

RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES  
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF EDUCATION  
ST. PETERSBURG INTELLIGENTSIA CONGRESS

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**ST. PETERSBURG UNIVERSITY OF THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

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under the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia

# **DIALOGUE OF CULTURES AND PARTNERSHIP OF CIVILIZATIONS**

**THE 9TH INTERNATIONAL LIKHACHOV SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE**

May 14–15, 2009

*The Conference is held in accordance with  
the Decree of President of Russia V. V. Putin  
“On perpetuating the memory  
of Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov”  
N° 587, dated from May 23, 2001*

*The conference, originally called “The Days of Science in St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences” is the 17th in number and the 9th in the status of the International Likhachov Scientific Conference*

In 2009 the state financial aids granted in accordance with the decree of President of the Russian Federation dated from April, 14, 2009 No. 192-RP are used for the project implementation



**St. Petersburg  
2009**

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The volume presents selection of materials of the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference held on 14–15 May 2009 at St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences.

In his greetings to the participants of the Conference President of the Russian Federation D. A. Medvedev mentions: ‘Your reputable forum has always been a remarkable event, gathering the world intellectual community. Its brilliant discussions and reports on various topics, such as the role of culture and humanities in people’s contemporary life; partnership of civilizations and others arise great interest and deeply affect public life.’

Prominent scientists and public figures from all over the world, academicians of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Russian Academy of Education, distinguished figures of intellectual community and experts on practical issues took part in the plenary sessions, round tables and workshops.

This edition is intended for the academic community, specialists in different areas of social and humanitarian knowledge, as well as higher education students and postgraduates.

ББК 72



**GREETINGS OF PRESIDENT  
OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION  
DMITRY MEDVEDEV  
TO THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE  
9TH INTERNATIONAL LIKHACHOV  
SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE**

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**To the hosts, participants and guests  
of the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

**Dear friends,**

I should like to welcome you on the opening of the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference. I wish all the participants success and fruitful and prolific discussions.

Your reputable forum has always been a remarkable event, gathering the world intellectual community. Its brilliant discussions and reports on various topics, such as: the role of culture and humanities in people's contemporary life; partnership of civilizations and others arise great interest and deeply affect public life.

A remarkable event in the course of this year Conference has become introduction of a special youth programme 'Likhachov Forum for High School Students'. I have no doubt that establishing ethic and moral norms with the generations to come demands studying fundamental works and scientific heritage of academician Likhachov whose humanistic ideas have eternal context.

I should like to express my hope that the suggestions and recommendations elaborated within your conference will contribute practical activities and assist in long-term international humanitarian projects development.

I wish the participants and guests of the conference all the best.

*President of the Russian Federation*

**D. A. MEDVEDEV**

*May 13, 2009*



**DECREE  
OF PRESIDENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION  
'ON PERPETUATING THE MEMORY  
OF DMITRY SERGEYEVICH LIKHACHOV'**

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Given D. S. Likhachov's outstanding contribution to the development of the home science and culture I enact:

1. the Government of the Russian Federation should:
  - establish two personal grants in honour of D. S. Likhachov at the rate of 400 roubles each for university students from the year 2001 and to define the procedure of conferring them;
  - work out the project of D. S. Likhachov's gravestone on a competitive basis together with the Government of St. Petersburg;
  - consider the issue of making a film devoted to D. S. Likhachov's life and activities.
2. the Government of St. Petersburg should:
  - name one of the streets in St. Petersburg after D. S. Likhachov;
  - consider the issue of placing a memorial plate on the building of the Institute of Russian Literature of the Russian Academy of Science (Pushkin's House);
  - guarantee the work on setting up D. S. Likhachov's gravestone in prescribed manner.
3. According to the suggestion from the Russian Academy of Science the Likhachov Memorial Prizes of the Russian Academy of Science should be established for Russian and foreign scientists for their outstanding contribution to the research of literature and culture of ancient Russia, and the collected writings of the late Academician should be published.
4. **According to the suggestion from St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress the International Likhachov Scientific Conference should be annually held on the Day of the Slavonic Letters and Culture.**

**VLADIMIR PUTIN**  
**President of the Russian Federation**  
Moscow, the Kremlin, May 23, 2001

# GREETINGS OF VLADIMIR PUTIN TO THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LIKHACHOV SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

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I should first like to welcome the participants of the International Scientific Conference "The world of culture of Academician D. S. Likhachov". The most prominent scientists and political leaders come together to discuss at this conference the most important issues of the scientific, moral and spiritual legacy of the remarkable Russian scientist D. S. Likhachov. I strongly believe that this tradition will be followed up in the future and the most distinguished successors will develop Likhachov's humanistic ideas and put them into practice while creating the Universal Home for all people of the 21st century.

I should like to express my hope that the Likhachov scientific conferences will be held in all regions of this country as well as in St. Petersburg, and we will feel part of this remarkable tradition.

I wish you a fruitful discussion and a good partnership that will bring many useful results.

**V. Putin**

President of the Russian Federation  
May 21, 2001



I should like to welcome the guests, participants, and the organization that is holding this remarkable event, the International Likhachov Scientific Conference.

The most influential and outstanding representatives of intellectual elite – scientists, artists, political figures – participate in this conference to keep up with the tradition. It affords me deep satisfaction to see this forum acquire an international standing. I note with pleasure that its agenda contains the most significant and topical issues of our time. This year you are discussing one of the fundamental problems – impact of education on humanistic process in the society.

The fact that this forum is organized regularly is a great tribute to the memory of D. S. Likhachov, an outstanding scientist, citizen and patriot. His spiritual legacy, scientific works dedicated to the problems of intellectual and moral development of younger generations, has great significance. I wish you a fruitful discussion.

**V. Putin**

President of the Russian Federation  
May 20, 2004



I should like to welcome the guests, participants, and the organization that is holding the 6th International Likhachov Scientific Conference.

I note with satisfaction that for many years this forum has been carrying out a very noble and important mission of preserving, analyzing and popularizing Likhachov's scientific works. The International Likhachov Scientific Conference has become a very important forum where people can exchange ideas and discuss the topical issues of the present time. Likhachov's spiritual legacy is an integral part of our science, of the science all over the world. And we are proud to see Likhachov's 100th anniversary, this memorable event, being celebrated on a great scale in Russia and abroad. I wish a successful discussion to all the participants and guests of the conference.

**V. Putin**

President of the Russian Federation  
May 25, 2006



I want to extend my welcome to hosts, participants and guests of the 8th International Likhachov Scientific Conference.

Holding this scientific Forum has become a good and important tradition. It helps not only to realise the value of humanistic ideas of Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov, but also to understand topical issues of the modern world.

That is why the agenda of the Conference involves problems vital for everyone, like personality and society in a multicultural world; economics and law in the context of partnership of civilizations; mass media in the system of forming the worldview; higher education: problems of development in the context of globalization and others.

I am sure that a lively discussion closely reasoned and utterly transparent in its exposition and logic will contribute to the development of the humanities, steadfast and righteous moral norms.

I wish the hosts, participants and guests fruitful cooperation and all the best.

**V. Putin**

Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation  
May 22, 2008

## **GREETINGS TO THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE 9TH INTERNATIONAL LIKHACHOV SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE**

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### **To the hosts and participants of the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

*Dear friends,*

*I wish to extend my welcome to the hosts and participants of the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference that has become a remarkable event in scientific and cultural life of Russia.*

*The theme of this year conference, 'Dialogue of Cultures and Partnership of Civilizations', is one of the most acute challenges in contemporary world. It is well-known that dialogue has always been an integrate element of culture, a significant factor of progress, a vital condition for peaceful co-existence and co-operation of countries and nations. In its turn, considering the matters of civilizational partnership may reveal new ways of peaceful solution for various world conflicts.*

*The items of the conference's agenda touch upon a number of global impact challenges and their core essence appears crucial. Further interpreting scientific and ethical heritage of academician Likhachov still remains principal. I have no doubt that this process will be contributed to by the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference.*

*I wish all the participants of the conference success and good luck.*

Chairman of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation  
B. V. GRYZLOV  
May 13, 2009

### **To the hosts, participants and guests of the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

*Distinguished colleagues and dear friends,*

*On behalf of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation I am pleased to welcome participants and guests of the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference.*

*Acknowledging a tremendous contribution of academician D.S. Likhachov to Russian national science and culture, Ministry of Education and Science treats the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference as an outstanding event, in which a lot of prominent figures of Russian and foreign intellectual community, public figures in cultural and artistic spheres, scholars and philosophers take part.*

*The International Likhachov Scientific Conference is devoted to the dialogue of cultures in the contemporary multi-polar world, to preserving and further flourishing of national original culture within the frames of multi-national Russian population.*

*Allow me to wish the participants fruitful work, health and happiness, and success in their creative activities for the benefit of Russian and international science and culture.*

Minister of Education and Science of the Russian Federation  
A. A. FURSENKO  
May 12, 2009

### **To the participants and guests of the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

*On behalf of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation I'd like to extend my welcome to all gathered in St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences with a view to open an outstanding academic forum.*

*This annual conference may serve a convincing evidence of the fact that D.S. Likhachov's ideas remain acute, that we strive to find new spheres to apply his ideas in contemporary social and cultural life. It is dialogue that may give birth to mutual understanding that enables us to integrate various peoples in order to promote positive cultural potential.*

*I sincerely wish the participants of the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference fruitful work and interesting meetings.*

Minister of Culture of the Russian Federation  
A. A. AVDEYEV  
May 12, 2009

### **To President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, professor A. S. Zapesotsky, the participants and guests of the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

*Dear Alexander Sergeyeovich, distinguished participants and guests of the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference*

*On behalf of the Ministry of Health and Welfare of the Russian Federation, I'd like to congratulate you on opening this academic forum that facilitates the traditions rooted by academician Likhachov. Please, accept my personal greetings as well.*

*For many years this conference has been gathering outstanding figures of science, education, culture and prominent public figures.*

*Holding the conference at St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences is well-reasoned. This University has a reputation of the one dynamically developing and constantly broadening its academic relations, as well as increasing the number of fields in its academic researches.*

*I am positively sure that in the course of the discussion constructive dialogue will evolve, and it may positively affect public life due to close co-operation of the state and academic community.*

*I wish the hosts and participants of the conference success in solving acute challenges of contemporary life.*

Acting Minister of Health and Welfare of the Russian Federation

V. S. BELOV

May 13, 2009

### **To President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences A. S. Zapesotsky**

*Dear fellows and friends,*

*Once more the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference has gathered celebrated figures of Russian national academic community, foreign scientists, experts in practical issues, state and public figures on the site of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences. This authoritative and truly grand-scaled forum with an unprecedented public impact has become an outstanding event in science and culture. In the course of its history the conference's agenda has reflected significant humanitarian challenges of contemporary world; the issues of cross-cultural dialogue and partnership of civilizations to be discussed at the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference are extremely vital for the whole civilized world.*

*Progress of the humanities demands new and upgraded forms of integrating information, co-operation and exchanging scientific experience. The International Likhachov Scientific Conference serves as a vivid example of effective communication in academic and public circles. I wish the participants of the Likhachov conference enthusiastic, creative and efficient dialogue and success in academic activities.*

Deputy Chairperson of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation

S. S. ZHUROVA

May 13, 2009

### **To President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences A. S. Zapesotsky, the participants and guests of the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

*Dear Alexander Sergeyevich,*

*I'd like to extend my welcome to the participants and guests of the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference.*

*I'm perfectly sure that holding the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference will result in further promotion of culture in the world-wide processes, in international acknowledgement of Russia as a stable law-based state.*

*I regret that I will be unable to take part in the conference due to a tight schedule, and I hope for our co-operation in future.*

First Deputy Chairperson of the Committee on Culture of the State Duma  
of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, professor of St. Petersburg University  
of the Humanities and Social Sciences, artiste emerita of Russia

E. G. DRAPEKO

May 10, 2009

### **To President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences A. S. Zapesotsky, the participants and guests of the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

*Dear Alexander Sergeyevich, distinguished participants and guests of the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference,*

*On behalf of the Federal Agency of Education allow me to congratulate you on opening a notable academic forum, the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference.*

*For several years famous figures of science, education, culture and public life have obliged the conference by taking part in it. The agenda of the conference has always been pierced with the spirit of acute challenges, public and social responsibility; it certainly appears significant.*

*The fact that the Russian Academy of Education participates in organizing the conference proves efficient cooperation between academic and university communities.*

*I wish good luck to all participants and hosts of the forum.*

Deputy Director of the Federal Agency of Education  
at the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation

E. Y. BUTKO

March 24, 2009

**To Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, Chairman of the Executive Committee of St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress, President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Professor A. S. Zapesotsky**

*Dear Alexander Sergeyevich,*

*On behalf of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg allow me to extend my cordial congratulations to you and to all participants of the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference.*

*The Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg, being occupied with law-making activities, has to be concerned with a wide range of various significant fields of scientific, cultural and educational development in this city.*

*It is the 9th time that the International Likhachov Scientific Conference is held on the site of this University, and the conference has gained a special role in the cultural life of the city. I can sate a number of functions that it performs, among which I'd like to put an emphasis on the following two: first, propagating and developing the ideas of our great contemporary, academician Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov; and second, promoting the reputation of St. Petersburg as an internationally acknowledged academic centre.*

*Nowadays education and culture desperately demand supervision of governmental authority bodies. I talk about providing social welfare to all employees in this field, from school teachers to academicians, from village hall keepers to museum keepers. Efforts of governmental authorities at all levels, from President of the Russian Federation to heads of municipal offices should be targeted to solve social challenges, including those of education and culture.*

*I deeply wish fruitful work to the hosts and participants of the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference.*

Chairman of Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg  
V. A. TIULPANOV  
May 13, 2009

**To President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Professor A. S. Zapesotsky**

*Dear Alexander Sergeyevich,*

*Please accept my thanks for your invitation to take part in the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference.*

*This annual event has become a good tradition of the University. The role and importance of the conference are growing with years. It is an honourable and pleasant task to perpetuate the memory of D.S. Likhachov, to promote ideas and achievements of our great contemporary among the young. I have no doubts that traditions of St. Petersburg intellectual community will transform into national ones under the guidance of the University headed by you.*

*I deeply regret that I will be unable to present my report due to a tight schedule.*

*Best regards,*

Chairperson of the Committee on City Assets Management at the Government of St. Petersburg  
I. M. METELSKY  
May 12, 2009

**To the participants and guests of the 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

*Distinguished participants, dear brothers and sisters,*

*Holding this international conference devoted to perpetuate the memory of academician Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov has become a good reason for many people to exchange their opinions on acute challenges of contemporary life, to share results of years-old research and practical activities.*

*Figures of the Russian Orthodox Church take an active part in the Likhachov conference, and we intend to keep on and deepen our co-operation with the hosts of this authoritative forum.*

*The issues of dialogue of cultures and partnership of civilizations have always concerned the Department of External Church Relations that for many years has been in contact with the most of traditional religious communities all over the world. So far we have accumulated profound experience in communicating with people of various civilizations and cultures. As our experience shows, there are no inter-civilizational conflicts that can't be solved. That's why nowadays all positive world forces are destined to harmonize current differences between civilizations without eliminating their originality. This complicated task demands much will-power and efforts.*

*I'm sure that a real dialogue of civilizations has nothing to do with imposing their contents, ideas and results on each other. It is no less crucial that the basis of this dialogue should be something that has always united people, that is human conscience, the God's gift, helping man to distinguish the good and the evil. Having based the co-existence of civilizations on moral grounds, the mankind will be able to build a stable inter-civilizational world.*

*I wish the participants of the Conference fruitful discussions and God's aid in every good act.*

Chairman of the Department of the External Church Relations  
at Moscow Patriarchy, Archbishop of Volokolamsk  
ILARION  
May 13, 2009



# ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL LIKHACHOV SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

## Information

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The International Scientific Conference at St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences first took place in May, 1993. It was timed to the Day of Slavonic Letters and Culture. It was initiated by academician Dmitry Sergeyeovich Likhachov. Since then the conference has been held every year. After academician Likhachov had passed away this academic forum received the status of International Likhachov Scientific Conference from the government (by the Decree of President of the Russian Federation V.V. Putin 'On perpetuating the memory of Dmitry Sergeyeovich Likhachov' No. 587, May 23, 2001).

The co-founders of the Conference are the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Russian Academy of Education, St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress (founders: J. I. Alferov, D. A. Granin, A. S. Zapesotsky, K. Y. Lavrov, D. S. Likhachov, A. P. Petrov, M. B. Piotrowsky). Since 2007 the conference has enjoyed the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation; since 2008 financial support by a special grant of President of the Russian Federation, since 2009 donations by the Russian Humanitarian Academic Foundation and the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation.

Traditionally, the most universal debatable challenges of the present time are put on the agenda of the conference: 'Education in terms of the new cultural type formation', 'Culture and global challenges of the world development', 'Humanitarian issues of the contemporary civilization' etc.

Every year greatest figures of Russian and foreign science, culture and art, public and political leaders take part in the conference. The following academicians of the Russian Academy of Sciences have taken part in the conference in recent years: L. I. Abalkin, A. G. Arbatov, N. P. Bekhtereva, O. T. Bogomolov, B. N. Bolshakov, Y. S. Vasilyev, A. A. Guseinov, T. I. Zaslavskaya, A. A. Kokoshin, A. B. Kudelin, V. A. Lektorsky, I. I. Lukin, D. S. Lvov, V. A. Martynov, N. N. Moiseyev, A. D. Nekipelov, Y. S. Osipov, A. M. Panchenko, N. Y. Petrakov, N. A. Plateh, V. M. Polterovich, E. M. Primakov, B. V. Rauschenbach, Y. A. Ryzhov, V. S. Stiopin, V. A. Tishkov, V. A. Chereshnev, A. O. Chubarian, N. P. Shmelyov, V. L. Yanin and others. Academicians of the Russian Academy of Education who have taken part in the conference are the following: S. A. Amonashvili, V. I. Andreyev, G. M. Andreyeva, A. G. Asmolov, A. P. Belyayeva, M. N. Berulava, I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada, A. A. Bodalev, E. V. Bondarevskaya, G. A. Bordovsky, V. P. Borisenkov, G. N. Volkov, Y. S. Davydov, A. V. Darinsky, E. D. Dneprov, S. F. Yegorov, I. A. Zimniaya, V. G. Kineliyov, I. S. Kon, A. S. Kondratyev, V. G. Kostomarov, V. V. Krayevsky, A. A. Likhachov, G. V. Mukhamedzianova, V. S. Mukhina, V. A. Miasnikov, N. D. Nikandrov, A. M. Novikov, Y. V. Senko, A. V. Usova, Y. U. Fokht-Babushkin, G. A. Yagodin, V. Mitter (Germany) and others. Such public and state figures as A. A. Akayev, A. E. Busygin, S. V. Lavrov, V. I. Matvienko, V. V. Miklushevsky, K. O. Romodanovsky, A. L. Safonov, A. A. Sobchak, E. S. Stroyev, V. E. Churov, M. V. Shmakov, A. V. Yakovenko, V. A. Yakovlev have also participated in the conference. Among the figures of culture and art who have taken part in the conference are the following: M. K. Anikushin, A. A. Voznesensky, I. O. Gorbachov, D. A. Granin, N. M. Dudinskaya, Z. Y. Korogodsky, K. Y. Lavrov, A. P. Petrov, M. M. Plisetskaya, M. L. Rostropovich, E. A. Riazanov, G. V. Sviridov and others.

Since 2008, supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, the Diplomatic Programme of the conference 'International Dialogue of Cultures' has been implemented. Ambassadors of foreign states present their reports and give their opinions on acute challenges of present time.

Four times, in 2001, 2004, 2006 and 2009, the hosts and participants were greeted by Presidents of the Russian Federation D. A. Medvedev and V. V. Putin, in 2008 by Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation V. V. Putin.

Every year volumes of reports, participants' presentations, proceedings of workshop discussions and round tables are published. The copies of the volumes are present in all major libraries of Russia, the CIS countries, scientific and educational centres of many countries in the world. The Proceedings of the conference are also available on a special scientific website 'Likhachov Square' (at [www.lihachev.ru](http://www.lihachev.ru)).

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L. I. Abalkin<sup>1</sup>

### THE QUEST FOR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN CIVILIZATIONS

*Contemporary problems and challenges for the humanity.* The world's community at the beginning of the 21st century is dramatically different from the past. This difference has to do with technological as well as informational systems. The present stage is also characterized by the quest for a new world order. The economic and ideological opposition of the two world systems is over now. At the same time there is an ongoing violent controversy between the supporters of one superpower and multi-territorial world. The outcome of this struggle still remains vague.

