DOMINANT INTEGRATION PROCESSES OF HUMAN HISTORY

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Abstract. The concept of integration is used here to denote a process of people's networking within different social groups, organizations and institutions. At different times and in different cultures this process has been conditioned by diverse factors, the three most important of which being, in the author's opinion, state, economy and religion. Certainly, quite opposite processes have also been simultaneously taking place which has led to the disintegration and fragmentation of societies; still, the integration of people, nations and cultures has turned out to be a necessary condition for their survival on the historical scene.

Key Words: Integration, factors, state, economy, religion.

INTRODUCTION

During the long journey of its history, mankind has witnessed many temptations and challenges. This journey has not been the same for all the societies and cultures since the circumstances of their formation and development have also been different. Yet, just as the course of every river is determined by its mainstream thus forcing all the tributaries and streams to follow it, so in the human history is directed by certain laws which determine the general course of the social development. Of course, we should keep in mind the fact that, at the same time, many other diverse factors are in action, namely those that bring people into antagonistic relationships thus hindering or sometimes even completely stopping the processes of integration.

Just as there are many different disintegration factors so we can speak about opposite or integration factors. Integration in this case is not considered as opposite to what Charles Tilly calls "differentiation," that is, as a relation "order-orderlessness."¹ On the contrary, the aim of the author is to show that these are simultaneous processes which

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¹ In the paper referred to, Tilly seems to be debating with Eckstein and Ofshe but, in fact, his opinion seems to be more in the spirit of Weber's ideal types with no dialectic mediation between the process of integration and differentiation (Tilly, 1997: 64-68)

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coexist in the human society along with permanent prevalence of the integration forces themselves as best testified by the formation of the contemporary global society.

It would be impossible, in the paper like this, to enumerate and explain all the integration factors of human society. That is why the author has opted for pointing out only some of them that always and everywhere tend to figure out as decisive ones. The theoretical difficulties of such an enterprise are highlighted by D. Smith in his well-known study "The Rise of Historical Sociology."² In a symbolic way the three above-mentioned integration factors can also be recognized in the archeological research of the ancient cities which is the topic of very inspirational writings by Lewis Mumford.³

In addition to the above-mentioned integration factors, the paper also points to the contemporary state of affairs regarding the unifying processes characterized by the synthesis of all the already-mentioned as well as other social factors.

1. STATE AS AN INTEGRATION FACTOR OF HUMAN SOCIETY

The state is a historical social institution which permanently links people on a certain territory whereupon a sovereign government of the ruler is carried out. The state as an integration power cannot be spoken of until its emergence at a certain historical level of the society development. Its formation is related to the emergence of several other phenomena such as class stratification of the society, several former large social divisions of labour, the coming into being of cities, writing and theism as well as other factors which conditioned the formation of different types of the states. Regardless of the ways in which the state was formed (as something there is no general agreement about)⁴, from the very moment of its emergence on the social and historical scene, it has closely knit together very often quite different elements such as ethnic, class, racial, confessional, regional and the like thus executing its given politics regardless of the fact whether its citizens voluntarily support it in this enterprise.

While acknowledging the existence of various types of state both in the course of the human society's history and at the present level of social development, they can all be said to share a common denominator which is the FORCE. The state force is manifested as active or passive; it can be directed towards its own citizens as towards other states. Its force is especially crudely manifested in diverse dictatorial regimes which to the utmost degree also rest upon its infinite and often non-defined usage. Not even so-called democratic societies are immune to the use of force; only in such societies it is applied selec-

² To paraphrase Smith, it is said that when we turn towards some other aspect of this intellectual field we can distinguish three activities, namely primary research of the specific historical situations having wider consequences upon the understanding of diversities and changes, empirical generalizations resting upon the research of others while pointing, explicitly or implicitly, to theoretical issues and systematic production of theories about the processes of historical changes which rests upon the results of historical research and, to a higher or lower degree, empirical generalizations. (Smith, 2001:196)

³ "This holds from Uruk to Harappa. Within that precinct he usually finds three large stone or baked-brick buildings whose very magnitude sets them aside from the other structures in the city: the palace, the granary, and the temple." (Mumford, 2001:38)

