century,” PhD diss., Columbia University, 1980, 95. The direct connection can be seen in post-Soviet Russia. In social arrangements the Soviet regime in many ways resembled premodern society. A comparison between the Soviet regime and oriental despotism was made by Karl Wittfogel, *Die Orientalische Despotie: eine vergleichende Untersuchung totaler Macht* (Koln, Berlin: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 1962). Although for some observers post-Soviet society is close to that of the Middle Ages, the early modern era is the best analogy. Prostitution exploded, with at
least one hundred thousand prostitutes in Moscow alone in 2002, up to 35 percent infected with HIV. *Boston Globe*, February 10, 2002.


95. Davis, “Poverty and Poor Relief,” 208–9.


97. Davis, “Poverty and Poor Relief,” 208.

98. Ibid., 551.


100. Ibid., 103.


105. Goldsmith, “Poor Relief,” 146.


109. Ibid., 224.

110. Ibid.

111. Ibid.

112. Ibid., 177.


115. Ibid., 175.
Chapter 6

2. Ibid., 72.
3. Ibid., 121.
11. Ibid., 86.
14. Ibid., 52.
16. Ibid., 384.
17. Ibid., 99.
19. The state at the same time tried to minimize private violence and was engaged in the continuous disarmament of the population. Andrews, *System of Criminal Justice*, 40.
22. Ibid., 108.


26. Ibid., 82.


31. Ibid., 389.


37. This harshness could be testified to by catastrophic famines such as that of 1693–94, which killed a tenth of the population and could be compared to any famine in totalitarian societies. Audrey Dorothea DeVore, “Under Pressure: The Ministers of the State of Louis XIV, 1688 to 1700,” PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1979, 7.


39. Davis, “Poverty and Poor Relief,” 89.

40. Ibid, 88.


44. Davis, “Poverty and Poor Relief,” 212.

45. Ibid., 215.


52. Davis, “Poverty and Poor Relief,” 101.

53. Ibid., 204.


55. Ibid., 156.

56. Ibid., 164, 170.


60. Slaven, “Scapegoating, Sexuality, and Theories of the Body.” The drive against prostitutes intensified in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but some French city legislation for their expulsion could be traced to the thirteenth century. Davis, “Poverty and Poor Relief,” 209.

61. Davis, “Poverty and Poor Relief,” 188.

62. Ibid., 211.

63. Ibid., 59.

64. Ibid., 210.


68. Ibid., 53.
81. Ibid.
83. Ibid.
87. “Even though the first regular postal service in France dated from the reign of Louis XI (1461–1483), the post developed very slowly as a public service under the ancien régime.” Susan Dimlich Bachrach, “The Feminization of the French Postal Service, 1750–1914,” PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1981, 13. One could assume that the postal service started to resemble the modern system only in the eighteenth century.
92. Clark, State and Status, 337.
97. Flandrin, Families in Former Times, 182.
104. Ibid.
106. Ibid.
113. Ibid., 73.
119. Ibid., 1: 14.
120. Davis, “Poverty and Poor Relief,” 101.
122. On population increase, see, for example, Root, Peasants and King, 177.
124. Chartier, On the Edge of the Cliff, 139.
126. One might add that the idea that rulers should be self-restrained and control their emotions was known to ancient rulers. See, for example, Norman Hammond, “The Road That Has No Ending,” Times Literary Supplement, June 30, 2000, 5; Louis Auchincloss, False Dawn: Women in the Age of Sun King (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1984), 21.
127. Stability also benefited criminals: “stationary” bandits had a “vested interest in providing public services, defending the residents of the territory against roving bandits, for example, or building roads.” Mancur Olson, “Why China Did Better,” Times Literary Supplement, November 23, 2001, 26.
128. The strong despotic government as the only way to maintain order was apparently axiomatic for oriental rulers. See Irene Eber, ed., Confucianism: The Dynamics of Tradition (New York: Macmillan, 1986), 33.
131. Geoffrey A. Hosking, “Cards on the Table, Comrades,” *Times Literary Supplement*, January 28, 2000, 3. The machinery and personnel of repression were trained long before the Great Purges during the Civil War. Executions became enterprises that not only terrified but also entertained the public. Even children enjoyed them. *Izvestia*, February 8, 2001.


134. White, “Stalinism and the Graphic Arts,” 121. Awe was felt even by liberal intellectuals. They were hardly so naïve as to believe Stalin was elected in the usual way, and they were aware of the span of the terror. Yet they were in awe of Stalin. Valentin Lyubarsky, “Soviet Civilization,” *Times Literary Supplement*, September 7, 2001, 17.


137. “General Alexander Lebed’s father, a factory worker, was twice ten minutes late to work in 1937, for which he received a five-year camp sentence.” Ibid., 35.


139. Foucault and the postmodernists who saw in “discourse” both enslavement and liberation continued to be popular. Hardt and Negri saw even building empires in the Foucaultian way. “Imperial command is exercised no longer through the disciplinary modalities of the modern state, but rather through the modalities of biopolitical control. These modalities have as their basis and their object a productive multitude that cannot be regimented and normalized, but must nonetheless be governed, even in its autonomy” (*Empire*, 344).

140. One recent episode might demonstrate the persistence of postmodernist paradigms in their Leftist reading. A 2002 study suggested that blacks are more predisposed to certain diseases than whites. This discovery of biologists has been perceived as having racist implications and protested. “The American Sociological Association, for instance, said in a recent statement that ‘race is a sociological construct,’ and warned of the ‘danger of contributing to the popular conception of race as biological.’” Nicholas Wade, “Gene Study Identifies 5 Main Human Populations,” *New York Times*, December 20, 2002.

142. See, for example, Hardt and Negri, *Empire*.


153. Postmodernists regarded activities of criminal, terrorist, and asocial groups as a way of combating “hegemonic discourse.” Because postmodernism was born in France, the attack against crime as “alternative discourse” acquired a French reading, reinforced by the fact that France was the strongest opponent of the Iraq war. The French reciprocated, and their anti-American feelings spread in Europe. Henri Astier, “La maladie française,” Times Literary Supplement, January 10, 2003.

154. Ideologies and discourse continue to be popular explanations of the events. The attacks were often reduced to the influence of Islamic fundamentalists. The economic problems of this or that country were also explained by the variety of ideologies. Liah Greenfeld, The Spirit of Capitalism: Nationalism and Economic Growth (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

155. On the vision of the role of the state at that time, see, for example, Martin van Creveld, The Rise and Decline of the State (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).


167. Recognition of the importance of a strong state as guarantor of security changed the approach to modern authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. Some observers stated that China’s economic success was due to its ability to preserve social and political stability by keeping the controlling power of the party government. The USSR, which did not preserve a strong state, collapsed and Russia was relegated to a third world country. Christopher Marsh, “Talking Behind Their Back: Chinese Thoughts on Their Coming Collapse,” National Interest, October 23, 2003.
170. Keller, “Reagan’s Son.”


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