There is a constant threat of extension of nuclear powers. The opposition between the North and the South intensifies. Massive poverty has not been done with. The consequences of the demographic and economic crisis are quite dangerous. All these are historic challenges of the new age, the solutions of which need joint actions and enormous efforts.

The central (and tremendously difficult) issue is promotion of a cross-cultural dialogue and partnership of civilizations. The current problems shouldn't be oversimplified. Nor should we look for easy solutions. A new approach is needed. The history of the human civilization and the very human nature should be reconsidered.

*The man is the only biosocial creature in the world.* It is impossible to analyze the amazing scientific discoveries, achievements of technology, culture and arts, disastrous and cruel wars, controversies and prospects of the contemporary world without turning to that dual characteristic of the human nature.

Biologically, man remains the same kind of animal which he was the moment he was born. He is feeble. He is susceptible to the dangers of the world. He is aggressively inclined. He is unable to preserve his own genus.

Incorporating man into society is a complex process that has taken thousands of years. Those years were spent to establish constitutional and unwritten laws, rules and standards. They comprise taboos and religious commandments, contemporary constitutions and international law, culture and morality. Taken together they make up a unique social memory mechanism, characteristic of man.

However, all the above-mentioned does not exclude the man's biosocial nature. He needs either a foe, or an interlocutor (I will dwell on this later). Wars have always been an indispensable element in the development of the society throughout the world's history as the specialists know too well. We have been dealing with this situation since the French Revolution. It was politically, ideologically, religiously and economically preconditioned.

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*The nature of civilizations and the clash of civilizations.*

At the present moment these issues have been sidelined by the opposition of civilizations. In his book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* Samuel Huntington wrote that 'the 21st century's conflict between liberal democracy and Marxism-Leninism was just a transient and anti-historical phenomenon compared to persistent antagonism between Islam and Christianity'. This statement has initiated a lot of controversy and is still extensively discussed.

To understand my statement, we should turn to the concept of civilization. This is quite a complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon. A single definition is hard to give. That is why the reasoning that follows is not unambiguous. It just covers the basics of the concept of 'civilization'.

Nikolai Danilevsky, the founder of the theory of civilization, wrote in his book *Russia and Europe*: 'Civilization is a much vaster concept than science, art, religion, political, civil and social development taken separately. It is such, because civilization covers them all'. Civilization is inseparable from the age-long culture, traditions, values and mentality of people. Nikolai Berdyaev in his treatise *Philosophy of Inequality* wrote: 'A nation includes not just generations, but also the stones of churches, palaces and estates, gravestones, ancient manuscripts and books. To catch the nation's will, one must feel those stones and read the withered pages'.

To remove this from historical memory means to forget history and become manipulated. And the man with no memory of the past has no future.

It is a primitive but widely-spread idea to associate progress with just one form that dominates in the West. Different versions of this idea do not include such regions as China, India and Islamic countries into progressive development. They do not so just because these territories have peculiar civilizations, different from European or American, with their distinctive values, norms and traditions.

Arnold Toynbee wrote about the invalidity of such an attitude in *A Study of History*: 'the thesis of world's unification on the basis of the western economic system as a natural outcome of a single and steady process of human history development results in the profound misinterpretation of facts and in striking narrowing of a historical horizon'.

*Not a monologue, but a dialogue.* The quest for the ways to bring civilizations closer does not require a monologue on how others should live. It requires a dialogue and understanding. It requires abandoning the search for foes. Though in the West, as well as in Russia, political leaders, followed by the public consciousness, are engaged in the search of foes again. It's a real fact, unfortunately.

We are urged to establish a new paradigm for public consciousness and for revolutionary renovation of the human relations. Only this can provide a required background to settle the opposition of civilizations. This problem cannot be solved by imposing the values of one civilization onto the other. This problem can only be solved through admitting equal significance and self-sufficiency of civilizations, through the willingness to understand, respect and recognize the rights of others.

The dialogue of diverse civilizations is the historic chance that the contemporary society has been given. Multidimensional and multilayered world does not admit of imposing any universal values on all civilizations. And the attempts to impose those are pushing the mankind into the abyss of a catastrophe.

*The Convergence Theory.* The Convergence Theory boosted the search of common features in different socio-economic and ideological systems. The founders of this theory are Jan Tinbergen and John Kenneth Galbraith, and also Pitirim Sorokin and Andrei Sakharov. This theory became a new paradigm of social mentality and a basis for new Weltanschauung that reflected the profound changes in the society.

The Convergence Theory is based on the accumulation of all the best that was established through the history of mankind. It comprised the combination of the market regulatory powers with their feedback system, the promotion of competition and civil society with planning, together with programming and prognostication. The Convergence Theory was never identified with searching for some universal pattern of social arrangement. That is a distinctive feature of this theory. Constructing such a pattern (that is what is being done in the West as well as in Russia) is a typical example of monopoly in science. That is very harmful for science itself, and also dangerous for practical moves.

A new stage of the Convergence Theory is directly connected with working out patterns for social-economic development that will take into account civilizational peculiarities of particular regions and countries. It provides the way not for a monologue, but for a dialogue and partnership of civilizations. But the way I am talking about is not the result, but a beginning of a long and difficult journey with plenty of obstacles.

*The Theory of Social Alternatives and the future.* The Institute for Economics of the Russian Academy of Sciences has been working on the Theory of Social Alternatives for a long time. According to this theory the future of the mankind is not strictly defined. It is a poly-variant option. And it greatly depends upon the scientific elite and representatives of culture which options become a reality.

Either it is a supremacy of just one superpower, or it is a cooperation based on mutual understanding, taking account of subtleties of traditions and cultures of civilizations. Mutual understanding is a key concept here. It is difficult, though tremendously important, to reach. Christians must understand Islam. Muslims must understand Christians. The representatives of the Chinese civilization must understand Buddhism. And Buddhists must understand the Chinese civilization.

We need to overcome conservatism of modern mentality and to abandon universal approaches, imposed by scientists and politicians. Stereotypes of public consciousness, embedded by different kinds of mass media, are equally dangerous.

Experience proves that it's hardly possible to fight against these things. The matter may be in the necessity of a complete internal reorganization of the humanities and politics, especially of the public opinion management. This process needs a lot of time and effort and may last till the end of this century, at least. We won't manage it earlier than that.

If we talk about the scale of the changes, they correlate with the changes that happened after the man started to use fire. We face, if we turn to mythology, opening another Pandora's Box, which, besides all the evils and disasters, has HOPE inside.

This will be a revolutionary turn in people's minds. This kind of turn will open up the way to the future through probing into the human core and nature. Then a dialogue of cultures and partnership of civilizations will take place.

A. A. Akayev<sup>1</sup>

## FELLOWSHIP OF PEOPLE AND PHENOMENON OF EURASIA

The International Likhachov Scientific Conference, in the light of a wide world outlook of the scientist and the thinker, who our forum is named after, provides an opportunity to speak on the problems that, so to say, 'knock on the door' insistently. The real world in which we live, with its variety of races, nationalities, languages, traditions, diversity of cultures, surprising beauty of natural landscapes and contrasts of climatic zones has to provide all people with a worthy life in conditions of peace, personal freedom and public safety. This natural course of life was destroyed a long time ago, and no safe ending is visible. The most disturbing of all is, perhaps, the existence of dividing lines between people, which have a tendency to extend with the lapse of time. In addition to the interstate borders stipulated by political realities, spiritual dissociation of people is spread at which dividing lines pass through the souls of people. It poisons their conscious-

ness. If this process is not stopped, the world will be faced with some unpredictable dangers.

The specified concerns are especially characteristic for the people, who quite recently (historically speaking) lived in one common country and considered themselves an integrated nation that was called the Soviet people. Despite the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the atmosphere of spiritual unity on the post-Soviet territory remains. And the relapses into the recent past are not the problem here. Millions of people live, irrespectively of their age, with a feeling of involvement in the great human community which has developed around Russia. And I call this community Eurasian. This community has sprung not from the communist ideology, but from our common history, our ancestors, grandfathers and fathers who bequeathed us to cherish that heritage they left, the heritage profusely showered with their own sweat and blood. We will never abandon the memory of the victims who sacrificed their own lives for the sake of the country during the Great Patriotic War. 28 heroes of Panfilov Division are buried near Moscow. They came from Kirghizstan to defend Moscow.

Going deep into history, I have become convinced of indissoluble bonds between Kirghiz and Russian people. And these bonds go back for centuries. In the 7th century there were times when under the pressure of foreign conquerors Kirghiz nomadic tribes were compelled to move to Southern Siberia and to locate there for a couple of centuries, using the Sayan Mountains and the mighty Yenisei as a shield.

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In the winter of 711 on the Yenisei there was a bloody fight between the Kirghiz, who had settled there, and the big Turkic horde who invaded from the south under the cover of the mountains during the night time. The Turks retreated. Thousands of the Kirghiz died together with their legendary leader Bars-beg. The latter is considered a prototype of Manas in our heroic epos. And only later, after centuries of migrating, were the Kirghiz transferred onto the present dwelling place — the foothills of Tien Shan. After ten centuries, in 1785 our wise ancestors sent a diplomatic mission to Catherine the Great with the request to accept the Kirghiz in the Russian citizenship in the name of saving the people from the overseas aggression. The notice from St. Petersburg sounded like a warning for those who wanted to make their good at the Kirghiz' expense.

Experts on history remember the Georgiyevsky Treatise which was signed in 1785 two years after the Kirghiz appealed to Russia. I strongly believe, but for that historical document, there would have been no Georgia on a political map of the world of today. It is easy to find proofs in history of each of the post-Soviet states that testify to the appeals of their indigenous population to Russia as a patroness and defender. Many national cultures have become known to the world through the Russian culture. The Kirghiz heroic epos 'Manas' and the works of an outstanding writer and thinker Chingiz Ajmatov may serve as a valid proof.

With this brief retrospective journey into history I am trying to build up a bridge to the present, to make out what lessons of the past will help to develop harmonious relationship within the space which can be named as post-Soviet. The present-day situation is a matter of concern. The consequences of the accident that happened to such a huge political and social system as the Soviet Union have been affecting hard the new independent states. Centrifugal forces prevail over centripetal tendencies at times. And if we considered the reasons of the present-day problems, we would discover that they are closely connected to subjective factors, to the short-sighted politics, preconditioned by nationalist motives of some state leaders and politicians lifted up by chance to the top of authority at the crucial moment. Historically speaking, it is hardly reasonable to consider the position developed at the given temporary stage as stable, fixed in history. Political modes change at will of people. Governors come and leave. The irrefutable spiral of history will make its business. The return to positive experience of the past is inevitable. Spiritual life project is life-giving force to the highest degree.

Quite often the judgments about the further inevitable divergence of the post-Soviet states are expressed, the judgments about irreversibility of the changes that have happened. I am strongly against such a point of view. It is necessary to live not only here and now but also forecast the future. Sooner or later the temporary factors dictated by circumstances weaken, while long-term tendencies, if they correspond to national expectations, persistently find the way. Europe is a definitive example for me. It is hardly possible to find a conglomerate similar to it in which interstate contentions did not stop for centuries, long wars (the 'thirty-year' one and others) were inflamed and, at last, two pernicious world wars were started. The post-war Europe was able to overcome heavy blockages of the past and, on the basis of the general interests, conformable to national interests of the countries comprising it, unite efforts within the framework of the European Union. More than 40 years have passed since the first steps on a way of the integration before creating the adequate union in the form of the EU. And when I am trying to read a doleful pray on the Commonwealth of Independent States, which was less than 18 years of age, my soul revolts. It is my strong belief that the idea of the CIS will soon be called for and will be duly developed according to the initial plan.

The modern world – such is the reality – is involved into a tough struggle between forces which, on the one hand, are trying to defend their right to build a life according to national interests and their own centuries-old cultural wealth, and, on the other hand, under the cover of humanistic ideals, hold their hands out to other countries and continents with the objective to impose models of political and democratic development, to separate people regardless of their natural longing for each other. One faraway transatlantic country that barely understands and sometimes ignores the national features of people of the post-Soviet space, is trying to make the post-Soviet world the object of its own policy. Making the use of the present circumstances, they are trying to put it under its protectorate, to implant the political and democratic model that is based on the transatlantic curves.

As a substantiation study the theoretical concepts of the conflict of civilizations by Samuel Huntington and 'the Great Chessboard' by Zbigniew Brzezinski have been developed. In one of my works I have proved the concept of the conflict of civilizations to be theoretically insolvent and practically harmful. I also suggested to eliminate this term from a political lexicon. Brzezinski's forecasts about the transformation of the post-Soviet Russia into 'a black hole', and the region of the Central Asia into 'the Eurasian Balkans' have becomeiasco. The new states in the region have proved to be not wooden figures arranged on a board at will of the American grand master, but unities that possess political power will and ability to defend their national interests.

Science has no tools, with reference to large social systems, for long-term forecasting on their development, similar, for example, to Newton's laws for mechanical systems. A failure of Marxism is an obvious evidence to that, though it has some durable ideas to offer. The approaches which are based on the catastrophe theory by a prominent Russian mathematician Vladimir Arnold and the idea of a Nobel Prize winner Ilya Prigogin, a Belgian with a Russian background, about bifurcations in the unstable social systems appeal to my scientific mind most. Synergy might also be added to this. However all of them, giving a satisfactory explanation of the picture of the past, are hardly suitable for reliable short-term or long-term forecast. Situational analysis and projection of the past onto the future, in accordance with the ideas about a history spiral, in particular, continue to remain a more useful set of scientific tools.

I would like to base my judgments about the future on the logic of history which has always been marked by the struggle between good and evil. There were quite a lot of stages in history when good defeated evil, and people were enjoying the times of creative accomplishments as, for example, after the victory over fascism in the '40s of the previous century. In the history of all people the darker periods were replaced by the favourable ones. The beginning of the 21st century with its threats of international terrorism and destructive potential of global financial and economic crisis happened to be hard and complex. However, in the process of overcoming the threats of terrorism and the crisis, the post-Soviet territory will be able to make a better decision about the choice of the further way to go, to make out natural allies and friends, to restore political and spiritual losses, to oppose its own will to aspiration of external forces, with respect to this space, to take it under their control. Let me express my firm belief that the best will be taken by eternal fundamental centuries – the old factor that has been keeping this space together – common Eurasian land, common history, integral spiritual space, genetically implanted communal collectivist mentality, inclination for the democratic mode of life with a glance of national features, centuries-old good neighbourhood of religions, a friendly attraction of people living with similar aspirations.

I ascribe everything mentioned above to the phenomenon of Eurasia in its wide global dimension. In its strength and meaning it has the same value in the modern world structure as the universally recognized Anglo-Saxon phenomenon. And when everything that unites and sets us apart is put on the scales of History, the scale with community of people united by common centuries-old historical path will prevail. And I do not speak of the return to the past, to a united country like the Soviet Union used to be. The sovereignty is a priceless heritage with which the post-Soviet states were given an opportunity to turn over a new leaf. The Union was a big communal flat and things there were not perfect. In that common house people of Central Asia, being rid of a feudal heritage of the past, achieved the up-to-date level in economic and social development, in the sphere of public health services, education and culture. Meanwhile, it can be clearly observed that the Ukraine, Georgia and other post-Soviet countries, which claim to be special, have mainly acquired their social and economic potential in the Soviet period and have little to boast of in the subsequent period.

In the conditions of the global crisis, despite some considerable difficulties, Russia offers substantial assistance to its partners in their efforts to overcome the economic failure. At the same time, another direction, with its self-interest, has shown no activity so far. Hopes for Russia as the locomotive of the general development at the present stage are increasing a great deal. In my opinion, in the foreseeable future the post-Soviet space with the central role of Russia will get more accurate contours as a complete geopolitical formation with common interests and purposes. This geopolitical configuration will get a key place in such an international organization as the Shanghai Organization of Cooperation whose activity has started to achieve global importance. Thereby step by step the world will be getting a multi-territorial character.

Speaking about the above mentioned, I ask myself a question whether I abstract from a role of those forces which are drawing a line on the dissociation of the post-Soviet states. At understanding of it I nevertheless start with the precondition that centripetal tendencies on the post-Soviet territory will finally gain victory over the centrifugal forces as a result of the fundamental importance of those objective factors that bring our peoples together. It is possible to expect a different issue as well. There also remains a hope (though a faint one) that the West, with its awareness of the importance of the preservation in Eurasia as a complete unity for the world stability, with its responsibility for its actions in the geopolitical sphere, adhering itself to sensible policy, will abandon its attempts to bring contentions into this region, drawing its separate elements under the auspices of the NATO and other similar structures. In the politics there is the rule of 'never say never'.

At the times of epoch-making changes and a global economic crisis prediction-making is risky and unrewarding. And still some optimism in the situation can play a significant role. Mistrust and despondency are bad companions on that difficult way. We should sow 'the reasonable, the good, the everlasting' as the great Russian poet encouraged. The optimistic approach to life was bequeathed by Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov who was not losing his clarity of mind in the most difficult tests the life had in stock for him. During my Presidency of Kirghizstan I proclaimed and persistently put into practice such national ideas as 'Kirghizstan is our common house' and 'Kirghizstan is the country of human rights'. Despite the reproaches of their utopianism, I consider that the sowed seeds will bear fruit in due course. Ideas become material force when they seize masses of people – Marx's followers are right in this respect. The aspiration of the millions on the post-Soviet territory of a unification supported by shared historical destinies of the peoples and their spiritual relationship in the 21st century are bound to become materialized.

## Abd al-Wahhab Muhammad Al-Rauhani<sup>1</sup>

### HUMANITARIAN PARTNERSHIP IN THE DIALOGUE OF CULTURES

Different civilizations during the human history have not given reasons for hostilities and wars, because any civilization per se presents a new, modern and developed culture which has replaced an old one.

Civilization is a lifestyle of people which is formed on the cultural, social and economic basis and is determined by cultural, moral, and religious values, which defies anarchy and careless thinking. Civilization is considered to be totally opposite to nomadic life. Nomads are typified by devotion to their tribe, by nepotism, all considered to be backward, which makes the life of these people, full of difficulties and deprivation, even harder.

Civilization can be viewed as a step on the way of human evolution. In keeping with this notion, we can say that all civilizations have given people moral values, which human thought has tried to define for centuries – to promote peaceful co-existence and communal activities of people. People should unite in order to elucidate problems and overcome contradictions which have made people suffer for many centuries.

#### Religious and Cultural Dialogue as Exemplified by Islam

We can not argue that cultural diversities as a driving force behind the struggle between civilizations are born today. Nor can we say that religion, which is an essential part of all cultures and civilizations, is a source of conflicts. All religious teachings are based not on stirring up fight, rousing intolerance and homicide, but on encouraging good, on calling for mutual understanding, forgiveness, love and peace. These ideas are contained in all holy scriptures.

Islam is said to be characterized by particular cruelty and to be a major threat to the West, because it keeps recruiting young people in its ranks. Such ideas are not mere incitement against Islam and the Muslims. These words are not based on scientific findings and are false statements; those who utter them pursue the only goal, to win the public opinion to their side. At all times population growth in any country has gone side by side with poverty, it does today, in the era of high technology and wars in the space. This fact alone proves that Islam cannot be threat to the rest of the world. Power and progress are unfeasible when people are faced with poverty, distress and terrible plight. But they can be observed in the countries which have enough means to build educational centres for children, to have military arsenals and broad-spectrum weaponry, like the weapons used by the Israeli army in the most recent cruel war in the Gaza Strip. It is a high-tech

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weapon to kill peaceful people – old men, women, children. Arab youths of Afghanistan and Iraq have been seeing it for seven years, in 2006 it was used in Lebanon. Modern weaponry is a powerful force destroying lives of people and a serious threat; not necessarily in the hands of a Muslim.

Those calling for the clash of civilizations wrongfully claim that Islamic and Muslim youth present a menace to the Western civilization. In the times when Islamic world was at its height, it neither destroyed other civilizations, nor confronted them, but was a wonderful example of service to humanity. The achievements of Muslim scholars and scientists in many fields are known far and wide: medicine, space exploration, mathematics, philosophy, biology, geology, technology, etc. Many Eastern scientists and thinkers were first recognized in the West and then in the East. Western universities have been studying their scientific discoveries, works and biographies. Here are but a few names: the philosopher Ibn Rushd, the originator of the theory of correlation between religion and wisdom ‘Sharia and philosophy’; Abu Bakr al-Razi – a doctor, an astrologer, an alchemist whose works have been studied in Europe for centuries; Ibn al-Nafis who was the first to study pulmonary circulation; al-Biruni, whom Western scientists called the greatest mind in the history of mankind; the chemist Jabir ibn Hayyan; the doctor and the mathematician al-Havarismi; the astronomer, the philosopher and the doctor Avicenna, and plenty of other Muslim scientists who represented Islamic civilization as a civilization serving people and who greatly contributed to the development of the modern scientific thought. Both Christianity and Islam are destined to bring love and good relations between people of the world.