⁴ In his work "On the State" Jovanovic regards the state as a legal institution whose formation tends to be explained by many theories. He gives priority to the theory of force emphasizing that of importance for the state is the "accomplished fact", that is, the very fact that it exists (Jovanovic, 1990:30-40)

tively and restrictively with respect to very strict legal regulations. The state force is most prominently expressed in war conflicts that may be motivated by different causes; thus we can speak about expansionist, defensive, liberating, religious, ethnic, civil, regional, world and other wars. The theoretical aspects of the war are most dealt with by Carl von Klausewitz.⁵

History is inundated with examples of expansionist wars. They all share an attempt to connect by force the subdued states, peoples and cultures under the domination of the conqueror. The best known historical empires such as Mongolian, Greek, Roman, Ottoman, Spanish, British and others came into being exactly in this way. They vanished in the former historical epochs; among the last to face its end was the British Empire which finally departed from India in the first half of the twentieth century. In the century which is otherwise often called "the century of violence" two world wars took place causing the loss of dozens of millions of human lives.

Just as the state uses force to keep its citizens in obedience, so the citizens, under certain historical circumstances, resort to the use of force in order to change the dominant social relations. These citizens' activities are termed revolution by sociologists and other social theorists. The best known among the revolutions having a planetary importance were the French bourgeoisie revolution, the October one in Russia and the Chinese under the leadership of Mao Tse Dung. They are abundantly discussed in the sociological studies; the most complete studies about them are written by Theda Skocpol (1979), Charles Tilly (1997) and Barrington Moore (2000).

More successful integrations of people are done within the state formation by nonviolent mechanisms such as culture, tradition, common origin, common language, confessional affiliation, legal, political and educational system, race, nation, etc. The aim of these integrations, just like of those formed on other bases, is conflict-less functioning of the state assuming that the prevailing attitude to this kind of rule is voluntary. Hence it can be stated that more stable and prosperous are the states with a higher degree of their legitimacy, that is, those comprising at their bases a higher democratic potential.

In addition to unitary states, the history also provides us with the examples of the formation of complex state organizations expressing specific relations that condition their emergence. Along with ethnic reasons, there may be other interests giving rise to the emergence of various federations, confederations, unions, etc. When we add to the scene other, largely economic, political and military reasons, the states tend to unite for the sake of realizing different interests that appear to be common to them in a particular period of time. That is how different state alliances came into being; they often united what had previously been unthinkable such as, for instance, the "Holy Alliance" of 1815, the "Antanta" of 1914, the "League of Nations" of 1919, the NATO or "Warsaw Pact" after the World War Two or the organization of the United Nations of 1945, etc. At present, a typical example is the creation of the European Union whose formation process started in the sixties of the twentieth century with only several states integrated while by the year 2007 it already gathered together twenty-seven member states with the tendency to expand further. Initially an economic organization, it has been taking on, in time, more and

⁵ In his famous work "On War" Klausewitz writes that war is merely a continuation of politics by other means, that it is a political act and continuation of the political relations by other means (Klausewits, 1951:53)

more federal characteristics so that today it can be spoken of as an incomplete global type of the society with the prevailing federal characteristics.

Following the trend of the human society networking by, among other things, linking together different states in all sorts of associations, the sociologists tend to recognize in this movement the birth of a global human society which Wallerstein names the "world system" while other theorists write about it as a postindustrial, information society or the like.

As can be seen from this brief survey, the state has played an irreplaceably integrative part in history due to its creating links among its different constituent factors. It does that by combining diverse instruments which it has at its disposal starting from the legal to the political, social, economic, spiritual, and others. In all of its activities, the most powerful mechanism it has at its disposal is, with no doubt, the sheer force which appears as a manifest or latent threat to all those who refuse to comply with the legal order it has itself established. The force is most often combined with non-violent means since it was noted a long time age that in this way much better results in the process of human integration could be achieved.

2. Economy

The concept of economy implies all those activities and relationships in which people get involved in order to satisfy their various interests, most of all, those related to production, distribution, exchange and consumption. To put it simply, when we say economy, we think, as a rule, of economy, trade, services and finances.