Jesus, the messenger of Allah (Peace be upon Him!), taught people the values of forgiveness and understanding, which we know from his saying: ‘He who is without sin among you, let him be the first to throw a stone at her.’ Mohammed, Allah’s messenger and prophet (Allah bless Him and grant Him peace) came to people in order to attest to the same idea while saying ‘You all do wrong but he is best who admits it and asks for forgiveness.’

Thus, we are aware that religions belonging to human cultures originated from the same source. Each of them supplements another and is a perfect example of the rules to follow in one’s life. So, we cannot say that one religion advocates love and peace, another propagates intolerance and hatred being a terrorist one. All religions are from God. They are closely connected with spiritual and moral values, and only those who disregard these values stray from the right path of this or other religion. It all depends on people themselves (who may be mistaken), but not on the religion.

Divine religions asserted themselves as cultural and social ways including worshipping some or other saints. It becomes evident if we trace their century-long coexistence. In the Islamic state of Omayyads in Andalusia (Spain), three religions coexisted peacefully – Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, which was a surprising example of a dialogue and rapport.

As professor of Princeton University Dr. Mark Cohen puts it, Jews and Christians who used to live in Islamic world were legally allowed to exercise their religions and they were under the jurisdiction of the law of *ahl al-dhimma* (‘People of protection’). They had their religious books, granted by God, and the same privileges that Hindu and Persians enjoyed (according to Islam they are bearers of religious values).

Islam guarantees rights and freedoms to those who practise other religions and believes that everyone is free to choose what cult to worship. ‘No compulsion is in religion, you have your religion, we have ours,’ the Koran says.

Allah’s messenger urged to respect people professing other religions and prohibited to do harm to them saying ‘He who hurts a Jew or a Christian hurts me.’ ‘Of protection’ means for

Arabs ‘having the right to live in the society with rights and freedoms protected in general and in particular’.

The first caliph Omar Ibn Al-Khattab (be Allah pleased with him), who had lived 1400 years ago, i.e. 1100 years before the philosopher of freedom Voltaire was born, also defended liberty and honour of a man. Here go his words: ‘How dare you enslave people born free by their mothers?’ His great humane deed, a model concept of justice, shows what right, freedom, and mercy are in their best manifestation.

In fact, these were not Koranic ideas, but people followed them when Islam was at its full height, for, in the opinion of Dr. Cohen, the Islamic state was promoting a complete union between different denominations, the latter lived together both in the Golden Age and after it.

At the moment when Islam became concerned with freedom, this idea pushed the advancement of human thought far ahead. Islam called for freedom to break away from sluggishness and limitations. In this mode it paved the way for scientific endeavour in all spheres; it also pointed out how important it was for the human mind to embrace the phenomena of nature and everyday life.

The dialogue and communal living of peoples of the world is a sensible way predetermined by religions. It is considered to be one of the most precious values they call for, because religion is a thought of our soul which brings our entity to perfection, which lives both in mind and soul. This important feature was mentioned in one of the ayahs of Koran. ‘Truly we made you different tribes and different people for you to get to know each other; indeed, the most desired of you before Allah is the one who is most filled with faith.’

The message of communication between people is in getting to know and understand one another, in starting a dialogue, in learning the customs of another country, its economy, social structure and, certainly, its policy. This may lead to mutual understanding and mutual respect between different nations, to a new outlook upon another culture and religion.

Islam prescribes these regulations by the words of the Messengers: ‘People are as equal as the teeth of the comb. Be it an Arab or a foreigner, black or white, there is no difference between them other than the strength of their faith.’

The power of faith is the fear of God in what one says and does, it is the denial of rejection of others, it is steering from extremes and ridicule of others. The difference between people lies only in the extent of these qualities.

All these moral and legal values of Islam are contradictory to what some Western thinkers say including Samuel Huntington, an American philosopher, who perceives Islam as a religion which is inherently cruel or calls for cruelty, and for whom no difference exists between religion and politics.

Islam is one of the largest and most important religions. It is worshipped by over 1.5 billion people of the world. It represents a combination of values relevant to humanity, civilizations and cultures, and is a part of the world civilization. Islamic civilization at some time was the most advanced, it was a world achievement, which benefited the development of modern civilization. The examples from Scriptures and some guidelines we spoke above, evidence that the idea of Islam is opposite to what is held by the proponents of the theory of clash of civilizations. Islamic values are in the service of humanism and totally opposed to destruction.

### The Revival of Culture: Causes and Stimuli

We, however, agree that confrontation does exist. But its cause is not religion, for religion is an important constituent of religions and civilizations. The roots of this standoff are in racial prejudices, in political and economic interests of certain circles. These interests were at the bottom of the old colonial system of the world; they are the cause of colonization of different countries today.

Politicians can use religion to acquire strategic opportunities, or to assuage the gluttony of those in the position of power. Religion itself cannot be a source of anger and contradictions. Henry Tunk says that religion is a fuel for the engine of struggle. In most cases, confrontations are tinted with either nationalist or political colour.

Nobody can deny the revival and resurgence of culture (folk culture or religious) in Islamic countries as well as in others. This revival is natural in its character, it is quite logical and even inevitable. He who is filled with terror of Islamic culture, must answer one vital question: what are the causes and stimuli of the revival of folk and religious culture in Islamic societies? Is it relevant for the development or is it a response to the harsh circumstances, and Muslims do not want it?

We are certain that the roots of Islamic culture revival can be traced to the collocation 'livability of culture' in Islamic and Arab communities. Muslims do not live isolated from the outer world, they are part of it and they are affected by different events, both positively and negatively. Probably, the most successful explanation will be as follows. The surprising tempo of technological and scientific progress we are currently witnessing, as well as awareness of our impotence and oppression, brings to mind the idea of desirable changes. Economic disparity between peoples living in the North and in the South has brought about the feeling of injustice not only among educated but also among people of all walks of life. It turns out that there are two worlds – one in the North where people live in good and comfortable conditions, and another in the South where life is completely different and is full of hardships and problems, and where man is deprived of any rights. People want to have normal economy and culture. Muslims are deprived of their legal rights for the holy places of Islamic world, first and foremost the al-Aqsa mosque (the first direction in the prayer of Muslims, the third forbidden mosque) currently in the hands of the Israelis.

There are attempts to eradicate the signs of Islam, Hebraization of Jerusalem, concealment of Islamic monuments – these are all an undisguised challenge to Islamic heritage and Islamic world at large. Arab people in different countries are humiliated, their sense of dignity is insulted, innocent people are killed in Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia and Balkan countries. Palestinians are not able to build their own independent and sovereign state on their own land. All this is done with the support of the United States and West European countries. Western leaders pursue their own goals and, respectively, policies in the world. Backed by their official agencies, "free" morals and norms as well as anarchy get about.

From the said above, it is clear that the resurgence of folk and religious culture in Islamic countries is determined by religious, economic and cultural needs. Besides, it is important to change the conditions leading to poverty and deprivation. This is an attempt to fight injustice inflicted on Arab peoples. Thus, the problems of Islamic world pose a threat to Western civilization. Until they are resolved, however, various aggressive trends, instead of being harnessed, will be beefed up at the expense of grass roots. This will lead to the increasing contradictions both in separate organizations and in Islamic world as a whole. This all results in the war against Islamic culture, the latter based on dialogue and mutual understanding. The rumours about it incite hatred which no dialogue is able to quench, and no logic can perceive.

### **The Dialogue of Cultures**

#### **Is the Only Way of Peaceful Coexistence**

The dialogue of cultures is the only civilized alternative, the really humanistic one, which enables different nations to life together on one planet. The dialogue of cultures must be based on two major principles:

acknowledgement of existence of other parties as an inalienable right;

understanding of other parties as a relevant cultural constituent.

Regarding the acknowledgement of existence of other parties, this means the acceptance of all peoples as a universal truth. People live and have contacts on the basis of spiritual and moral values common for them, they are guided by these values in relations between themselves. They are also responsible for the world they live in and its progress. This is possible provided there is freedom, justice and equality.

Regarding the understanding of other parties, this means understanding of some nations by other nations, their mental, cultural, scientific and religious constituents, studying their economic and social conditions to search easier ways to conduct our dialogue of cultures on.

Quite a number of scientists studying civilization issues say that understanding of different nations requires knowledge of five principle constituents:

natural environment;

economic situation;

types of social relations;

organization of management;

educational, creative and cultural agencies.

In order to understand some or other civilization intense scrutiny is required. It refers not only to religion but to living conditions of nations, their social, economic and political systems.

### **Key Issues of the Dialogue of Cultures**

At present many nations suffer from economic backwardness, poor living conditions, unfair social and political organization, discrimination and lack of justice, ignorance, absence of universal and personal freedoms. All this causes hatred and hostilities, gives rise to religious societies, which outrun boundaries of allowable, chauvinist and racial groups. Ideological and other contradictions take place in Islamic world as well as in all countries of the third world in Asia, Africa, Latin America. It also resulted in the development of terrorist organizations.

These issues, in my opinion, should be studied in the frame of the dialogue of cultures, which the forces striving for peace in the world place their stake on. Today we are participating in the International Conference where different aspects of the dialogue are being discussed.

#### *Issues of Culture and Education*

These issues are vital for the society and they should go in the first place on the list of issues discussed in the frame of the dialogue of cultures. Any social problem relates to culture and education. All states in the world should pay attention to the problem of education including religious education and do their best to solve it in accordance with the principles of tolerance, since new perilous theories and movements appeared, terrorist among them, which do not differentiate whether it is religion or not, whether it is praying or killing.

Gradually, united culture is being formed in the world. At present people go beyond local cultures and are not isolated from cultures of other countries. Moreover, cultures have become mingled and ultimately they may unite, in case equality and justice are achieved in the life of the society.

Western world imposes tough unacceptable conditions on the countries where living standards are very low. An earnest dialogue is needed on the economic development of southern regions to overcome problems of poverty, ignorance, epidemics. States with highly developed economy should take measures to set up enterprises and employ citizens of poor countries, so that all would benefit from it. International agreements should be signed on peace and settlement of disputes between the countries, on cooperation based on mutual rapport of nations.

The dialogue of cultures should be based on humanistic ideas. One should avoid hatred, chauvinism, denial the others of their rights, making decisions aimed at these or other national or ethical communities.

We are certain that our cultural forum which is considering a great number of scientific papers on the dialogue of cultures will become an important step on the way to cultural cooperation sought by all people. Such cooperation is going to refute the postulate of 'the clash of civilizations' in favour of 'the dialogue of involvement' which will be offered. The positive outcome of this meeting is going to give impetus to a number of similar dialogues on the issues of peace and conflicts and will help to get over disagreements between the countries and to sign a treaty on peace based on mutual respect in accordance with international conventions.

#### *Issue of Democracy and Fair Governance*

Lack of democratic governance, equity, and political liberties, violation of civil rights in the countries of the third world poses danger in future as it leads to injustice and backwardness. Democratic reforms which Western countries are trying to implement, will not be able to solve these problems. After all, an empty stomach is looking for something to escape death and it has no time to delve into political liberties. Extremists who develop various movements use it.

Among the most significant tasks of democratic institutions is the task of social and democratic development of various countries, and this problem should be discussed in the relation to economic, social and cultural issues. This important work can be accomplished only through the dialogue of cultures.

#### *Struggle for Peace and Overcoming Contradictions*

To establish peace and overcome contradictions in the states with complicated political and economic situation is an important humanitarian mission. The Russian Federation, a great power, should grapple these issues and the International Likhachov Scientific Conference is of great help in it.

The cultural dialogue aimed at getting over discords should bring us to the most essential result – security and peace in the regions where conflicts spark today. The dialogue could assist in achieving peaceful settlement of conflicts. These contradictions and conflicts have become one of the reasons for the emergence of the notion of 'the clash of civilizations' which many Western scientists and agencies focus their attention on.

The entire world is responsible for building the dialogue of cultures and constructive partnership in order to solve political, religious and national contradictions. Not only in Darfur because Western political forces clamour against this country, but in Somali as well, and in the area of Great African Lakes (Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Rwanda and others). Besides, since 1961, solving the problem of Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories has been a question, one in a thousand, in Arab countries. Up to now the Palestinians have been suffering from the most unjust occupation the world has ever known. So, the dialogue of cultures might positively resolve the problem of Palestinian territories. The Palestinians are the only nation in the world today which is exposed to horrible outrage, down to inhuman massacre of whole villages before the entire world and international humanitarian organizations.

#### **Conclusion**

Humanization has become a basic need for people, the one like water and food. It is connected with the fact that some European thinkers, for instance, Samuel Huntington try to persuade the West in the inevitable 'clash of civilizations', necessity to 'keep and develop military arsenals'. Meanwhile, a civilization implies a peaceful dialogue, not fight. Those who believe in a dialogue believe in life and peaceful coexistence, in the right of a society and a person for freedom and independence, and deny injustice and discrimination.

A dialogue is a humanitarian value, which is advocated by all divine religions. A dialogue means harmony and recognition of ethics which served a basis for God to create a man at the dawn of life. The religion Samuel Huntington is scared of (and which is the foundation for many civilizations) cannot be hostile. Neither branch of any religion calls upon for hatred and conflicts. Huntington calls Islam a conquering religion which propagates malice and hostility, but the Almighty Allah says in Koran that those belonging to other religions should be treated best and they should be converted to God's path with wisdom and good persuasion.

Imam Al-Shafii, an Islamic scholar, founder of one of the four theological Sunni schools says: 'My words are true but may be false; somebody else's words are erroneous but may be true.'

Thus, the dialogue of cultures should be built on mutual understanding, concordant participation of nations in each other's life, on recognition of others, their culture, traditions, mentality, religion – rightful and not erroneous awareness. The dialogue should manifest itself in the humane interaction, accord, and loss of threat for its participants.

The dialogue of religions has its peculiarities. Religions can conduct it in order to cultivate love and to get rid of hatred and hostilities, to ban unfair attitude to religious symbols. However, it does not mean that mosques, churches and synagogues should be combined in one for mutual prayers. Religions can appeal to impose a ban on misuse of religious monuments, such as holy or celestial scriptures. They cannot have a dialogue about acceptance or rejection of God or God's messenger. These are not issues for cooperation. 'You have your religion, I have mine!' a sura of Koran runs. The dialogue can refer to humanistic cooperation, and never to established religious issues. General and particular problems will be resolved in collaboration. That is why people should start on their road and work in the following directions.

1. Cultural, economic and social development. This problem is one of the most essential in the dialogue of cultures and it should be solved by rich and developed countries for the sake of poor and backward ones. The latter should get assistance and evolve towards prosperity. Future generations of people will pay for that with their constructive and creative labour and they will have no time even to think of their participation in terrorist organizations.

2. Dialogue on issues of general culture (there are plenty of such issues) to achieve mutual understanding, peaceful coexistence and cooperation of different nations; struggle against stirring up hatred, hostilities, discrimination, and chauvinism.

3. Dialogue between two religions, Islam and Judaism, which will enable to consolidate peace in the Middle East and will secure people of Palestine with their right for independence, peaceful life and security in a sovereign state. We are sure that Russia as the greatest power in the world can take up this mission – to initiate and launch meetings, which could help get positive results in this sphere.

4. International dialogue which is necessary to impose a ban on proliferation of weapons, on possession of strategic weapons of mass destruction, and to start disarmament in the Middle East as well as in the world at large. Accumulated weapons jeopardize security on the Earth and are the greatest threat to civilization and life on the planet.

5. Concluding international treaties on peace and settlement of conflicts on the basis of mutual respect of nations.

We are certain that the scientific forum we are participating in will be an important advance to reach an agreement on peace and cooperation, that will refute the postulate about the clash of civilizations in favour of the dialogue of involvement. The forum will be a step forward to establish universal peace and to promote cultural and civilizational interaction between countries with diverse religions and traditions.

F. A. Asadullin<sup>1</sup>

## FROM MONOLOGUES TO DIALOGUE

The discussion of the dialogue of cultures and civilizations initiated by the scholarly community of St. Petersburg and noted by the public throughout the world, calls for new ways of re-thinking its meaning. One of the vital issues is forming the culture of dialogue, i.e. the conscious orientation toward mutual understanding which has become a separate branch of humanitarian knowledge and public activity of a number of Russian and international agencies. The humankind under globalization, the leading factor of human development, tends, as it was shown at the previous Readings, mutually and consolidatedly, to search for answers to all existing challenges of the environment, natural disasters, food shortages and, simply, survival of humans as biological species. Much effort in this respect has been made by the International public forum 'The Dialogue of Civilizations', by the Centre for Partnership of Civilizations, by the 'Eurasian Dialogue' and other organizations and movements

The world is becoming multi-cultural, and this world denies unilateral vision and domination of one religious tradition or one ethnic group over another. The era of single-nation or monoconfessional states such as Greece or Saudi Arabia of just a few decades ago, has been long in the past. One cannot find, so to say, reserves of one-nation and one-religion states on the map of the world. In this connection, forming the culture of dialogue becomes one of the basic targets for both a particular nation and international community as a whole. In terms of the phraseology of the latest Brzezinski's book 'The Choice: Global Domination or Global Leadership' if viewed broadly, in the international community of the 21st century, it is not 'the unilateral domination' nor Christianity-centred world politics and culture that should triumph but 'the consensus leadership', i.e. the collective care and responsibility of people with different social and political outlooks on the grounds of tolerance. This approach has greater possibilities for broadening the borders of international cooperation and, at the same time, for quenching the pockets of tension between different cultures and religions.

**The international aspect**

In present-day Russia, which has never in its history ceased to be a multi-national country, the leaders of religious communities assisted by the state and intellectual communities strive for finding some common grounds of civil interaction which, through national and cultural autonomies and national unions, could build a Russian identity, universal for all peoples of the country. There are voices which often claim to adopt cultural pluralism as a national doctrine and to refuse from the idea of assimilating smaller nations in the melting pot of Russian culture.

In the present-day multi-cultural society, a mono-cultural model of society seems not only bankrupt and utopian, but harmful. Probably those who organized a televised programme 'The Name is Russia', the results of which were summed up at the end of 2008, had set some other goals, but the choice of Alexander Nevsky as the principal hero of Russian history

is quite telling. One of the most popular Russian princes who defeated the Swedes and the Teutonic Order, epitomizes 'the dialogue' character of Russian idea of state. The famous order of Alexander Nevsky 'to beef up defence in the West and to seek friends in the East' results from the known circumstances of his having been brought up in the Golden Horde. Karamzin, Klyuchevsky and Gumilyov mention the fact of fraternizing of Alexander Nevsky with Batu Khan's son, Sartak, which made him one of the Khan's closest relatives. Alexander Nevsky, later canonized by the Russian Orthodox Church, for eleven years until his death remained a loyal ally of the Horde's chieftains (including Muslim ones, e.g. Berke) and suppressed all protests against Tatars. It seems that he was quite aware of what he was doing, his background on his mother's side being Polovtsian, which means he and the Horde people had common Turkic roots. Among his policies were the involvement of Russia into a unified system of state management of the Golden Horde, first censuses in Suzdal and Novgorod lands, permission for merchants, craftsmen and clerks to move freely from southern uluses of the Golden Horde to northern ones and back. Not only Moscow but the whole Russia 'owes its grandeur to the khans', Karamzin said. One should not be ashamed, keep silent or distort the pages of our mutual history connected with the rise of Russian stardom in the bosom of the Golden Horde *ad captandum* outdated ideological patterns depicting it as the 'struggle against Tatar yoke'. On the contrary, in a multi-cultural society the very fact of dual peace between the Turkic and Slavic nations incarnated in Alexander Nevsky's personality can serve an example of our forefathers' ability to negotiate and make concessions in crucial periods of history, withstand the Teutonic Order and other enemies, both inner and outer. In this sense Alexander Nevsky's image with its consolidating power embodies 'the name of Russia'.

Wide migration and challenges in the sphere of international relations facilitate objective disintegration of the society into isolated ethnic cultural groups of population (the tendency observed in large megalopolises, such as Moscow or St. Petersburg) and it is essential to develop 'Russian project' and provide its ideological back-up. Political loyalty of all ethnic groups of the country towards the state is the requisite for the multi-cultural Russian society to integrate.

**The interreligious aspect**

The turn of the 20th and 21st centuries became a watershed in the development of interreligious cooperation, which developed new conditions for positioning every denomination on the grounds of its spiritual openness and at the same time devotion to its tradition in faith. The said above refers first of all to monotheistic religions which are developing a multilevel interreligious dialogue at present. From the point of view of the importance of the issues discussed one should mention such landmarks as international conferences held in Russia 'Islam and Christianity: the road to a dialogue. To the 40-th anniversary of the adoption of the 'Declaration Nostra Aetate' (2005), 'Islam and Judaism: prospects for dialogue and cooperation' (2006) and the World summit of religious leaders (2006). These conferences could not help admitting theological divergences between religious doctrines and at the same time they encouraged profound interreligious cooperation on the basis of a number of mutually acceptable issues, such as social ones, family values, fair world order, teaching children and the youth traditional system of values, etc.

The necessity to subvert the myth of 'endogenous radicalism' adherent to Muslim nations in general and numer-

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He has about 100 scientific publications on issues of the development of Arab culture, history of Islam, Muslim doctrine and inter-religious relations. His main works are "A sketch of history of Libyan literature" (1993), "Modern and Contemporary History of Libya" (in co-authorship, 1993), section "Islam" in the "Children Encyclopaedia" (1996), "Muslim Organizations and Agencies of the Russian Federation" (1999), "Moscow of Muslims" (2004).

ous attempts to demonise Islam in front of the world community give rise to modern interpretations of Islam in Islamic theological and – broader – in intellectual environment (Tarik Ramadan, Taufik Ibragim and others). Islamic doctrine is loyal to the Christians and Hebrews as representatives of “ahlu-l-Kitab” (“people of the Writing”). Striving for an efficient dialogue between representatives of the three versions of monotheistic tradition is one of the most important precepts of the Koran, the one of which many Christians and Hebrews are not aware. According to the Koran diversity of the world is established by the will of God and His Wisdom. As ayah 30:22 states, different languages and colour of skin are essence of ‘God’s sign for people who comprehend’. In the Koran it is said that originally humanity constituted one race and spiritual community, but later it was God’s will to divide them into tribes and nations, as well as religions (2:213, 49:13). This diversity should inspire competition in serving God rather than be the source of confrontation and all the more international and interreligious conflicts. Undoubtedly, in reality interreligious contacts are more complicated and at the same time wider than principles of faith in each religion, and we could suggest the discussion of a problem the Koran – ‘the Third Covenant’ as a new paradigm of interreligious dialogue. The triad of the Old Covenant – the New Covenant – the Third Covenant, spiritually close to the forefather of the monotheistic believers Abraham, gives a new perspective for understanding the logic of the epistle of the Divine Revelation.

What proves such an approach is the fact that the New Testament is silent on the completeness of the prophet mission.

Development of the culture of dialogue depends greatly on the conformity of the Islamic norms and the ones of other monotheistic religions – the problem discussed by the general public nowadays. One can say with a certain degree of confidence that many old ideas that originated in the times of John of Damascus are falling into oblivion; such statements as ‘Islam is a Christian heresy’ or its modern version ‘Islam is an evil faith’ are leaving Christian environment. While the consistent Islamic-Christian dialogue on the level of the doctrine between Western countries began at Vatican Conference in 1965, in Russia it started comparatively recently. The letter of Patriarch Alexei II to 138 Muslim theologians in April 2008 calling ‘to learn each other’s faiths in full’ and ‘to clarify our understanding of religious values of one another’ means that the Church offers Islam followers to include discussion of interreligious cooperation into a new agenda. Such an approach is quite different from old doctrine directives when a few decades ago leading Orthodox clerics imposed on Russian Muslims only one paradigm of their future – through Christianity. Catholics were the first to speak about the acknowledgement of the legitimacy of Islam (but with reservation), and among Russian Orthodox believers the issue was raised by clergyman Father Alexander Men’ who, pondering on Vladimir Solovyov’s works, came to acknowledge prophetic mission of Mohammed. If these trends dominate in the Christian environment, the problem of forming the culture of dialogue between Islamic and Orthodox believers will have clearer and more distinct prospects. Patriarch Cyril who was elected pontiff of the Russian Orthodox Church stated how important it was to establish long-standing contacts with Islam supporters, and it gives us hope.

E. M. Astakhov<sup>1</sup>

## DIALOGUE OR MONOLOGUE OF CIVILIZATIONS: ON ‘CIVILIZATIONAL’ APPROACH TO HISTORY

Following<sup>1</sup> the theory of the Russian scholar N. Y. Danilevsky, the humanity can be divided into several autonomous groups, each of which has its individual history. Danilevsky introduced the concept ‘cultural historical type’ that equals the concept ‘civilization’. According to Danilevsky’s theory, the fact that ‘cultural historical types’ exist makes the core essence of the human history. A number of features provides the basis for the above-mentioned types. Among these features are:

- common language;
- political independence;
- stability of civilizational fundamentals (original spiritual, cultural and historical features).

S. Huntington defines civilization as cultural community of people united by language, history, religion, traditions and social institutions. In other words, civilization is ‘us’, where a man feels ‘at home’.

Nowadays the West faces an acute challenge of immigration. It all started in a ‘liberal and democratic’ way. As if trying to atone their offence for their colonial past, initially West European countries encouraged immigration process from African and Eastern countries. Later on these immigrants were steadily growing in number; and their demands to provide them almost the same social and civilian status as native Europeans’ one became more and more critical. Now West European people face the challenge of intervening alien cultures, fearing

lest their national culture should dissolve in an alien one, first of all, due to a demographic factor. Time might come when instead of ‘us’ West European people will say ‘them’.

Similar processes are progressing in the USA. So far they haven’t been so evident, as the American civilization is relatively young and doesn’t have its own long-dated history.

The situation in Western Europe is different. At present we can already feel a negative response on the intrusion of alien cultures. But more dangerous problems are waiting ahead. Kosovo and plans to create ‘the Great Albania’ are impulses for future conflicts. Here I have to dwell upon a very important issue.

Danilevsky thought that an all-human civilization doesn’t exist. Without preserving national, cultural and historical diversity humankind’s progress is impossible.

G. Toynbee also supported the idea that every civilization is an attempt of all-human creative work, and if to view the issue retrospectively, a pattern of all-human experience.

Like O. Spengler, G. Toynbee does not advocate the concept of integrity of civilizations, and explains that such a concept only appeared due to hypertrophied ‘Eurocentrism’ of modern historians. It is ‘Eurocentrism’, in other words ‘atlantism’, that promotes a forced export of democracy and Western values. The West stands for the unification of ‘culture and life’, for the world globalization based on Western values. The fact that these values are not values for other cultures isn’t considered at all. It isn’t a messianic blindness of Western culture, it is rather a cold-blooded geopolitical gamble, a fight for mentality, territory and resources.

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Such a policy is based on one civilization monologue, trying to impose its will to others.

The main elements of such a monologue are:

- lack of accurate information and unwillingness to possess it;
- disrespect to other civilizations;
- arrogance of modern neo-colonialism, illusionary considering itself the superior.

In 1931 J. Nehru pointed out that European people imagine themselves to be the most civilized ones, and look down on Asia (today we can add that Europe looks down on Latin America and many other countries that don't belong to 'the golden billion'). The same idea was supported by Danilevsky: Europe considers itself 'an all-human civilization'. Danilevsky thought it a mistake to treat development of all-human history as a one-way ascent up the stairs of all-human progress. He was the first to show that endeavours to create all-human civilization are counterproductive and even dangerous, as it is the way to create a universal state and regime of a global 'autocratic' control.

It looks as if J. Nehru and Danilevsky were talking about contemporary challenges. The concept of Western all-human civilization is imposed upon the world by political leaders of the North Atlantic Bloc, by political researchers and technologists, by mass media. Unfortunately, this chorus also has the voice of Russian 'Westerners', who treat Europe as progress and the East as regress. Most unwillingly they are beginning to admit that China and India are new world leading countries. At present time, labour productivity in many Asian countries is higher than in the USA and Western Europe. By 2050 Asian share in the world gross output will have risen up to 57%. Nevertheless, it is genetically imprinted in the cortex of 'Westerners' that the USA and Western Europe are the supreme civilization. It is an obvious attempt to provide Western values with the all-human status, attempt to impose Western standards within the frames of democracy and human rights concept. The fact that real Western policy actually contradicts these fundamentals appears of no significance either to 'the golden billion' or to their advocates in Russia. We have witnessed it in cynical campaigns of the USA and NATO vs. Serbia, Iraq, in Georgia vs. South Ossetia conflict.

Tough pressing is being conducted against Russia. The West performs this mission via secret services, and world mass media, including pro-Western mass media in Russia.

Civilizational monologue is violence in everyday life, while in international politics it is a way to conflicts.

As a matter of fact, the war of civilizations is already in progress. Nowadays the key direction of 'military campaigns' is the fight for natural resources. Oil and control of its flows in the Middle East are crucial for the USA. American expenses on the war in Iraq have already exceeded \$1.5 trillion. In order to achieve their strategic goals, Americans carry on ideological propagation of the same sort they once accused the USSR of. At that, both Republican and Democratic parties are actually unanimous in their foreign policy. American elite is a living copy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Their propagation is actually acquiring all features of the information war. The whole state as well as private funds with enormous budgets participate in it.

Western monologue also assumes using levers of 'soft power', which turn out to be hard rather than soft.

Dialogue between the West and the East can only be conducted under the condition of equal right for both parties. However, rapprochement of civilizations, to say nothing of transition to all-human civilization appears to be hardly possible. In its core essence the Western civilization is the culture of money. It is based on materialistic philosophy, technological advancement priority, mass consumption. At that, the rest of the world is forced to catch up with the Anglo-

Saxon civilization with a view to creating an integrate global civilization in future.

Such ideas are exported to Russia and to the East. Certain results of such export can be detected both in this country as well as in a number of other countries. But if to consider this issue principally, we can say that this export has limited opportunities, because the East has always possessed its own philosophy and a system of values, and it has always been next to impossible to root radical liberalism on the Russian soil, although there are some advocates of this trend among the Russian elite.

What is there for Russia to do under such circumstances? Up to now it has only defended itself in the Western onslaught. Such a policy dates back to the time of Helsinki process. We have kept justifying ourselves, speaking about 'our way', our understanding of law, 'actual' human rights, 'sovereign democracy'. But defending is the way to defeat. We failed to win in Helsinki process, because the Western concept of 'the third basket' (i.e. humanitarian contacts, human rights, democracy) was imposed on us. We failed in relying on compensation, i.e. fixing Yalta frontiers, due to external pressing and internal collaborationists, whose personal ambitions for power coincided with the Western geopolitical interests.

We used to defend and lose in the Council of Europe, in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, in the Western mass media. Home-grown 'Westerners' would ally with foreign propagation. There is no winning over such a closely knitted block of foreign and home liberalism by means of defence.

Under such circumstances Russia should 'converge inside', strengthening its sovereignty, economy, raising the well-being of its people. Along with it, it is vital to activate our own outward propagation. The conflict with Georgia manifested that in an emergency we promptly move aside from the previous passive position in this field: in August and September of 2008 a number of interviews were given to prestigious Western mass media by D.A. Medvedev and V.V. Putin. However, effectiveness of all such efforts will always be limited. Western countries have their own geopolitical interests and will make obstacles to our propagation. Yugoslavia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Georgia represent systematic rather than sporadic Western actions, and they will be kept on. Russia has to be strong and prepared against everything. At the same time we should strengthen our co-operation with China, India, Brazil and other fast developing giants. It is these countries that should be treated as international community, as opposed to the ideas imposed by the 'Euroatlantists'.

In a broad sense, the concept of 'Eastern countries' comprises not only new economical leading countries, but also Middle East and South Asia countries that used to be called 'the third world'. The majority of this world cannot oppose the West in military affairs, which results in asymmetric response, first and foremost in terrorism. The conflict of the Western and the Islamic civilizations has already started, and actually, it is getting militaristic in character. There is no knowing the future scenario of this conflict. A lot will depend on China's and India's positions, on their growing military potential. But we also should be prepared for the worst outcome.

As far as the dialogue of civilizations is concerned, I won't go into many details. First, its importance is evident and needs no proof. Secondly, there has been written and said quite enough of it. However, I'd like to point out several issues.

1. It is a well-known fact that globalization imperatives and state interests require and depend on an intercivilizational dialogue. But international co-operation can't be achieved at the price of denying national independence in foreign policy.

2. An opinion circulates that moral and ethical basis is crucial for all-human integrity. This idea can only be supported to a certain extent, without making too much of it: human



nature has remained unchanged. I can prove this theses by the following sad example: Gorbachev's proclamations were supported in word only, but actually they were used against him and the whole country.

3. The quest for moral 'common denominator' has always existed in world religions. Nowadays its role has lost the prestige due to cynical 'double standards', based on geopolitical interests of blocs.

4. In the 21st century security of every state depends on security of other countries, it can't be segregated. However a tendency has been detected to achieve an 'absolute' security to the detriment of other states security (PRO-system, new types of weapons of mass destruction).

5. The thesis that contemporary intercivilizational challenges can't be solved by force seems unarguable. But in real politics such a solution isn't withdrawn yet.

6. Attempts have become evident to bring ideology into international politics. As far as Russia is concerned, the following idea has become popular: Western liberal democracy versus Russian autocratic capitalism. Here we can

trace political and psychological orientation to restraining Russia. It is also used as a means to unite the West.

7. A serious aspect complicating the matter is a full-scale economical and foreign policy crisis in the USA, uprooting the basis of Americans' life style ideology, who have believed in unipolar world.

8. Growing importance of a militaristic factor promotes tendency of other countries to possess weapons of mass destruction. The policy of the USA and Israel triggers, for example, Iran to do so.

9. Against the background of all these negative tendencies, positive impulses for dialogue could be provided by the UN as the only global organization. At the same time a new 'net diplomacy' gradually appears in flexible formats of co-operation: dialogue between Russia, China, India together with Brazil within the frames of the BRIC group; Shanghai co-operation organization; Eurasian Economic Community.

As a result, it seems doubtless that orientation on dialogue should be kept on. There is no alternative, even if everything in history is predestined.

## Mohammed Ahmed At-Tayeb<sup>1</sup>

### INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND PARTNERSHIP OF CIVILIZATIONS

Let me say at the beginning how very pleased I am to be here today, at this University, one of the centres of progressive ideas. I am also happy to be in St. Petersburg, the city of striking beauty and rich cultural history.

Holding such a conference on dialogue of cultures and partnership of civilizations in Russia (which is an issue that attracts a lot of attention round the globe) can promote dialogue of civilizations in international relations. Especially because Russia is a superpower that has a great influence on the world's politics and plays a crucial part in it. The very fact that great world powers are promoting such values as dialogue, understanding, tolerance and recognition of diverse cultures and civilizations gives an opportunity to be optimistic about the world's future.

In fact, dialogue of civilizations is not a new approach. Born at the dawn of civilizations and religions, it has passed through many historical stages, revealing its various forms: social, cultural and commercial. The very concept of dialogue between human communities springs from the natural urge of a human to be connected to someone. There is no group of people that can live in isolation. Thus dialogue between cultures is not a civilizational luxury. On the contrary, it is a must for cooperation and coexistence.

Religious doctrines have always highlighted dialogue as the best way to kindness and happiness of men. They have always considered dialogue as the best means to promote such values as tolerance, justice, understanding and cooperation that can improve the life quality of people on the Earth and can guarantee peace and security.

Together with that, throughout the history of the mankind, the emphasis made on cultural differences, fanaticism, the denial of diversity, the attempts to impose one's own culture and faith onto others resulted in the discord of human relations, fierce wars and loss of security and peace.

Despite the amazing discoveries of the present-day civilization, science and technology that are aimed to achieve human well-being and happiness, many peoples of the Earth are still being exposed to oppression and racial and religious discrimination. There are instances of cultural, economic

or political supremacy of one civilization over others. This inevitably leads to a situation when such highlights as justice, equality and tolerance are devalued. As the result of this, the attempts to stop wars and injustice and to establish peace are unsuccessful.

Such kind of the biased human behaviour has led to the arms race, spread of violence and terrorism, acute economic problems, environmental disasters, high crime rates and drug addiction.

It is only the promotion of cross-cultural dialogue and partnership of civilizations that can guarantee the way out of this civilizational crisis.

Of course, the true cross-cultural dialogue may be adequate and efficient if only based on the recognition of cultural and religious diversities and pluralism, which are the eternal Providence.

Moreover, cultural and civilizational diversity has always been an efficient tool to prosper and progress on the way to the best future of the mankind.

At this point we must admit the idea of the unity of the mankind, the sameness of human fate. As King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud, Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, pointed out at the 63rd Session of the UN General Assembly: 'A man is a man's equal partner. They will either live in peace and harmony, or burn each other to ashes with the flames of incomprehension, envy and hatred.'

The growth of intolerance and discrimination among people, the spread of contempt to cultures and religious beliefs, the idea of the clash of civilizations made King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz propose the initiative of 'dialogue between religions and cultures' to establish a just peace and security worldwide.

The 2008 World Conference on dialogue of cultures and religions in Madrid was the response to this initiative. The participants of the Conference who belonged to different cultures and religions supported the importance of a dialogue and its role as the best means to establish understanding and cooperation in human relations and peaceful coexistence.

Saudi Arabia was in the forefront of the international initiative to organize a summit meeting in the framework of

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the 63rd Session of the UN General Assembly (2008), where the participants declared the importance of the encouragement of a dialogue, tolerance and respect for cultural and religious diversity.

Aiming at reinforcement of dialogue and closer relations with the Russian Federation, the Foreign Ministry of Saudi Arabia held the Strategic Group Meeting called 'Russia and the Islamic World' in Jidda in October 2008. The meeting adopted a number of guidelines aimed at encouraging mutual understanding and dialogue between Russia and the Islamic World.

Since we are here today to discuss the issue of cultural dialogue and partnership of civilizations it may be appropriate

to adopt the guidelines promoted by Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz, King of Saudi Arabia, on inter-religious and cross-cultural dialogue, and also to require that the world's community adopts this initiative and establishes necessary framework to reinforce this initiative. This will strengthen international efforts in promoting the values of dialogue and tolerance for mutual cooperation in a new world order establishment, based on the universal values.

Cooperating in this domain, Saudi Arabia and the Russian Federation will enlarge the scope of opportunities to establish peace, security and well-being of people worldwide.

I wish this Conference a successful, positive and purposeful outcome. Thank you.

**S. A. Bogoliubov<sup>1</sup>**

## LAW AND ETHICS IN ECOLOGY

Being of deep permanent interest for intelligentsia, law and ethics, two great fields of knowledge born by the modern level of culture and civilization development which progress in parallel, side by side or jointly, are properly reflected in the original researches. However, legal regulations and ethical rules are compared and applied less frequently.

Checking of legal and ethical requirements in the area of preservation of the environment takes place even more rarely though its critical state under further development of scientific and technological advance and globalization of nature management causes anxiety on the part of world community.

A discussion of legal, ethical and moral problems, of ratio between law and ethics, law and culture, science and practice has a permanent character and is realized as one of the eternal and evermore urgent issues. Yet M.Yu. Lermontov wrote that in Russia 'there had been times much worse than these but never baser those'. Not his generation alone thought so. And in this in many respects trite problem one can always find a new and pointed sense especially connected with so wide and relatively recent for our country sphere as environmental protection.

Legal theory, ecological, civil, business and other branches of Russian law provide for a definite correlation between ethics and law. Many clauses of the Constitution of the Russian Federation are regarded by most people as having ethical and moral character.

The Russian Constitution in its Preamble provides for our mutual destiny on our land, belief in good and justice, memory of ancestors who bequeathed us love and respect for the Fatherland. Protection of morality is mentioned in Part 3, Article 55 of the Constitution, as the grounds for limitation of rights and freedoms of a human being and citizen by the federal law.

In Part 1, Article 7 of the Russian Constitution, it is pointed out that the Russian Federation is the social state with the policy aimed at the arrangement of conditions providing worthy life and free development of a human being. Article 42 foresees the right to favourable environment for every citizen. But maybe these statements are too declarative, not

pronounced strictly enough but representing just amorphous desires?

Sometimes legislative and other statutory and legal acts include references to ethics and morality so needed and expected for appropriate and law-abiding actions which substantiate legislator's decisions and presume the ethics of legal requirements.