Eversince the human species came into being economy has been its accompanying attribute. It thus appears as a *conditio sine qua non* and, therefore, it can be regarded as the foundation of every society. Knowing such a great significance it has, it is no wonder that the phenomenon of economy has attracted the attention of many theorists including the most important of them such as Adam Smith, D. Ricardo, William Petty, Karl Marx, J. M. Keynes, Joseph Schumpeter, P. A. Samuelson, J. K. Galbraith and others. Economy always represents a social relation. It connects people regardless of the interests or kinds of interests they realize in this particular relationship. In that sense, economy as an integrative factor can be followed, in the course of human history, from hunting and berry-collecting societies through agrarian till industrial and postindustrial ones. Likewise, it also involves all forms of trade, of local, regional and world markets as well as the emergence of money and monetary institutions that have reached their peak in the form of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (MMF).

Even this rough sketch of the relations comprised within the phenomenon of economy clearly shows that we are in the presence of a very complex phenomenon which is almost impossible to separate from other social phenomena such as state, politics, culture, religion, etc. Due to this, and depending on the school of thought that the theorists of economy belong to, economy is also often understood as a factor of disintegration in human history. Such radically opposite views of economy spring from a very simplified understanding of economic relations as antagonistic or non-antagonistic; they can be said to belong to ideological and value-based interpretations of economy. Also, this ideological dualism is

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often represented as a conflict between the supporters of the plan and those of the market economy as was most inspirationally discussed by Berliner.⁶

The intention of the author is not to pronounce any judgment on this theoretical and ideological dispute but rather to present his understanding of economy as an integration factor in the history of mankind.

In the process of their economic networking, people wish to satisfy their various personal, group and social interests. Historically speaking, there has always been a wide spectrum of such relations and they have always been, in this or that way, expressions of the given ownership relations. Every correlated behavior of people, including the economic one, is subject to a particular organization as well as the rules by which certain activity is taking place. The division of labour, the tools upgrading, the inclusion of science into the production process and a powerful linkage with the sphere of politics and other factors have all made and are still making economy an important factor of the human society integration. The role it plays has especially been propped up by trade which appeared in the twilight of the gentile society while it has reached today, at the present level of the social development, its acme in the formation of the world market and the World Trade Organization.

All that has been said so far can lead us to conclude that economic relations manifest themselves as a factor of the people's integration at the micro and macro levels and that, at present, it is the latter aspect that tends to prevail.

On the other hand, economic relations have constantly contributed to the society's stratification with respect to the ownership, social, professional, status and other bases. This ambivalence of the phenomenon of economy is reflected in the simultaneous and opposite process, namely, the formation of associations of the actors having the same social position (most of all, workers associated in diverse workers' organizations, for instance, unions, protecting their collective interests). The union networking started with trade organizations while today it has reached a global character in the form of various international union associations came into being for the purpose of negotiating with the unions the terms of labour, price of labour and other issues related to the workers' status. The state appears in these relations mostly as a framework and warranty of these agreements while trying to provide for as harmonious and successful functioning of the national economy as possible.

Economy is closely tied to the state; this does not only stand for so-called etatist societies but also for those that are proclaimed as liberal. Since it is a dynamic phenomenon, it, as a rule, surpasses the state borders and has a tendency to become a planetary phenomenon. Its need to expand leads to another need to create state mechanisms which are basically legal and political and which direct and orchestrate the sphere of economy at the state and international levels.

This is especially visible at present when the states appear as key negotiators, arbitrators and guarantors in establishing the rules, most of all, at the world markets. The present times are characterized by this very process which, along with different mechanisms, tries to provide for an undisturbed functioning of the economic trends at the global level.

⁶ Berliner, J. S., 1999:243

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The economic world networking thus imposes itself as a necessity regardless of the fact that these processes are often against the current interests of less developed economies and states that cannot keep pace with more powerful economies which have initiated this process much earlier and under different and more favorable circumstances.

3. RELIGION

Religion is one of those social phenomena which have, from the times immemorial, drawn the attention of many thinkers. This is understandable in view of the importance it has in the human society. Here we are not going to present any systematic theory of religion (if there is such a thing); instead, we would like to point to, in the first place, its dimension which has been denoted, in the beginning of the paper, as the integrative one.⁷ Of course, we cannot avoid, in this case, mentioning some generally known ideas which are here only in the function of a more transparent illustration of the general drift of the paper.