Moral and ethical foundations are provided by Part 2, Article 1 ('Basic principles of civil legislation') and by Part 2, Article 6 ('Application of civil legislation by analogy') of the RF Civil Code, as well as by Article 2 ('Basic principles of legal regulation of labour relations and other relations directly associated with them') of the RF Labour Code; by Article 6 ('Principle of justice'); by Article 7 ('Principle of humanism'); by Part 2, Article 43 ('Concept and aims of punishment') of the RF Criminal Code, and by Article 3 ('Basic principles of environmental protection') of the Federal Law 'About environmental protection'.

In order that law does not lose its features of categoricity, obligatoriness and normativeness and becomes more effective, it is necessary to continue substantiating ethical approaches to legal requirements, to elaborate criteria for ethics provided in above mentioned legal acts, and to fill ethics with juridical certainty, legal content and real consequences. Without all this the branches of Russian law would not avoid blurriness, legislator's egoism and legal practitioner's voluntarism.

The principles of legislation and ethical postulates in legal acts are mainly general ones, serving as checkpoints for behaviour of most citizens and as the methods of legal influence upon citizens' morality and formation of their ecological culture. A lot of ethical values are not reflected in law and exist only in people's ideas, sayings and thoughts.

There is a number of ironical sayings on ethics, as well as on law, by the way. In A.V. Amfiteatrov's 'The calf shall be roped' we read: 'We can't desist from gambling, – and there we go mumbling about morality! 'No, brother, ethics to someone else, as for us – labels from the bottles will do... We cry loudly: ethics! But there reign blackmail, calculation and arithmetic and, in the result – the advantage (i.e. profit). In P. P. Gnedich we find: 'Judging by his works the professor of medicine was an easily carried away person who puts ethical tasks to the first place and falls permanently into paradoxes'.

At the same time, some people suppose that not all legal norms reflect present ethical outlooks and do not fully comply with them. In view of aggravation of problems with natural resources and ecological crisis, presently it is important to understand to what extent the concepts of ethics, honour, duty,

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conscience and morality as human behavioural factors in the field of ecological activity are significant for life and how they are supported by legal regulation.

Law and ethics are quite close to each other in the area of ecology, environmental protection, providing reasonable nature management characterized by universal notions on ethical and moral attitude towards its habitat and surrounding natural environment.

Expressions like 'nature is our mother, our common wealth: we must protect it for ourselves and for all of us, as well as for present and future generations'; 'don't damage or break green plantations in cities and other settlements'; 'immoral characters are those who occupy land and other natural objects without permission, who pollute nature'; 'persons who commit ecological crimes and other malefactions should be punished with all the severity of law and it is not enough either', are being universally recognized.

Most of these notions and views became norms and principles of the Russian legislation and law as early as 1960 when they were included into the Law 'On environmental protection'; its effectiveness, however, proved to be relatively low because of an 'excess' of ethical norms and shortage of legal requirements accompanied by sanctions in the text. Partly it may be explained by then popular slogans of withering away of the state and law, and increment and prevalence of moral codes and requirements.

Being provided by the Federal Law 'On environmental protection', the categories such as interaction between society and nature, ensuring favourable conditions for life-sustaining activity, presumption of ecological danger from planned activities, preservation of biodiversity and prohibition of activities which could lead to consequences unpredictable for the environment, may be regarded as ethical ones. These commonly proper reasons remain mostly unrealized because of absence of mechanisms to put them into effect.

Environmental regulations include not only positive ethical norms but also originally and deliberately immoral (in common understanding) ones. For instance, in the Law:

- pollution of the atmosphere air, ponds and other components of the environment is planned for which pollution a payment is exacted, and the increased pollution of the environment is thus provided for at an increased charge;
- designing of enterprises, aggregates and other units of economical activity which are known to pollute the environment is regulated, ecological capacity of the area being taken into account;
- standards, terms and types of pollutions of the environment components are established; by signing the Kyoto Protocol, selling of unexpended quotas for pollution of the atmosphere air is assumed;
- a possibility of emergency ecological situation and ecological disaster in result of anthropogenic activity is considered admissible along with the necessity of subsequent urgent measures to overcome the difficulties;
- for intentional destruction of green plantations in a city it is proposed to collect a fine from harm-doer as a compensation that should be spent for transplanting and growing of new green plantations; however, the number of transplanted and new plantations proves to be far lesser than the cut off ones, whereas the levied charge may be spent for other purposes.

The foresight and regulation of pollutions and degradation of natural environment might be explained by the scientific and technological progress and by the impossibility and irrationality of stopping it as well as by urbanization; however, the law not only does not prohibit it but rather allows it to happen because of planning and knowingly justifying the pollutions, felling of city green plantations, ecological disasters and emergency ecological situations.

In other words, degradation, destruction and pollution of natural objects is being legalized and by means of law subjected to other than common or social interests, namely: to economical ones and sometimes to the interests of some or another group. Thus the ideas about Good and Evil in respect to nature management and environmental protection get more complicated, at a certain point diverge and become ambiguous and unequal for different strata of population.

In spite of its relatively steady and more stable character in comparison with law and legislation (particularly ecological one) ethics depends a lot on living circumstances of its carriers: how many times during last decades one could observe a crucial change of concepts of justice in citizens, officials of different grades and oligarchs depending on modification of their official position or material well-being.

The discussions upon ethics applied to the field of ecology may be quite multidimensional and have no overall conclusion because of different approaches to ethics itself, its criteria or even different approaches to environmental protection.

In detailed conversations, talks and disputes on correlation between law, ethics and morality one should take into account different ideas on Good and Evil in various strata of population, its groups, classes and elites of society, every group estimating its ideas as the most important, best and proper.

But only one kind of ethics wins and becomes stronger (at least at a certain stage): that is the ethics embodied in legislation which possesses energy of this legislation and its providing apparatus, which is based on the interest of its carriers, their will to defend and exercise their rights and, moreover, to impose the duties presumed in legislation onto other citizens.

The law keenly reflects economical antagonisms and moods of citizens and ruling elites who take part in creation of a normative legal base for interrelation between society and nature, be it a radioactive waste delivery and disposal, privatization of forests and woodlots, ecological requirements for importation of foodstuffs and materials, free alienation of agricultural lands, relaxation in requirements of the state ecological expertise, functioning of valid and plenipotentiary nature-conservative authorities and law machinery.

According to several experts, an immoral 'de-ecologization' of legislation, state and municipal administration caused by momentary economical gains (they are always antagonistic to ecology, cares of greenery planting and thoughts of the present and future generations prosperity), by pursuit of profits on the part of a few at present and by neglecting the situation that comes tomorrow for the majority of people, occurs today.

Optimism associated with establishment of two conservancies in the course of the administrative reform: Rostekhnadzor and Rosprirodadzor, is gradually fading away: during these last years, a mess in the field of ecological control and supervision system creation, separation of functions of nature management between the Federation, its subjects and municipal institutions, and ongoing reorganization of nature-conservative organizations and institutions persisted.

So, for many citizens and entrepreneurs the ecological reasons as well as concerns for trees and shrubs, for other kinds of greenery and fauna, clean water and clear air recoil in comparison with more urgent financial interests and problems, and discussions of stolen from people Earth's interior, forests and other natural resources have mostly ordinary, uncertain and 'kitchen' character.

Clumsiness and inactivity in realization of own legal and ethical norms common to all mankind may become a particular topic and a problem of ecological culture formation: is this feature a national one; to what extent it is connected with legal conscience, legal education and ecological enlightenment, and with the system of ethical and other social norms?

Ecological decisions vary depending upon prevalence of one or another group in the legislative authorities, upon force

and scale of lobbying their interests. During the last decade, the area of privatized water bodies which are allowed to be a private property sometimes is limited and at other times not; as for agricultural lands which may be owned by one individual in a single region, at one moment a maximum value is set, at the next moment, a minimum one.

Even certain individuals may have ethical views which vary and differ in their extent of conformity to the universally accepted opinion. For instance, all citizens stand up for protection of nature, and against its pollution. A society and most citizens demand realization of their rights to favourable environment, they call for discontinuance or closing of hazardous manufactures and plants, but nevertheless the number of workshops and enterprises to be closed by the ecological reasons decreases now. Why is that so?

Citizens who live near polluting enterprises suffer from pollutions to the utmost, but it is exactly they who stand against closing of these enterprises as the latter are often town-constituting ones and not only bring in a main income to their employees residing on adjacent territories but often provide them with a livelihood. Ethical approaches of these people are subject to their financial interests and seem to be changeable.

Ecological evil is often seen as something abstract; it is personified as a remote and far away time and space phenomena, as well as the requirements to augment responsibility for ecocide and other ecological offenses. However, when a deal starts to affect a chief engineer or another responsible official of the enterprise, the main polluter

of landscape, ethical views alter, soften; sometimes a public defender is proposed, people ask to be indulgent towards an offender, to forgive and justify the official.

There are well-known numerous cases of citizen's indifference to dumps and to disposal of domestic and industrial wastes; some drivers of dump-trucks removing garbage are happy to throw it away immediately as soon as a road supervision weakens or if there is no control of places for waste storage and disposal. All this is the issue of the day for modern megalopolises.

The same drivers and all people become extremely active in giving a warning and undertaking measures against waste disposal under the windows of their own houses where they live, work and respite.

Field of ecology is no exception to the problem of law and ethics ratio: they don't coincide in all their points and need some interaction. The distinctive feature is that ecological problems which, being over the ages reflected in ethical concepts and fixed half a century ago, gave birth to legal requirements, cause further interpenetration of these social norms for the sake of natural prosperity of our planet and dialogue of civilizations.

International mutually beneficial collaboration in the area of mining as well as minerals and other natural resources usage under the state's responsibility for social development and for creation of conditions for worthy life of citizens can only be based on the union of generally recognized ethical principles, norms of international law and requirements of national law.

## O. T. Bogomolov<sup>1</sup>

### LESSONS OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS

The peace-shaking financial-credit crisis sensitively affected the Russian economy. Increasingly being more actively included in the process of economic globalization, Russia has not yet realized all consequences of the mounting interdependence of the countries of the world. It would be however large simplification to explain our difficulties only by negative action from without: by the drop in export prices, by the contraction of external commodity and credit market, by the assaults of panic on the world stock and commodity exchanges, under the influence of which domestic businessmen also went bankrupt, by the draining of the foreign capital. Taken by the state some measures for the softening of this action did not remove troubles in the economy. Impulse on the outside bared and aggravated its own Russian problems.

Inflation, gradual devaluation of rouble, coagulation of insufficient developed internal credit market caused by all this decrease in the demand and drop in the production. The degradation of many vital branches, including agriculture, the reduction of employment, a drop in the standard of living of

the substantial part of the population, social stratification — all this is chiefly the consequence of errors in domestic policy, aggravated by crisis phenomena in the global economy. Foreign economic policy also proved to be quite short-sighted, as the internal one rested in essence on the neoliberal ideology. The advantages of economic globalization were overestimated and its risks and threats were underestimated.

In a word, Russian economy survives the second crisis after the default and the devaluations of rouble in 1998, but at this time, it is deeper and apparently more prolonged. It seems to be two serious warnings in order to extract the lessons for the future and to correct the economic course.

Under the crisis conditions the deregulation and hope for the invisible hand of market increasingly demonstrate their detrimental character. Prominent economists both in the West and in Russia indicated this long ago. Beginning with Keynes John Maynard, the alternative ideas of the functioning of the capitalist economy advanced. Unfortunately, the main stream of economic thought went along another direction. Liberal fundamentalism reigned. The Russian reformers, not without the foreign advice, embraced and gulped it. However, today's situation in the economy of the leading countries of the West, as in entire world economy, makes it necessary to re-examine the prevailing views. In addition, even from the camp of the convinced liberals critical voices are heard increasingly and more loudly. The publications of the journal *Economist* are exponential on the topic.<sup>2</sup>

In October 2008, the journal spoke ironically on the French President Nicolas Sarkozy's apostasy from the liberal doctrine, printing caricature of him with a copy of *Das Kapital* by K. Marx in his hands. Actually at the summit of the Euro-

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<sup>2</sup> The Economist. 2008. 4 Oct. P. 2.

pean Union in October 2008, Sarkozy admitted that the ultra-liberal capitalism had discredited itself and it was necessary to promote a market social model to the world. Nevertheless, in the following number of this periodical the special report was placed under the title 'When fortune frowns its eyebrows' in which it allowed for changes in the capitalist world order.

In particular, this report said, 'To predict the consequences of the uncompleted crisis is dangerous. However, it is already clear that even under the conditions of the absence of catastrophe the direction of globalization will change. During the recent two decades, its motion coincided with the amplifying intellectual influence of the Anglo-Saxon model of capitalism of free market. Global integration was for the most part the triumph of the market above the state. Now the balance between them is shifted to the side of the government control, moreover, not only in the sphere of finances'.<sup>1</sup> 'Wall Street', it said further in the article, 'proved to be in the centre of present crisis so that the status of America and its intellectual authority sharply fell'.<sup>2</sup> 'It is more than in the new capitalism,' periodical concludes its report, 'the world needs new multilateralism'.<sup>3</sup> Speaking simply, behind this odd word there hides the justification, besides the liberal one, of other models of the development of contemporary economy. In this respect, the experience of European states is completely instructive, especially Scandinavian, where the social orientation of market economy and the state has been practiced long and quite successfully.

The world community must learn good lessons from the present crisis. Many people are inclined to explain its misfortunes by blowing of the financial-credit bubble in the USA that after breaking drew other countries into the crisis. However, the global crisis has not only American roots. Cheap borrowed money, the absence of the proper regulation of money markets, the narrowness of internal effective demand, the disagreement of the anti-crisis policy of leading states, the weakness of international financial institutes – all of these are the result of the serious flaws of the functioning of the global market system. Moreover, this makes necessary to develop the production by the leading countries of joint strategy of the reformation of this system. The new architecture of the world financial system and the role of the collective actions of states in the controlling of the spontaneous forces and the guarantee of stability of the global market have already found place in the agenda of the European Union and at the encounter of leaders of the Group of 20 (the G20). The dialogue of scientific and public figures can help find ways for the desirable changes.

If the West pulled now into the strip of the search for a new model or paradigm of an economic device, so this is no less urgent for Russian half-baked capitalism that follows the example of the USA. Certainly, our reformers are not yet ready to admit openly the failure of the ultra-liberal ideology. Nevertheless, critical moods in Russia, which have tested all charms of wild capitalism, are perhaps stronger than anywhere else. Therefore, it is possible to expect that the new approaches in the economic policy will lay the road for themselves. The crisis must contribute to the sobering of the promoters of the present market course.

In what main directions is it possible to expect the preconception of economic ideology and policy? One of the acutest problems is the role of the state in the national economy. In mass media the mythology is widely replicated that the state must leave the economy or, at least, reduce itself to a minimal participation in it. One of V.V. Putin's presidential counselors, for example, attempted to convince the community that

the less the fraction of budget in the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) is, the more successfully the economy grows. In addition, that was while universal statistics irrefutably showed an increase in this portion for periods of the whole past century from 10–20 to 50 and more percent.<sup>4</sup>

It is indisputable that the modern state, moreover the social state, such as Russia is according to its constitution, has to represent and to protect the interests of the entire population, but not to be the committee on management of the matters of its most well-off and influential part. However, this assumes not only the valid and effective democratic mechanisms of the society, control over the state bureaucracy, but the significant role of the state in the redistribution of the GDP (Gross Domestic Product). Only under its authority is it capable to counteract with the element of the increasing social stratification, to guarantee the valid access of people to the public goods – information, education, public health, culture. Moreover, quite a lot of states of the world act precisely so. Hence, it is an increase in the share of budget outlays in the GDP (Gross Domestic Product).

The critical functions of averting and overcoming failures of purely market mechanisms lie down on the modern state and not only in the money-financial sphere, that is today so obvious, but in other areas as well. The discussion deals, for example, with the development of science, education, culture, health care and environment protection, modernization of the production, the creation of economic infrastructure, and certainly the guarantee of national safety and law.

The state is capable of playing the significant role in the stimulation of innovation processes, packing budget fund into the key, technically cutting-edge productions, especially in those that are newly created, and participating in the control of them. Its support for agriculture is indispensable in many countries. This is more so urgent for Russia, taking into account not so favourable climatic conditions in the larger part of the country and consequences of the past social cataclysms in the country.

Reasons of Russian liberals against the government control are normally reduced to its ineffectiveness because of the insufficient scope of officials, their unlimited corruption and excesses of red tape. The state is charged with the inconsiderateness, non-objectiveness and sometimes deliberately spread false information. Certainly, such kind of reproaches are sometimes adequately substantiated. Nevertheless, is private business so infallible? Its unscrupulousness, dishonesty, contempt for the law, the bribery of officials, and even criminal actions in the indefatigable thirst of the enrichment are well known. Therefore, the dilemma of a free market against the state control appears artificial. A question consists in correct combination of them both in economic development and adoption of measures for guidance of order in each of these two spheres.

First, qualitative improvement in the work of the political system of the state is required for control and cultivation of the class of the incorruptible, honest and highly competent controllers. The selection of personnel must occur not according to their loyalty to authorities and 'responsibility', not on the related proximity, friendship and personal sympathies, but on the level of competence, professional knowledge and working experience, honesty, professional skills, ability to work with the people in order to defend public interests. It is understandable that this change cannot occur at once. For a long time Russia will still be inferior to other countries in its competitive ability on the world market because of the ineffectiveness of the political system of the state for control and low quality and the corruption of its officials. However, in order to pull

<sup>1</sup> The Economist. 2008. 11 Oct. A special report on the world economy, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. P. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Rogov S. M. The Functions of the State: World Practice and Russia. URL: [www.iskran.ru/docs/rogov\\_thesis.pdf](http://www.iskran.ru/docs/rogov_thesis.pdf); Bogomolov O. T. Thoughtfulness about the Past and Present. M., 2007. P. 188.

out forward, it is important to solve the problem, taking into account contemporary what the role of state in our economy must be and how to achieve it. It is insufficient to utter diffuse and ambiguous statements concerning this; it is time to formulate the clear concept of the state architecture and its role in economic regulation. In addition, it is necessary to realize it.

In Russia's drift from the wild to the civilized and socially oriented market much depends on the state, those laws and moral standards of the behaviour, whose observance it can ensure with its authority and all acceptable means. Therefore it is necessary to strengthen the state, but not to reduce its economic functions. That means, in other words, that we cannot help restraining private business in its tendency toward the rapid and as a rule, unscrupulous enrichment, and have to push it into the sphere of the interests of general prosperity, we cannot stand its corporate selfishness.

The gigantic losses of the country from the capitals' flight abroad are, perhaps, one of the clear examples of the underestimation of the possibilities of the state, or more accurately, its incapacities to influence the development of the production and to direct existing capitals in the country to the upsurge of its own economy. The Russian Ministry of Finance evaluates the clean draining of capital from the country during the entire period of perestroika and market reform approximately at 400 billion dollars. According to the calculations of the association of Russian banks, this number can reach from 800 billion to 1 trillion dollars, which agrees also with the data of the Basel Bank for International Settlements (BIS).<sup>1</sup> The number of western experts does not exclude that the leakage of capitals could reach even 2 trillion dollars.

The given sums have comparatively modest legal capital export whereas the lion's share comprises their illegal flight, which connects with the deviation from the taxes and the tendency to cover and to preserve wealth doubtfully. The part of the quick money is stored on the bank deposits (220 billion dollars in 2006; according to the data of BIS,<sup>2</sup> another part is inserted in the shares of foreign companies, in real estate, yacht, soccer clubs and spent on the personal consumption, etc. It is possible of course to doubt the exact estimations, but the order of numbers in any event strikes one with the number of zeros.

Actually, the draining of Russian money abroad is not limited. State currency, stabilizing and other reserves invested chiefly in the foreign stocks and the bank deposits, are always far from reliable. In the first part of 2008, their total sum composed almost 600 billion dollars, which was justified by the need for having the reliable pillow of safety for the rainy day. However, the present crisis shows that this is not an excellent method of rescuing. More reasonable it would be used a substantial part of this money for the development of domestic manufacture.

It is understandable that the inflow of capital into Russia occurred especially in the recent years in the form of direct and portfolio investments, the significant corporate adoptions of our companies. Nevertheless, the total balance added to the preponderance not into our benefit. Because of the unwillingness or incapacity of the state to establish the proper control over the export of capitals, the economy survived monstrous bloodletting. One may only wonder how in this case it coped and survived. Rich natural resources, human capital and the rise of the world prices were very helpful there.

In the years of high prices of natural resources, Russian corporations accumulated the colossal foreign debt which they could not attend with the advance of the crisis, and the state was forced to save its financial and industrial magnates. The substantial part of the state foreign currency reserves was

wasted on it. It is difficult to find a rational explanation of the policy of the state that on the one hand directs its free currency means to the storage abroad, giving thus credits to the West and, on the other hand, it encourages domestic companies to borrow heavily from abroad. There is no better confirmation of the short-sightedness and the unreasonableness of the state in economic issues.

If only we, instead of exporting capitals and crediting the USA and other developed countries with hundreds of billions of dollars, had invested the money in the modernization of our industry, transport, agriculture, power engineering, public healthcare, education, science, home-construction industry, etc. then we would not have experienced since 1992 this deep and long-standing decrease in production and the living standards of the population. In addition, we would not be today so vulnerable in the face of the world crisis.

What had happened is, naturally, accounted for by our market economic policy that was and now remains incapable of making use of such colossal money. It was supposed that the money would plunder or squander without the visible return. Such a thing is possible if the state lets out reins from the hands; when it removes itself from any responsibility for the effective and dynamic development of the real sector of economy and allows the allegedly more capable private business to be concerned about it. However, the world practice gives numerous reverse examples. Acceleration rates, for which we strive, assume a notable increase of the portion in the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) of investments into basic productive capital. In Russia, less than half of annually accumulations invest into the real sector of economy. The state policy and influence must be directed to an increase in the portion of investments in the GDP (Gross Domestic Product).

Everything had been done in the other direction. The currency control was weakened and abolished which facilitated the draining of capitals. The exchange value of rouble was consciously supported at the understated level that increases the profitability of the export of raw materials and fuel and raises the price of import. This led to an increase in the prices of consumer goods and food. The domestically oriented productions grew sick and were displaced because of the narrowness of the internal effective demand and low profitability. Some items that we could have easily made ourselves, were bought abroad. This touched not only the textile, shoe-making, sewing, pharmaceutical industry, but also machine-building and many other branches. Commercial and state banks unwillingly gave them credits and even if they did give money then for a short period only and for the exorbitant percentages. The profit was missing for an expansion and modernization of production capacities. Furthermore, inflation and weakness of domestic demand created the ever-increasing investment risks. With the increasing openness of the economy, competition with imported goods became hopeless.

Exporters of raw material, oil-industry workers, gas generators, metallurgists proved to be in an exceptionally favourable position, in a word, those who fabulously profited from the export. However, other branches did not have this chance. The one-sided structure of the economy added to the hypertrophied portion of primary branches. This led to negative results in the level of the national productivity of labour and competitive ability on the world market. The economy got strongly dependant on the state of affairs in the countries – users of our raw material and natural resources. The advantages of steady development based on correlation and mutual addition of the extractive and processing branches within the framework of integral national-economic complex were lost.

One cannot say that the negative processes went unnoticed. Scientists and practitioners showed serious uneasiness. However, the state demonstrated helplessness in the attempts

<sup>1</sup> Heyfets B. A. Off-Shore Jurisdictions are in the Global and National Economy. M., 2008. P. 166–167.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

to change the situation for the better. As before, hopes were still expressed of the market mechanisms, that were supposed to correct everything. The conviction of the reform architects in the omnipotence of market did not weaken, but it did not come out. Alas, the measures taken by the authorities, resulted in the opposite direction.

Russia's particular feature, as the territorially largest country which is stretched on two continents, with practically all natural resources, secured by high scientific and technical and human potential, consists in the preferred orientation of its economic development to use the advantages of not so much international, as internal and regional division of labour. In contrast to the states which base their strategy of increase on the export expansion, it will be more reliable and advantageous for us to make everything for the deepening of the internal division of labour and expansion of the capacitance of the domestic market. This does not indicate a failure of further process of economic globalization and the use of the benefits of a reasonable openness of the economy. This, however, should be done with caution because of the instability and the uncontrolled character of the world fund markets whose fluctuations and periodic crises are capable of inflicting Russia heavy damage. The crises of overproduction are inherent in the nature of capitalism, which are caused by insufficient investment and consumer demand. This was determined by K. Marx and we must this consider after the approaching building of capitalism.

The persistent wish to enter rapidly the World Trade Organization by no means guarantees us modernization and successful development of our own branches of manufacturing industry and especially high-qualified industry, to say nothing of agriculture. It is necessary to enable first domestic producers to become stronger. Thus acted Japan, South Korea, China, India, Brazil and a number of other countries before many forms of their industrial production, on which the state depended, found noticeable sale and competitive ability on the world market. One cannot help noticing that major countries, which have or are creating contemporary industry, export considerably smaller portion of their production, than smaller and average countries. Their production is predominantly oriented on the domestic market. Russia, however, falls out from this regularity having too high specific weight of the foreign trade turnover in the GDP (Gross Domestic Product).

Today it is useless to discuss, if the 'shock therapy' and an avalanche of privatization had any alternative. The country overcame the hardest of times and learned to live anew. However, the ancestral injuries, connected with the passage into another state, remain and can provoke serious complications. We have already encountered them not only in the financial-credit sphere, which draws today concentrated attention. The most perceptible threats are in the deepening social differentiation of the society, the growing unemployment and high inflation rates. They all painfully affect the larger part of the population, which presents low and average-profit layers. Our strongly distorted market relations do not weaken but, on the contrary, aggravate the development of these processes. The selected state methods of opposing them also stir serious doubts. It is necessary to take more radical and more decisive steps.

The scale of income taxation, privilege taxes to the dividends, the holes to escape from the taxation and the export of capitals of doubtful origin, the use of offshore, the revelry of corruption, the impunity of many economic crimes and machinations lead, in the opinion of specialists, to the colossal shortage of budget and the deepening of the precipice between the rich and the poor.

In our country we still have tremendous poverty and poverty of consumption of millions of citizens. It would seem that the moral standards of thrift and modesty must be

cherished, widely acknowledged and observed in the society. Unfortunately, the cult of wealth and luxury prevails and merchant-like daring. Television advertises the life of the *nouveau riche* in their luxury apartments and pitchforks; it shows their yachts, aircraft and automobiles of the chic class, their revelry at the fashionable foreign health resorts, their overabundant entertainment routs for selected persons. Top managers in large corporations, even in government-controlled, are more generously rewarded than their Americans and Europeans colleagues. In addition, if abroad the protests of the community are increasingly heard against the unlimited salaries and bonuses of the top managers, and the state begins to interfere with this, but in our country it goes without saying and is silently accepted, as if normal reality.

Exceeding all conceivable standards, the social property stratification challenges ideas about social justice, deprives people of moral and economic incentives for the honest labour, aggravates the problem of poverty and nourishes misery, generates children's neglect and other social misfortunes and hardships. In the long run, the rates and the quality of economic increase do suffer. The realization of the abovementioned negative consequences calls for the new approaches in ideology and practice, conducted by the state, for the modernization of Russian economy.

The methods of overcoming the inflation also require reconsideration. Unfortunately, our economic and especially financial managers adhere to the monetarist prescriptions so they stand mainly for the limitation of money and credit emission, the practice of the so-called 'sterilization' of monetary stock, the restraint of the budget allocations on wages and social payments. By the way, during the hard times in the USA and Europe, the states practiced the expansion of money proposal in order to increase effective demand and to revive the production. For some reason, with this we only connect the splash of inflation.

The hardening of money policy had the negative side that gives effects now when the state is forced to undertake unprecedented additional infusions from its reserves of money into the companies experiencing troubles. On favourable terms the pecuniary aid was given to *Sberbank*, *VTB*, *Gasprombank*, *RosNefi*, *RusAl* (Oleg Deripaska), *Evrzas* (Roman Abramovich), to industrial corporations and was for the most part converted into the foreign currency and transferred abroad into the liquidation of debts and the creation of reserves. Producers, the real sector of economics won little from that.

Inflation is not reduced to the overcrowding of the channels of circulation by money. It is produced by an increase of costs in the production under the effect of different factors: increase in the cost of raw material and fuel, transport tariffs, wages, rise in price of import, etc. Its size is influenced by corporate conspiracy, inflationary expectations and the degree of confidence to the stability of an economic system, the tax load and other sideline expenditures of producers, compensated by an increase in the prices. Therefore, it is necessary to fight with the inflation along all lines using various methods.

So, in order to have an accurate idea about its consequences it is important to evaluate objectively the scale of inflation, and not only on the average, according to the principle of an average temperature in a hospital, but for different sectors of the economy and strata of the society. Inflation always manifests itself as an additional hidden tax on the population and on the business, but its gravity and chances for compensation are far from identical. The detailed studies, undertaken by a number of specialists, revealed that to the greatest degree it is the poor and an average strata of the society who suffer from it most. The price of the basket of goods and services consumed by people grew recently not less than by 25–30 per cent annually whereas for the rich people this index coincided with the officially admitted 10–14 per cent.

For the branches that work on the domestic market, sales are constantly falling because of the high inflation rates that cut the purchasing ability of population. This results in decrease and even reduction of the production. While the consumption of the upper classes of the society consists essentially in imported goods, it therefore does not serve for the domestic market of the local manufacturing industry. It only supports foreign producers.

It would be better to control inflation not so by monetarist methods, as by the expansion of the effective demand of the major portion of the society and, respectively, by the stimulation of production and proposal of domestic goods and services of acceptable quality at affordable prices. The underpayment of labour in Russia, in comparison with the countries of a similar level, limits the effective demand of population. The same consequences are caused by difficulties in obtaining credits by the business, especially small and average, and excessively high costs of credit adoptions.

It is not worthwhile to disregard the postulate of the classical political economy: 'the state prospers when it has simple goods'. It is today important, of course, that it should be good quality, saleable and its production constantly increase. Here the small and average business is capable of much, but it does not obtain the necessary support and protection from the state yet.

Certainly, the economy cannot manage without the money. It also is the part of national wealth when it does not lie hidden but works as the measure of cost, the means of circulation and the means of accumulation. The last function is the determining one for the economic increase. Naturally, when considerable amounts of money acquired by our state institutions and banks, including the borrowed sums from the West, are used not for the exchange speculations, are not wasted or petrified in the unjustifiable reserves. They are to serve for the increase of the real productive forces of the country, in other words, they should become converted in the investments.

For it to happen, it is necessary to have the favourable investment climate in the country. Its creation and maintenance are the task that is far from purely economic. It depends on the effectiveness of the state administration, on the absence of the unjustifiable bureaucratic obstacles, on the political stability, investors' confidence in the entire economic, legal and taxation system, on the character of business morals and the effectiveness of struggle against corruption. It stands to reason it depends on the prospects of obtaining good profits which are opened by the dynamic and harmonious economic development.

Practical life demonstrates that on the opportunity to snatch a large sum, foreign investors are ready to take risks and to disregard many flaws of our state and market system. However, why must we make it possible to grow rich on our diseconomy and absence of elementary order?

The role of the state in the assistance for the investment activity and its participation in it cannot be overestimated. The state is responsible for the determination of its priority directions, for the assignment of guarantees in the case of the risks which a particular business is not ready to take upon itself, for the creation of the privileged conditions of crediting and taxation for the strategically important investments. In addition, undoubtedly, the long-range goals of the development of the country which the President and the Government propose, make it necessary to strengthen this role. This will require appropriate initiatives, great administrative effort and reformatory undertaking that our liberals can misinterpret as the attempts for the nationalization of the economy. But without the participation of the state, without normalizing the partnership between the state and private business any decisive improvement in the investment climate will be unlikely. Consequently, the realization of the ambitious plans of economic prosperity will be hardly possible. One would like to hope that the final moment of the truth has come now that one can learn lessons from the past errors and correct all that hinders progress.

**K. N. Brutents<sup>1</sup>**

### THE RUSSIAN MASS MEDIA AND THE INTERESTS OF THE SOCIETY

It has become commonplace to speak that we live in the information century or even in the information epoch. Actually, never before had information occupied so extensive a space in the public, private life and or played so influential a role. A qualitative increase in the media came. As it turned out, now it possesses an enormous potential influence on large groups of population (frequently forming even an information dependence), on political, economic and ideological dynamics of the society. It has an influence on mentality and moral-ethical atmosphere, on behavioural motives and stereotypes of people.

The media serve (more exactly it must serve) as an irreplaceable tool of social relations, as a channel of data exchange, a mutual contact and search for mutual understanding between the institutes of state and society, between

different social layers. They became one of the main instruments of political struggle. Finally, they even advanced to the foreground of military conflicts, coming out as a weapon of a new variety of war, the information war.

Measure and nature of the mass media influence on the economy and on other spheres of social life depends on different factors; and its results may contribute to economic increase. Theoretically, the media can effectively 'work' in the economy of the country, exposing corruption. They can help with the propagation of the positive experience, emphasizing the role of education, bearing knowledge into the most distant corners of the country, propagandizing the healthy means of life, serving as a channel of the translation of judgements for population about the country control and economics. In other words, they can play their irreplaceable role in the development of the social and human capital of the country that is so important for the economic progress.

However, the practical experience showed that an enormous potential of the media could be used for different, opposite ends including mercenary and purely improper. It is necessary to begin from the fact that mass media function in the market society where the information unavoidably has a tendency to be converted into goods and as any other goods subordinated to the dictatorship of 'the golden calf'. So it

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sc. (History), Professor.

In 1959–61 he was head of department of national liberation movement of the editorial board of "Issues of Peace and Socialism" journal (Prague, Czechoslovakia).

Some of his publications on social and political issues are "Liberated Countries: Some Problems and Prospects" (1981), "Liberated Countries in the '70s" (1983), "On the Foreign Policy Conception of Russia in Asia-Pacific Region" (in co-authorship, 1995), "Thirty Years on the Old Square" (1998), "Foreign Policy of Russia: A New Stage?" (2000), "Unrealized. Anxious Notes on Perestroika" (2005).



means that an important and frequently the main and sole criterion becomes a motive for the profit.

The commercialization of the media determines the nature of information, its 'liberation' from the primacy of public interests. Moreover, it creates serious information-communicative risks for the moral health and progressive development of the society including the economic aspect of the case.

Under such conditions, the ability of the media to follow public demands and interests depends firstly on the structure of property in it. When the media and therefore an information space are concentrated in the hands of particular owners, they tend to become spokesmen of viewpoints and aspirations of small separate groups of people or even a single owner whose positions, circulated through the television and press, are imposed on millions of people. Practically, thus appear the inexhaustible prerequisites for the use of manipulator possibilities of the media in particular interests with respect to the public opinion and mass consciousness. In this case, some questions and events intentionally are given the unjustified urgency and sharpness, their value is artificially overstated instead of other ones, 'uncomfortable' and undesirable for the owner or owners. Moreover, on the media market the processes of monopolization frequently continues and it leads to a considerable extent of the monopolization of their content. For example, in 1995 in the United States more than 80 per cent media resources were independent, but at the end of 2007 five largest corporations controlled already 90 per cent of them. Rupert Murdoch is one of the American media magnates nowadays who manages approximately 180 television channels, newspapers and other forms of the media in the world, and this is the entire enormous machine of influence on hundreds of millions people, propagandizing the same ideology, lobbying the position of a single person, who has not ever been elected by anyone and who is not responsible for anything.

The negative consequence of this distortion of the media functions is the propagation, according to the weighty opinion of Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, of information 'without the knowledge'.<sup>1</sup> 'The society of knowledge swiftly reproduces the society of ignorance,' he writes.

The national property of the media is also neither the guarantee of objective approach to the illumination of events, nor the panacea against the exclusive service to the interests of groupings in the authority. The authorities, in the democratic countries including, constantly use the media to turn the community to a welcome harmony with them, sometimes shunning straight fraud but now coming down to the authentic information war against their own people. Specifically, the Government of the USA and Great Britain did so in connection with the intrusion in Iraq. And American and English journalists who dared to break through the curtain of lies and gave more or less truthful information, were punished and sacked from work.

In the information society not the truth is important, but the victory in the information struggle. And the propagandistic situation created around the events in Yugoslavia and Afghanistan, in the Near East and Iraq, convincingly showed the ability of the media to turn millions of people into the information-obedient majority almost just as forming soldiers on the drill ground.

In all these situations the American media, which is not an exception, clearly demonstrated models of a locked information space where disinformation was imposed. 'Protecting' Americans from the undesirable information, they surrounded Bush's Administration with an information shield, refusing to doubt even those actions that threaten civil liberties and come into conflict with the constitution.

<sup>1</sup> Wallerstein I. After liberalism. M., 2003.

The propagation abroad of purposeful information, designed for the advance of its political and economic aspirations, for strengthening of its business positions, is the important component of the foreign policy of major states. As for the USA, they carry out the policy of the active information expansion on a global scale.

Practically, all the named processes in the sphere of information frequently take place also in Russia, first as the result of the present hypertrophied and deformed shape of our society. The majorities of Russian general national printed publications are in the hands of oligarchic structures. Together with powerful groups they control part of television channels. It is they who mainly determine the position of media on key problems of the country, such as its political, economic and spiritual life, its history, foreign policy and information security of different sectors of economy, different strata of the society. While public aspirations, national interests and needs are only taken into account when they do not contradict the interests of oligarchs, which is not frequent.

Hence, frequent manipulation with public opinion is for 'extrusion' of personal or multiple targets of representatives from the large business and various imperious circles, implementation into the consciousness of the specially selected information-disinformation audience behind reliable information from independent sources.

The money censorship, which is in the connection with the general liberal and quasi-liberal censorship exercised by the media themselves, leads to the monopolization of their sociopolitical content, overlapping access to figures of the alternative opinion. Specifically, it concerns our present-day situation when the same characters daily loom on all channels.

Finally, this implies the orientation to tastes and demands of the so-called elite, the unequal information representation of different strata of the society, the serious lack of the information security when the discussion deals with the agriculture, industry, building, transport, workers of small business, peasants, the unemployed. On the contrary, socially oriented information is privileged for civil agents, large business, right-liberal circles, etc.

The media are financed mainly due to incomes from advertisements, in other words, due to payments from companies and individual representatives of the business, so first of all television, as a rule, joins a large business association, with its influential members who try to prevent any criticism in their address.

We can say how willingly and persistently (and rightfully!) one criticizes corruption, bribery of officialdom, while similar phenomena in the business environment are ignored. But in reality corruption is the basis on which was formed the union of influential bureaucrats with the nouveau riche, frequently of criminal or half-criminal origin. And this 'restricted' approach is one of the reasons why television does not play an active, influential role in the struggle against corruption which has become a paralyzing force which impedes the healthy development of the Russian politics and economics and which is the existential threat for the Russian state.

The image of a businessperson is idealized. In numerous TV series business heroes appear robed in noble armours of generousities, compassions, etc. There wouldn't be anything dishonourable in it, if simultaneously, as if on the contrast, egalitarianism weren't publicly dishonoured, the cult of elitism weren't created persistently, the social inequality weren't justified cynically and shamelessly, an inadequate relation to simple people weren't propagandized and adopted, such as to 'dairymaids', 'workers', 'turners', 'foremen', 'machine-operators' and alike.<sup>2</sup> The media write about them precisely in the key of lightly corroded snobbery, concluding these words

<sup>2</sup> See, for example: Izvestia. 2008. 20 Sept. (article by G. Bovt).

into ironically disdainful quotation marks, without hiding lenient attitude or even haughty contempt for 'unsuccessful persons'. TV as all media is oriented toward the 'successful persons', 'established themselves in the life', they are alien to the 'unsuccessful persons'.<sup>1</sup> Like those persons who assign the 'route' to them, they stand on the rails of one hundred per cent Social Darwinism.

One of the oligarchs, without philosophizing, directly went on to publish his views in the newspaper that belongs to him (where he frequently places two of his articles in one issue), an opus with the title 'Injustice can be justified'. The other author dashing declared in the same tone, 'The fight for justice is a heroic euphemism for riff-raff and envy'.<sup>2</sup>

Another oligarch, a quite important banker, was not shy to state in a public newspaper that has a million copies' circulation, 'I am completely cynical. Business, as far as you know, is a cynical thing and all people in this sphere are such. Our purpose is to earn and nothing there interests us apart from the profit in business. We make only those things which are profitable to us. I believe that if a man is healthy and suddenly poor so this is shameful today. The rich are more moral than the poor at least because they can afford more.' Involuntarily comes to the memory one well-known of Confucius's maxims: 'It is shameful to be rich in a deprived country, it is shameful to be poor in a rich country.'

On television, in the printed media it is difficult to find subjects dedicated to working people, 'simple' citizens, their life and work, to the difficulties that they encounter. Such themes are obviously not worthy of interest and notice. The majority of federal information media in this respect are inferior even to the 'Liberty' Radio which, as it is clearly pursuing its own political purposes, devotes to this theme the so-called 'correspondent hour' each Saturday and Sunday. Similarly, there is no place for labour, its value for the education of the human personality and realization of creative possibilities.