Among the many thinkers dealing with the concept of religion, there is no general consensus regarding its definition. That is why it seems appropriate to quote A. Giddens stressing that all the religions share only two common elements, namely, symbols and rituals.⁸ Yet, regardless of all the diversity found in the expressions of the religious, it has always played a very prominent role in people's lives. What is undoubtedly true about religion is that it *connects members of the same confession into a spiritual community*. This function can be followed from the natural religions (animism and totemism) through polytheism till monotheism prevailing in the modern world. This and other functions of religion have been written about by the greatest authorities in the field, starting from the early ecclesiastical authors through K. Marx, M. Weber, E. Durkheim, Ernst Troeltsch, R. Brown and B. Malinovsky to many contemporary thinkers.

The critics of religion have stressed it as a manifestation of ignorance and helplessness of man to rival natural and social forces and that it will, along with the advancement of the enlightenment and the scientific worldview, gradually disappear as a form of social consciousness.

Such expectations have been only partially confirmed so far and even this only at the external level of expressing religiosity. The religious beliefs are largely a matter of free choice though such a statement cannot be accepted as absolute. Namely, serious research of religion can prove that in the process of an individual's acceptance of some religion, a much larger importance is allotted to its wider acceptance by the community the given individual belongs to. Likewise, there are many historical examples of imposing certain religion on entire peoples and regions which is best illustrated by colonial conquests, especially in South America, by Portugal and Spain when Roman Catholicism was imposed upon the native, pagan population. Such examples can also be found in other parts of the world (Hamilton, 2002:132).

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⁷ At the same time, it must be kept in mind that religion does not play only that particular role but, instead, it has been very often in the course of human history a factor of social disintegration (Hamilton, 2002:132) ⁸ Giddens, 198:272

Religion as a force of integration of different human assemblies (human groups) is most often coupled with the state though it is not limited by the state borders. (This remark especially stands for universal monotheistic religions such as Christianity and Islam). The dialectics of their relations ranged from seeming harmony through fierce conflicts over the monopoly in a given society to peaceful coexistence which prevails in the modern world. The integrative function of religion was especially emphasized by E. Durkheim who placed this particular role high above all others. An illustrative example of the conflict between the state and the church, that is, between the ruler and the Pope, was a centuries-long war in the Roman Catholic Church (9th to 14th century) between the head of the Church and the respective monarch for domination which was led with a changeable luck and which ended in a triumph of the state over the Church. However, the conflicts within the Church itself continued throughout the Reformation (or the Great Schism) launched by the activities of M. Luther, J. Wickliffe, J. Hus, J. Calvin and others and came to an end by the Westfall Peace in 1648 which finally proclaimed that the ruler was to determine the faith of his subjects (as testified by the councils in Constance, Basle and Trent). The split within the Christianity through two great schisms into Roman Catholicism and Orthodox Christianity is not an exception among the well-known churches. Similar divisions also took place in Islam (division into Shiites and Sunnites) as well as Buddhism (Mahayana, Hinayana and Zen Buddhism).

That religion is closely related to state does not need any special evidence. However, when it comes to its relation with economy, many opposite views tend to emerge. While the Marxists view religion as a conservative and retrograde social force, M. Weber, on the contrary, finds that certain moral principles that are especially prominent in Calvinism (glorification of labor as a God-pleasing human activity, industry, frugality, modesty and the like) led to the formation of capitalism as negation of the medieval social model. These ideas Weber put forward in a famous work on the "Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism."

After the Reformation, the Roman Catholic Church launched a new strategy of its activities in the society, the one that was more adjusted to the newly-created social and historical circumstances. This was confirmed on the First (1869-70) and the Second (1962-65) Vatican Councils when the policy of ecumenism was promoted. This process was accompanied by respective papal encyclica expressing the need of the Church to participate in the creation of a more just society with the values overcoming the weaknesses of Bolshevism as well as the liberal model of the world economy. The messages of the encyclica are directed toward the society of social justice, peace in the world and the preservation of private ownership and competence. A more radical current in the Roman Catholicism, especially in South America, went even a step further and developed the socalled "theology of liberation" and "theology of revolution."

At the world level, especially after the Second Vatican Council, there has started a process of partial coming closer of the East and the West Christian Churches as well as an improvement of their attitude toward the Protestant Churches by creating different institutions such as the European Confederation of Churches, the World Council of Churches, the World Church Council, etc.

It is thought that the world division into dominant religious communities is completed and that the present prevailing model is that of the separation of the church from the state as well as their peaceful co-existence. Likewise, at present, more and more often the church and the state appear as partners in solving global world problems (unemployment, human rights, unequal development, world peace, ecological issues).

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Finally, we can conclude that, apart from all the contradictions emerging in the relations between the believer and the unbeliever, the church and the state, one religion *versus* another, the belief in the sacred (that may be interpreted in many different ways but most often as a divinity) has permanently, in the course of human history, linked people by developing in them the sense of unity, identity, solidarity, closeness, etc. This mission of religion has especially come to the fore in the very act of the formation of the Church which canonized the whole complex of all that is religious (beliefs, emotions, knowledge, moral, ritual, symbols, organizations, etc) and imposed it on the believers as a way of life ("no salvation outside the church").

The feeling, created in the faithful, of belonging to a certain confession is regarded as one of the most complex human feelings; it is also duly considered as essentially determining the cultural identity of both believers and individuals and entire nations and confessions.

CONCLUSION

People's networking into diverse social groups, from partial to global, surely represents an exceedingly complex social process that has, in the course of human history, involved numerous different factors that have determined, in a variety of ways, the outlook and fate of these groups.

The previous pages have tried to highlight, in our opinion, the most important of all these factors. Now it seems proper to point to some other factors that have in particular come to prominence in the contemporary society. Namely, the human society in the early 21st century is characterized by the process of globalization which, in its widest sense, denotes the process of the world society formation. Different social theorists (sociologists, political scientists, law scientists, economists, and others) denote this process as well as the form it takes on with many different terms such as postindustrial society, information society, world system (Wallerstein), etc. Globalization means a complex process which manifests itself through interaction of economy, politics, religion as well as the application of force and effects of the mass communication systems. Likewise, this process is also affected by further widening of mankind's consciousness of global ecological problems, the importance of the world peace safeguarding and the creation of the world strategy in suppressing world terrorism, and the like.

The process of globalization is surely contributed to by many other activities related to sport, culture, education (the Bologna process), film, music, publishing, traffic, tourism, etc. The decisive role in this process is played by mass media (television, printed media, radio) in addition to enormous contributions made by the global networks such as the Internet and global broadcasting companies such as the BBC, the CNN, and others. Their activities, most of all supported by satellite technology, help to realize the McLuhan's vision of the world as a global village.

The most important role in this globalization process is played by the most powerful world states, most of all, the United States of America because they have advanced more than others in the technological, economic, information, military and other fields. Such a role of the powerful is understandable; yet, though it may imply greater advantages to be taken

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from such a prominent position, it should also mean a greater responsibility regarding the future of the mankind. On the other side, especially in the underdeveloped countries, the process of globalization and the position of the globalization promoter are experienced as unjust and hostile since this leads to a faster stratification of their societies and, ultimately, to a higher poverty rate (most of all, economic poverty) in these countries.

The values such as human rights, world peace, healthy living environment, world market and competition are surely, at least theoretically speaking, beyond any doubt. Yet, at the social level, in the poorest sections of the world, they most often cause trauma, suffering and frustration because of the inequality which enables these countries to match the rivals at the world economic stage. This makes it even more obliging for the most powerful actors of the world scene, to give their best even in this domain so that even the poorest and the weakest can undergo, with as much dignity as possible, the process of globalization.

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DOMINANTNI INTEGRACIONI FAKTORI LJUDSKE ISTORIJE Slavoljub Mišić

Pojmom integracija ovde označavamo proces povezivanja ljudi unutar različitih društvenih grupa, organizacija i institucija. U različitim vremenima i različitim kulturama taj proces su uslovljavali različiti faktori, ali, po mišljenju pisca ovih redova, najznačajniji među tim faktorima su država, ekonomija i religija. Naravno, istovremeno su se odvijali i suprotni procesi koji su dovodili do dezintegracije i fragmentacije društva, ali se integracija ljudi, naroda i kultura pokazivala kao nužan uslov njihovog opstanka na istorijskoj sceni.

Ključne reči: integracija, faktori, država, ekonomija, religija