The media, if we do not consider periodically published statistical data of Gosstat (the Governmental Statistics) and the All-Russian Centre for the Study of the Public Opinion, ignore the enormous social misalignment existing in Russia, and abhor from analysis of its reasons and the ways for correcting situation.

The press describes demonstrative escapades of the super-rich and presents the demonstrative luxury, millions thrown about by them. For example, the so-called fairs of millionaires conducted annually do not lack servility of the press, such as the last one. It was at the high point of financial crisis in November 2008.

So the media objectively help to convert natural social contradictions into the social hate, to accumulate the social stress which is now submerged in public passiveness and apathy but is powerful to break out by explosion. They 'work' for the reduction of social capital of the society as a whole, its creative potential and passionarity. In addition, this position cannot be corrected without a change in the relation to the topics, without the restoration in the media of the so-called 'common people', without the demonstration of their real role.

The media, especially TV, are submerged today in the poeticizing of the enrichment (and the enriched), especially achieved by any means and out of any connection with the labour, which is solidly forgotten. Labour is alien to television in its present form as the source and basis of material and public success, as a self-worth of human life. The media prove that money is the basic standard of man's values and its own

value, persuade the citizens into obtaining it by all methods. Russian television, almost from morning till morning, persistently harps on the same tune of 'Money-money', absolutely ignoring in this case spiritual, moral and religious problems and boundaries actually connected with this aspect of life, decorating in every possible way an unrestrained pursuit for 'gold'. 'Echo of Moscow' Radio almost hourly persuades its listeners that 'Money does not smell', placing upside down the moral imperative concluded in this saying.

On all TV channels not abundance, not worthy life are excitedly glorified, but wealth, luxury, the so-called glamour as a joy and a symbol of prosperity. All other ideals, even if they are rarely mentioned, are only alienated. On the top of it the role of a girl hunting for a rich fiancé or a 'favourer' crowns it all.

Against this background many spheres of human activity look impoverished and corrupted. Even in the supply of sport communications priority is given not to the achievements of athletes but to their money prizes. The greatest attention is drawn to them, information about them put in the foreground.

Meanwhile, the ecstatic unrestrained cult of money that is immanent to the nature of the market economy actually aestheticizes the image of those hunting for it, generating the market morals which are akin to the immorality.

Certainly, we cannot live in the society with the market relations and be free from them but it does not give television the indulgence to encourage millions of people into the downfall of moral limitations and even to the release them from morals. Acting in this way, the Russian media become a tool of the destructive influence on the morals, on the spiritual life of the society.

The media propaganda of the social and intellectual elitism, boundless individualism that is indifferent to the needs of the society and the country leads to the spiritual and moral depletion. The individualism not only deprives the society of the healthy dose of solidarity and collectivism (traditionally it is inherent to Russians), but also greatly resembles boundless selfishness, contributing to weakening human connections, cherishing indifference to a neighbour and permissiveness. Moreover, under the actually existing conditions, it leads to the shrinking of individuality and utter depersonalization. It degenerates into the impersonal individualism of the crowd.

This 'programme' organically included one additional way of washing out morality: the cult of violence, of sex and sexuality, of carnal pleasures. Sex, as animal one (without love), is another idol and 'product', which are being continuously advertised to us. This factor is facilitating the crisis of family and withdrawal from the monogamy, this human privilege, to the side of promiscuity.

Summarizing, it is necessary to state: the boundless propaganda of consumerism, 'sweet' luxurious life, glorification of violence, heroification of bandits and magnates who became rich after the criminal industrial-financial privatization, undermines morals, depreciates in the public the consciousness of honest labour. The latter becomes the lot of the unlucky wretches who failed to enter the market system. Cloning the worst of foreign models, the media created in the society the atmosphere of spiritually deprived petty hedonism alien to our traditions.

There are all reasons for speaking about the unique TV-hypnosis, aimed at the primitivization of consciousness and direct stultifying that converts people into the thoughtless mass, which stimulates low instincts.

As it is known, patriotic self-consciousness based on the national pride and merit is an irreplaceable component of social and human capital of the society and state power. The example of China again confirmed the value of this factor, having become one of the motivating powers of the present

<sup>1</sup> Expression by O. Tsvetkova, a program director of "Megapolis", which described "her purposeful audience". (Nezavisimaya Gazeta. 2008. 20 Oct.). This new, unknown division of a society obviously means that the lives of the so-called "abandoned" were lived for nothing.

<sup>2</sup> Literaturnaya gazeta. 2008. No. 43.

economic elevation of 'The Celestial Empire'. Meanwhile for many years in the Russian media it was acceptable and customary to censure our country, our people, rewarding them with disparaging characteristics. Disdainful words like 'that country', 'that people' were in use for years and now they have not completely left the scene. Some used to mock the history of Russia, even its heroic pages. World War II now and then was depicted as the struggle of two tyrants. The role of the country in the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition was minimized.

On the pages of central newspapers and it is possible even now to meet these malapropisms: 'Mud and slush are a part of Russia. As it is known unwashed Russia will hardly ever be set free from mud in the future.'<sup>1</sup> Alternatively, the elegant composition, which belongs to A. Malashenko, the member of Moscow Carnegie Center, titled 'Speaking about Russia honestly' declares: 'The Great Power, as if it weren't these people who placed on their necks Lenin–Stalin–Khrushchev–Brezhnev and suffered, suffered? A few words are about the invincible legendary Red Army. One has to look through the history. The last bright victory was the occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968. And it was beaten! Now about exceptional values of the Russian civilization and its specific ways. Our national way is simply rotten. From her cradle to her grave every Mary strived for Europe...'<sup>2</sup> and so on. Meanwhile the attempts to stain the history of Russia mean to deprive the country of its national face, its self-identification as the history is a form of national, public self-consciousness.

The important stimulus and support for patriotic moods are foreign policy problems and solutions. The media in the USA, England and in other states frequently, as a rule, support the general direction of the foreign policy of their countries. Nowadays Russia in this respect is, perhaps, unique. The large part of the central press and some radio stations often joined with the opponents of Russia. A printed and televised word in many instances depicts the West, especially the USA, in the pastoral or even enthusiastic tones. From our press we can learn that 'the standard of the civilized country is personified in the United States'.<sup>3</sup> That the 'fight for the sovereignty' is the same as preparations to resist the Martians' invasion, or to build dams in the Urals<sup>4</sup> and the statement of V. Putin at the conference of Russian ambassadors is 'the continuation of anti-American offensive'.<sup>5</sup>

In Russia, it is possible to hear the maxim that belongs to writer V. Yerofeyev: 'If I were the President of Poland, I would ask Americans to place its nuclear warheads so that the Russians feared us as they used to in the seventeenth century.'<sup>6</sup> Y. Latynina, however, surpassed him and declared that 'South Ossetia is a joint enterprise of the KGB Generals and an Ossetic gangster, who use the money together sponsored by Moscow for the war against Georgia,' or 'This war is not about South Ossetia. It relates to the core of the Russian state and its survival. The beast needs feeding.'<sup>7</sup>

Similar phenomena or events frequently obtain a different estimation depending only on where they are, in the USA or Russia. For example, the Russian media spared no efforts on criticism in connection with the attempts to introduce the lessons of patriotic training at schools. At the same time, the patriotic speech by President Bush presented to tens of thousands of adolescents, assembled at the festival of boy scouts in one of the military bases in the state of Virginia, was positively covered in Russian media.

The Russian press under the influence of some representatives of the large business, claiming to active member-

ships of Belorussian enterprises, conducted for several years (and is still conducting), together with the western associates the hostile campaign against Belorussia, without even avoiding direct disinformation.

It is necessary to take into consideration the Russian-Chinese interrelations, which have fundamental value for the safety of our country and its foreign policy manoeuvring. The large part of the Russian media is synchronous with the American associates and occupies an unfriendly position towards China. Here are several examples of the practice of the last years. President Jiāng Zémín's first visit to Moscow concluded the agreement between our countries 'On friendly relations, friendship and cooperation'. One of the central newspapers carried on the front page the banner headlines 'The quotation of day': 'With such friends enemies are not necessary.'<sup>8</sup> Several years later the prospect was depicted: 'The mobilization of Chinese people for the development of empty northern territories, our Siberia and the Far East,' and it was declared, 'It is necessary for Russia today, first of all, to increase its military potential on the eastern boundaries.'<sup>9</sup> Another central newspaper affirmed in unison several months ago: 'The threat of a large-scale war is completely real for us (the enemy in this war will certainly be China, the truth can't be concealed),' it called 'to increase today, first of all, the military potential on the eastern border.'<sup>10</sup> 'Echo of Moscow' Radio commented on, not without irony, 'a historical visit' of President D. Medvedev into 'The Celestial Empire' and simultaneously persistently suggested the idea about the 'Chinese danger'.

Some Russian media did not fail to participate in the anti-Chinese campaign on the eve of Peking Olympic Games in connection with the events in Tibet. Moreover, one of the Russian reviewers could outdo many of his western fellows with a skilful pen. In a mocking article he gave the event the same status as Olympic Games in the Fascist Germany.

The Russian television is based on the American standards. Its programmes are exclusively borrowed from them. Actually, they are far from the best models. They reflect the spiritual-ethical degradation of the western society, moreover, their negative features are emphasized and made heavier and the layer of yellowness is frequently thicker. As a result, television which is called to serve for strengthening in the population of the consciousness of national identity and national generality, becomes the conductor of foreign mental and spiritual standards (or, more exactly, is spiritually deprived). However, in 2006 on the 11 basic federal channels (TV Rossiya, Channel One Russian Worldwide (C1RW), TVTs, NTV, Kultura, CTC, RTV, TNT, TV3, Domashny) the portion of domestic movies composed 41.1 per cent, (30.2 per cent Russian, 10.9 per cent Soviet), foreign reached 57.4 per cent (48.5 per cent American, 8.9 per cent Eurasian). One cannot be surprised that the young Russian spectators do not know Cherkasov and Nikulin, Gribov and Livanov but well-known to them are Schwarzenegger and Brad Pitt, Stallone and DiCaprio.

Since that time the position was not improved. 'It means,' professor P. N. Kirpichok concluded and this conclusion was logical, and conducted the content analysis of cable television programmes, 'that in the civilizational opposition 'Russia – the USA' on the Russian basis domestic television plays up (I can add, objectively) to foreigners, who attack our cultural space.'<sup>11</sup>

American films to which television gives preference, not only have, as a rule, low quality in the artistic sense of the word (that is why they are very cheap), not only glorify

<sup>1</sup> Malkin V. // Vedomosti. 2007. 14 Dec.

<sup>2</sup> Nezavisimaya Gazeta. 2007. 26 Apr.

<sup>3</sup> Ivanov A. // Kommersant. 2007. 30 Aug.

<sup>4</sup> Shevtsova L. // Izvestia. 2007. 22 Apr.

<sup>5</sup> Kommersant. 2006. 28 June.

<sup>6</sup> Izvestia. 2008. 11 Apr.

<sup>7</sup> The extract from: The Economist. 2008. 16–30 Aug.

<sup>8</sup> Izvestia. 2002. 17 July.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 2006. 7 Mar.

<sup>10</sup> Nezavisimaya Gazeta. 2008. 17 Apr.

<sup>11</sup> Kirpichok P. N. The contemporary information policy: imperative – modus transformation // Socis. 2007. No. 10. P. 90–95.

'superpower' of Yankee and the USA as the cradle and residence of freedom, but they show our people now and then mostly by insulting means.

This combined informative expansion (from without and from within) is objectively aimed at gradual, subtle westernizing and definite Americanizing of the bases of public consciousness in our country. It makes a stab at the transformation of our mentality, traditions, dispositions and customs. In other words, it encroaches on the Russian national identity. Moreover, this information resource actually does not meet any serious intellectual or artistic opposition. In fact after getting rid of the previous censorship, the media appeared in the fetters of new rating (and quasi-liberal) captivities that are not less but more rigid than the one left in the past. The idol of television, if not only the criterion of the selection of subjects, became the so-called rating after which clearly is seen the money motive and the money standard, determined by advertisement and sponsors. Here appeared the vicious circle, the unique system of communicating vessels. As a basic entertaining function, television realizes this through the production of a frequently very low quality, abundantly 'stuffed' with banality and 'cheesecake'. The gross audience, that was not originally characterized by special taste and immunity for banality, likes a tasty morsel as 'cheesecakes' now after long-standing 'illumination' by telehackwork, is already its persistent user, determining the popularity of various programmes and pushing slightly television to work in this direction.

Although it is difficult to say that Russian television completely released itself from a cultural function of enlightenment, this component practically does not play any notable role. Furthermore, not the information is important, but that which fastens inseparably with the knowledge and gives knowledge, but Russian television, as its foreign analogies, has nothing to boast about. Information without the knowledge, its insufficient objectivity and incompleteness lead to stealing the spotlight of the audience to 'purely' entertaining programmes, to the sceptical relation to the informative content of television and finally to the journalists.

The television space is oversaturated and contaminated by mass-culture's low manners, without authentic cultural and spiritual component and by scandalous stories (by the way, word 'scandal' is favourite in the media). Although the mass-culture carries superficially entertaining nature and it only imposes spectators to one or other form of leisure or to those or other 'cult figures', in reality it exerts, as it is unnoticeable, the more profound influence, forming or to changing value orientation, cultivating the specific world view especially among the young people. For many people it becomes a value sign of time. 'Poisoned' by these values (pseudo-values), young people isolate themselves from the authentic art and the authentic culture. Moreover, its national self-identification does not remain intact. Acting so, the television actually 'shoots' at the future of Russia.

On the television screens, on all channels flicker and roam the same figures from one pop party. They give and take interviews (sometimes they willingly take it one from another), they are interested in their lovers and mistresses mainly, in sexual perversions, in adultery, in illegitimately born children, in money, luxury houses and health resorts. The more negligible creative results of such 'stars', the more actively they advertise their personal life. Banality literally oozes from some characters of this party.

In the role of 'stars' of television screen, turned into idols, into the model for young people, prance some girls, who became famous by foreign scandalous adventures<sup>1</sup> or

their obscene shocking behaviour like the public praise of masturbation ('my freedom is to masturbate in the bathroom, yours is to switch channels'). She is interested only in money and she spits upon the fact that the 'Dom-2' programme, actually propagandizing disorderly sexual connections, is broadcast in the children's time, and adolescents watch it. By the way, an interviewer in this programme asks the following questions, 'On what day are you ready to spend the night with any player? Are you engaged in prostitution? Do you love sex?'.<sup>2</sup> Let us add that the same person at the last fair of millionaires presented 'the club of noble girls'.

In the demonstrated by Channel 2/2 series 'Cool Teacher Onizuka' the entire audiovisual background, according to the conclusions of experts, 'is only used to cover the scenes with half-naked buttocks of 12-14-aged girls taking a close-up of them'. Above the shorts the girls do not wear any clothes. Girls protest, calling Onizuka a pervert but he photographs them as a souvenir. Experts concluded that the series contains elements of child pornography, propagandizes sexual distortion, violence and cruelty.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps especially significant in the view of Russian television was a recent programme about academician Landau, where the natural and instructive story about the genius of science was substituted by a near-sexual bacchanalia as an example of sexual addiction. Repeatedly it was demonstrated that the content together with its ethical or anti-ethical charge altogether are only products which can popularize the 'divine' rating.

The advertising rollers match it stride for stride, where together with the importunate demonstration of half-naked bodies (without any connection with the advertised goods), it is possible to hear the sounds of a 'pathos-arousing' voice of the phrase like, 'At night everything is possible', 'What does a night nurse wear under the dressing gown? Each patient wants to know it', etc. 'RIA Novosti' Information Agency not without enthusiasm advertises the main character of a pimp from the film 'Platon': 'Platon is a successful, charming young person. His business is to introduce a beautiful girl to a well-off person and to obtain fees. Platon is endowed with an outstanding intellect and an attractive appearance that in combination with a bright sense of humour and the communicability enables him to do the business and enjoy success with the fair sex.'<sup>4</sup>

On the same obscene path without any moral obstacles work dashingly some printed media. For example, 'Moskovsky Komsomolets' paper now and then leaves half a space of the front page to the advertisements such as, 'Super-leisure with girls', 'Leisure. It is inexpensive. Girls+', 'Leisure. Escort (from 18 till 60)', 'Relax. Tempting ladies', 'Relax 24 hours', 'Relax. Very cheap', 'Relax with young girls', 'Leisure with girls. Luxury apartments and call girls', 'Relax. Students', etc.<sup>5</sup>

Television space is also contaminated endlessly with low-qualified, offhand production, where bandits and cops are invariable characters, moreover they endlessly imbibe alcohol, obviously for the edification of spectators, and in addition cops serenely do it in the official time, taking out stored bottles from safes and public tables.

In the American manner the scenes of violence are abundantly demonstrated, television eyesight willingly stops on corpses and does not even avoid the scene, where parents, who are beside themselves with grief, cry at the sight of their daughter's body on the ground, yet not realizing (it is separately emphasized) that she is dead. And the TV men do not stop a bit to think that such 'videos' give stress to millions of people.

<sup>2</sup> Literaturnaya gazeta. 2008. 19–28 Nov.

<sup>3</sup> Kommersant. 2008. 27 Nov.

<sup>4</sup> See: Izvestia. 2008. 19 Nov.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example: Moskovsky Komsomolets. 2008. 9 Dec.

<sup>1</sup> Recently the pages of a general national newspaper proved "normality" of social contrasts that exist in the Russian society and declared glamour to be the mark of "the successful".

It is going on to romanticize argot, obscene and foul language, which is spread without difficulty, even on the federal channels one may use foul language without limitations during the children's time too. However, the great property of Russia, the Russian literary language, the language of Pushkin and Lermontov, Turgenev and Tolstoy, Chekhov and Bunin is entirely not in fashion, including the leading programmes.

Humour is surprisingly vulgarized and dull, with which television crews generously treat the spectators. Here are several examples, and not record-breaking at that. In the humorous show 'You are the fun!' a pensioner sings: 'I am a young girl, I cooked fish soup, I fed the match-maker.' An old woman in the wig dancing cries loudly out: 'Why don't you sing, wenches? I am an old woman, I am singing. Why do not you fuck, wenches? I am an old woman, I do.' (followed further by even more obscene verses). A woman with white curls reads 'a talented castrated advertisement': 'The advertisement hurries to our panties in order to declare publicly what to wash, what to refresh, what to plug, what to harden'.

The journalist I. Petrovskaya in her comments on this show of amateur humorists correctly emphasized, when speaking about the so-called 'professionals' in this sphere: 'Spectators thanks to them already reached that point of laughter, when they on a large scale do not care either about the value quality of humour nor about the actor's craftsmanship, nor about the dramaturgy of the idea. If you take off pants on the stage or pronounce a four-letter word, or show a spitting camel, the public will be yours.'<sup>1</sup> It is amazing, however, that the vulgarity has its worshippers and defenders, including the highbrows, who do defend it publicly. Thus V. Yerofeyev declared, 'The word vulgarity belongs to the 19th century vocabulary but there is nothing to do with it in a big way because no one knows what this word means.'<sup>2</sup>

There are also no analytical programmes, which would illuminate the most important issues of life of the society and state. There is no qualified consideration of analytical problems, urgent at the time of economic crisis. The television leaders are obviously not interested in the concrete economics. In the programmes there are no place for a story about various industrial and agricultural enterprises, about people working there, about the experience of innovators.

They almost forget about children. Few programmes are devoted to them, moreover some of them, as already mentioned, with an unchildlike content. But there is always a good chance to watch films dirtied by bloody violence and salacious scenes, they are generously given to children. They demonstrate them at daytime or in early evening when children are still awake.

If we listen to some prominent television workers, the existing position is normal and natural. President of CTC-Media A. Rodnyansky, for example, stated, 'Our television association possesses a sufficient internal censorship inside itself.'<sup>3</sup> One of the leaders of 'TVRossiya' channel recently proclaimed decisively that television should not bring up, in other words, he rejected one of its main functions. Let alone that in reality our TV does bring up, but with amorality and a lack of spirituality.

How about the speech of J. Faziyevev, who in 'Nezavisimaya Gazeta' is introduced as a known cinema and television scriptwriter, director and producer: 'It is necessary for producers and top managers to guess a common choice in the heads of millions of people. In the evening after a hard day, do you really think any spectator will turn on 'Kultura' Channel in order to listen to a philosopher's reasoning about the imperfection of our world? Try to understand that television

is a dining-room, but not a restaurant. It is a method to spend time pleasantly.'<sup>4</sup>

The monstrous 'entertaining' misbalance of television has one additional serious public consequence: it distracts people, masses from reality, it breaks from the conscious participation in the life of society, in politics, it transforms them into the apathetic, into a zombie crowd, ready to yield to the manipulator suggestion from the screen without a trace of a critical doubt. However, this from is promoted so that the politics loses its authentic, democratic content and has acquired traits of a show business. In addition, not without reasons, the following thought appears that the specific directivity of TV programmes, aimed at 'entertaining' abstraction of millions from the reality, not only results in the pursuit of rating, but also is a conscious choice.

This television serves as an instrument of making mass of citizens stupid and effectively distracts from the public problems, from the politics. The high and mighty are interested in it, both the financial managers and part of authorities. They are those who want the politics to be only theirs and it would be possible for them to indulge into it without the interference from the 'strangers'. So, the masses are 'fed' with the show business as the so-called 'amusement'.

In this television, bosses are vitally interested as it brings a lot of money to them and their patrons. A part of the so-called creative intelligentsia, which does not disappear from the screens, is also interested in it. It also feeds rather well in this field. Finally, a part of the journalists is interested in it, which not only get used to the present television, but also found a comfortable refuge in it.

Speaking about the impact of television on the spiritual peace and mentality of people, one should consider some of its design features: audiovisual language and accent on the picture conduct, as a rule, the fact that a spectator-listener begins to use a smaller intellectual potential than, let us say, during reading, which requires an intellectual effort and reflections. Therefore, television is simpler for perception. Moreover, it is hardly by chance that the progress of television, its popularity go parallel to the reduction of the number of reading people. Television displaces reading. According to the data in 2005 (since then this position has hardly changed) the print circulations of newspapers were, for example, 6 times diminished in comparison with 1990, with periodicals the number is 8 times less, while on the subscription respectively 7 and 16 times. More than half of the population of the country do not at all read. Television unconditionally prevails in the information field of Russia, it is not only basic, but, for many Russians, a sole accessible information source.<sup>5</sup>

The functioning of journalists, at least some of them in the described coordinate system also bears its imprint, they cannot but be 'infected' by moral and political corruption and by the readiness to make 'glamorous' or vice versa 'non-glamorous' anything at their bosses' command. Exceptional cynicism is frequently the wrong side of arrogant claims on the role of irreproachable carriers of the authentic truth, keepers of the torch of freedom and democracy. They are ready to serve the interests of their masters. A decrease in the level of professional requirements becomes a principal criterion of their fitness. As a result, on television screens, on banners together with the shining examples of talented journalism and political essays, ignorance is abundantly represented, together with a lack of knowledge, an inability to manage pen or to speak literary language, on the background of the far-fetched scenarios out of a hat for pseudo-historical films.

All this seriously affected our attitude to the media and especially to the journalists, who are no longer surrounded by

<sup>1</sup> Izvestia. 2008. 5 Dec.

<sup>2</sup> See: Izvestia. 2008. 11 Apr.

<sup>3</sup> Komsomolskaya Pravda. 2008. 8 Dec.

<sup>4</sup> Nezavisimaya Gazeta. 2008. 5 Dec.

<sup>5</sup> See: Nenashev M. Unreading Russia // Rossiyskaya gazeta. 2005. 25 Nov.

confidence as before. The journalists became in the years of perestroika favourites of people, now they enjoy a doubtful reputation.

I think one additional thing should be observed as well. Journalists are the only one professional category who profess the unique corporate ethics of a completely doubtful property. It provides members of the shop with taciturn indulgence for anything, mutual criticism is regarded as unethical. On the pages of newspapers, on the television screens the journalists invariably appear in the roles of judges and accusers, but practically never as the 'defendants'.

The television chiefs and oligarchs are not interested in the consideration of the television work, contents of programmes. These themes are tabooed and never find access to the television screens. Television is actually taken out from the space of public discussions. The television leaders not without the haughtiness reject criticism in their address, although the wave of dissatisfaction rises increasingly. The matter already reached the point that, according to the public opinion poll, 58 per cent Russians speak in favour of the state censorship on television.

Therefore, no matter what television function we take into consideration. Enlightenment, information, entertaining – Russian television does not realize them in any acceptable form. Television, media do not come out in the role which is acutely necessary for new Russia: an institute of informing and enlightening the society, which protects its democratic bases, which is used as its sensitive nerve. On the contrary, they (speech goes mainly about television) become an instrument of spiritual degradation, destruction of national self-consciousness, moral decomposition and cultural savageness that are dangerous for the society. They cultivate bad taste, train the banality. As a result, they work not for the increase, but for the reduction in the social and human capital of the Russian society, of its social energy. This is especially intolerable now, when moral sanitation of the society, rehabilitation of the spiritual-moral component of our life, change in the attitude to labour, to debt, to the family, to the society gain enormous and critical values for the fates of Russia.

A question arises: is it possible to change the created situation, and in what way? It is clear that a constructive solution of the problem, 'improvement' of the media is a complicated one. Acting in the society of commodity relations, Russian television, as has already been mentioned, cannot be free from them, from their ethical relativity. In this case characteristic is of the recent the initiative of the British journal *Economist*, by the way, an uncompromising advocate of free market. On its pages and on its site on the Internet a characteristic question is put: 'Does the free market corrupt morality?' and half of the people asked (scientists, journalists, athletes and businesspersons) answered affirmatively.<sup>1</sup> Obviously, the discussion must deal with the measures, which are capable at least partly of neutralizing the influence of commodity relations, mixing them, softening the contradiction between natural television tasks and the market reality.

In any case, it is necessary first to return the media to the society. To return means to place it under the control. Specifically, the control of the society over the media, which is actually now lost, is the main power that can assign them to the correct trajectory of functioning and support it. Based on ethical standards, it will become the guarantee of the necessary balance between the freedom of the media and their responsibility.

One of the forms of a public control and public censorship can be councils on self-regulation of the media (in some developed countries they proved to be effective and in Great Britain their chief is the Queen). It is assumed that the creation of such councils or other similar structures arises from the

support of the media and journalists, they are formed with their participation. The councils without exceptions, and this is *conditio sine qua non*, must consist of the acknowledged authorities with an unblemished reputation. Only in this case will they possess the weight, sufficient so that television workers and journalists would feel obligated to consider their recommendations, knowing that otherwise they will prove to be in a doubtful position or even be exposed to ostracism. Of course in this case the voluntary orientation must be worked out, in which public interests would be personified and provided with an adequate combination of the journalistic freedom and responsibility. With the observance of the named conditions, the councils would be democratic structures and one of the elements of the civil society.

It is extremely important to free television, at least partially, from the complete dependence on advertisement and sponsors, from the dictatorship of the rating. This is possible with the specific financial aid of the state and an introduction of small, easy tax for the use of the television (both the first and the second statements have already been practiced in a number of countries).

Finally, we need the state information policy, which is clearly absent now. In connection with television, the authority satisfied by its political loyalty, is in effect indifferent to other aspects of the television content, to the ethical orientation of television. Meanwhile, no one exempted the state from the responsibility for the moral health of the nation, the irreplaceable component of social and human capital of Russian society, the important prerequisite of its successful political, economic and cultural development.

Speaking about the state information policy, we of course do not mean censorship in any form. It is unacceptable and not capable of bringing the desired result. The discussion deals with the system of purposes, directions, measures, which facilitate the realization of the interests of society, the country in the information sphere.

Certainly, in order to designate correctly these purposes and directions and to make them effective, the state itself must, after being cleaned of the stuck scab of corruption and nepotism, appear before the people as a moral subject, as a moral standard. It must become, for the society, the force that cultivates spirituality and morals and values and cherishes its intellectual potential.

Finally, there is an influential, irreplaceable prerequisite of the change in the present situation on television, as is changing, and quite noticeably, the attitude of Russian spectators towards it. More and more they keep away from the TV 'broth'. The situation has already reached the point that 58 per cent of Russians, according to public inquiry, speak out for the state censorship on television. And it is especially important as young people also agree with it.

It is necessary, however, that this movement should get the public expression, assume one or other form of the public motion with the active involvement of authoritative scientific, scientifically-educational organizations, large groups of intelligentsia.

It appears that this effort will meet support inside the television association, too, where, obviously, there are many people who can find their devotion in the creation of healthy television. It is to them, probably, that we should be grateful for such 'bright spots' as many programmes on 'Kultura' Channel, for various intellectual and enlightening programmes, quality motion pictures (which, for some reason, are showed on the box after midnight), talented journalistic works, which involve the honest, socially significant search.

All said, let us conclude that in the field of the television sanitation, its rapprochement with the interests of the society, there are some points of hard work and pains, and this is not an entirely hopeless matter.

<sup>1</sup> The Economist. 2008. 8 Nov.

## RUSSIAN POLITICAL CULTURE AND UNIVERSAL HUMAN VALUES

1. The generation of the '60s, which I belong to, started their adolescent life in the epoch when Stalinist ideology prevailed, in the time of the acute conflict between political cultures of the USSR and Western countries. On the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union when N. S. Khrushchev crashed Stalin's personality cult he must have failed to realise the power of his 'nuclear' blow to follow in the sphere of political culture.

2. I was lucky to get acquainted with Western countries' political culture quite early in my life, due to two crucial elements that played an important role: firstly, while being a post-graduate student in Stalin's time I had a chance to study secret verbatim records of the Party Congresses in the 1920s–1930s. It was then that I was especially impressed by Kamenev's speech at the Party Conference in 1927, devoted to Stalin's personality cult ready to outburst in the country and to the tragic results it might lead to. Secondly, in 1956 as a member of a group numbering 500 journalists I made a sea voyage round Europe on board 'Pobeda' ('Victory') motor ship and visited 11 countries. I was struck by prominent values of European civilization witnessed in Rome, Paris, Athens, the Hague and Stockholm. It was the last straw that radically altered my views: I came to the conclusion that Russia had to return to the Western type of civilization, to gain its proper place and to make its own contribution to further development of the Western civilization.

3. Since then, as a mole digging out deep tunnels, I have been persistently striving to make the key elements of democratic culture recognized, for example, in 1958 in the course book *Essentials of Marxism and Leninism Theory* (edited by O. V. Kuusinen) I tried to put forward the idea of substituting the concept of 'proletariat dictatorship' with the concept of a 'national state'. Later I included this thesis into the draft programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; also in my report to N. S. Khrushchev I suggested introducing a new institution of President and two-chamber Parliament. Khrushchev approved of this idea; and following his guidelines we started to work out a draft of the new Constitution, but this work ceased after Khrushchev had resigned all his posts.

4. In the time of M. S. Gorbachev's leadership (one year before the Congress of People's Deputies was elected) I published an article in 'Literaturnaya Gazeta' newspaper in which I suggested introducing presidential and parliamentary republic with the following elements: an elected president, vice-president, 2-chamber parliament, Constitutional Court and Jury Court. I dared to discuss the last element in the 'Communist' journal in 1957. However, M. S. Gorbachev adopted A. I. Lukianov's proposal on restoring two-level 'semi-parliament' (similar to the Parliament in 1924). After M. S. Gorbachev had resigned, the Constitutional Panel of the

Russian Federation initiated by B. N. Yeltsin, approved of the model of the presidential republic and the introduction of Jury Court.

5. In 1998 in the article 'Do we need a new Constitution?' that I managed to publish in 'Vechernaya Moskva' newspaper only I put forward a proposition to restrict President's authority, to stop his abusing administrative law, his arbitrary distributing of state property gratuitously to his supporters.

6. In spite of being in the opposition, I decided to participate in the Constitutional Panel sessions, during which I persisted in my points stated above. I raised my voice to oppose a noticeable misbalance in the supreme authorities in favour of President and to the detriment of the Parliament; an obvious withdrawing of the third, i.e. legislative power that had remained unchanged since Stalin's and Khrushchev's epoch. The Jury Court began functioning only after V. V. Putin had become President, but it still operates with caution.

(I have to give a remark here that my intrusions into the sphere of supreme authorities did not pass unnoticeable for me: three times I was dismissed and relieved of my offices, first, by the Politburo, then by B. Yeltsin and his circle. Although before he had passed away, B. N. Yeltsin admitted his historical mistake, saying that he had expected the transition period to market economy to be two or three years, while it would really take 20, or even 30–40 years. I myself together with other experts had kept emphasizing this fact, and it was the reason for us to join the opposition).

I recollect these facts not to show my courage (or naïvety), but to point out that up to now analysis and criticism of contemporary supreme authorities institutions, their activities, functions and operations have remained a restricted area (or almost restricted).

7. Due to obvious reasons, contemporary political culture and activities analysis appears to be the most complicated, it especially concerns the epoch after B. N. Yeltsin resignation. Undoubtedly there are positive achievements: 'bacchanalia' of state property gratuitous distribution had ceased; a certain political system stability and, to a large extent, economy stability can be detected; procedures of electing supreme and local authorities are shown to be observed; the budget has grown more stable, etc.

However, the current world crisis showed wavering character of market economy, as well as low efficiency and corruption of government machinery.

I'd like to point out some challenges to solve:

1. Creating the programme to make economy stable with respect to prognosticated (to a certain extent) changes in the course of the world economic crisis.

2. Altering the banking system and its obligations to the State and society by complying these obligations with requests of depositors, bankers and the State rather than by delegating them from one banking group to another.

3. Using all possible governmental levers to crusade against corruption and attempts to make an unjust profit on current problems and difficulties.

4. Using big business capital as an efficient source to help the State and society overcome the crisis.

5. Reducing taxes on low wages and small property and significant increasing graduated tax on big business capital, as adopted in all Western countries.

6. Maximal intensifying measures to prevent bribery and corruption in the governmental machinery; crisis is a principal

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Mr. Burlatsky worked as a reviewer for the newspaper "Pravda," a political reviewer, later editor-in-chief of "Literaturnaya Gazeta." He is a founder of the International Committee on Human Rights known to have helped release more than 400 prisoners of so called religious beliefs. He was elected to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and headed law-making on religious freedom, freedom to leave and enter the USSR. Mr. Burlatsky taught at Moscow State University, Moscow State Institute of International Relations, Harvard University, Heidelberg University, Oxford University and other foreign universities.

check of probity and honesty for businesses and officials in the governmental machinery.

7. Broadening the extent of social work at thoroughly selected sites, like in the times of the Great Depression in the USA in 1930s.

8. Abolishing the present situation on TV when idiots, rouges, clowns and pornography makers dominate;

reasonable explaining crisis challenges by the authorities, experts and common people; informing depositors about bank situation with their personal accounts; introducing the public control.

*In hard times the authorities have to be crystal honest with people, warn them against pitfalls and totally guarantee them governmental support and aid.*

**A. E. Busygin<sup>1</sup>**

### **'CULTURAL GAPS' IN THE MODERN RUSSIAN SOCIETY: THEIR SOURCES AND WAYS OF NARROWING**

In the works of Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov several ideas can be traced: an idea that the dialogue of cultures is also a dialogue between different temporal layers of culture; an idea that the old culture does not always vanish without a trace; an idea that at times it quite intricately germinates into the present day through cultural layers of many years.

All the more, it takes the fundamental national peculiarities of social life a long time to form and preserve and they change very slowly. So do the national traits of character. The Russian individual of the beginning of the 19th century differs in many displays very little from us, the ones who live two hundred years later. It is absolutely fair that in the days of the two hundredth N.V. Gogol's birthday anniversary, which was celebrated this April, it was claimed that the characters of his works, the storylines of his books are amazingly modern. It is really so, though we live in a completely different world. The matter is not that the classical works of Gogol are eternal because he brilliantly described the human bondage and passions which remain unchanged through the centuries. No, he wrote about the national displays of these passions, and not only of passions but also of little foibles, of vices and of many other things – Russian and Ukrainian – the national ones.

During the Soviet period Gogol's Selected Extracts from Correspondence with Friends were consigned to oblivion; Gogol's polemics with V.G. Belinsky, which followed the publication of this work, was also forgotten. Meanwhile, the controversy between them reflects the deep contradictions in the world outlook which objectively exist even in the modern Russian society: Belinsky suggested improving the society. Gogol meant to improve each 'unit' of the society. Gogol wrote about the people who 'have completely gone off the beam': 'they believe that transformations and reforms can improve this world,' he continued, but 'the welfare of the society will not make either the unrest or hot-heads better. The inner ferment can not be improved by any constitutions... The society is formed by itself, the society is composed of units. It is necessary for every unit to do what they are supposed to do.'

This polemics took place in the society where there were two poles apart. One of the poles was represented by the thin stratum of people who were the bearers of the highest culture. The other was composed of the multimillion dull illiterate mass of serfs and poor city dwellers, literate but oppressed minor officials, merchants and landowners living according to

tyrannical customs; all of these being so vividly portrayed in *The Dead Souls* by Gogol. The literate people constituted no more than 5 per cent of the population in the middle of the 19th century.

The heated discussions of the ways of the development of Russia were caused by the existence of these two poles, of those 'cultural gaps' which were to be exterminated. In the Western world the abyss between similar poles was not so manifest as early as in the 19th century. In Russia it was terrible. The Russian reality with this abyss gave rise to the arguments between the Slavophiles and the Westerners. Both of those urged for a change but the ways suggested by them were different. The heat of the intellectual and ideological struggle was extremely high. The Russian Orthodox church called for moral life; the great anathematized Leo Tolstoy called for moral self-improvement. It was to take the axe that Herzen called Russia, and to Orthodoxy was it led by Gogol. Meanwhile, the struggle of intellects caused the explosions committed by terrorists-bombers, with the year of 1905, 'Stolypin's neckties', February and October of 1917 following the explosions.

At the beginning of the 20th century writer Panteylemon Romanov was very popular. In 1916 he wrote a short story titled 'The Russian Soul'. The plot of the story is as follows: a certain professor of Moscow University went to a village to see his brothers who had lived there all their lives. The drowsy life of the brothers and of the whole village struck him. And when before the departure the professor is taken by one of the village brothers to a barrow to admire the sunset, he starts speaking about the fact that the village brothers do not have even 'a slightest desire to improve their life, to find its different forms'. And when one looks at the muzhiks who are all illiterate and wild, who are on fire every year and who live in dirt – the professor continued, – 'when one looks at it one feels that every corner of our endless land urges for one thing: for the radical turn, for light, for discipline, for culture. His village brother nodded to every word of his but on hearing the last word he screwed his face. And then a dialogue followed:

'You really have a bee in your bonnet about it...'

'About what?'

'About this culture.'

'And what do you think we need?'

'Soul is what we need.'

Really, this is it, the Russian national idiocy of country life. There is no culture, just the basic level of literacy. It results in the denial of knowledge, in sluggishness, in awful self-assurance, in the denial of everything that is beyond the scope of everyday routine and interests. And when millions of such self-assured but narrow-minded people start to see themselves as masters of life, tragedies take place. Soul is also forgotten by them.

Our country's revolutionary democrats with Bolsheviks-Leninists following them blamed first of all the social and

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Author of the book: "Regions of Russia: Socio-Economic Data, 2004" and many publications on preservation of the cultural heritage of Russia.



economic living conditions of people for the absence of culture. But not only these conditions were blamed. It is important to emphasize the words 'first of all'. V. Belinsky wrote: 'Wait a little, and we will have cast-iron roads and, probably, air mail, our factories and manufactures will achieve perfection; the people's wealth will grow but the question is whether we will have the religious feeling and whether we will have morality. We will be carpenters, metalworkers, or manufacturers but whether we will be human beings – this is the question!' Let us remember the quotation of K. Marx who has been rarely referred to recently: 'You can become a communist only when you enrich your memory with the knowledge of all the wealth that has been worked out by the mankind.'

The Soviet period is characterized by the attempts to equalize the Russian society at last, to eliminate its 'cultural gaps', to put an end to the lack of culture among millions of people. But the initial conditions in which the change started were unfavourable for solving such a global problem in a short period of time. And the majority of people who were at the helm of the change were far from being the communists described by K. Marx in the quotation above. We should admit that a lot was done to eliminate lack of culture during the historically short Soviet period. But a lot of things remained unchanged. And as far as some things are concerned there took place a rollback. That is why the picture of the Soviet past is so discrepant: in his *Damned Days* Bunin wrote about the final downfall of Russia and it was he who witnessed the victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War. At the same time in the 30s there coexisted the 'Great Purge' and the expedition of the Krassin icebreaker aimed at rescuing Nobel's expedition, GULAG and the advanced science. 1937 was the year of the peak of political repressions and at the same time it was the year of creation of the renowned ensemble of Igor Moisseiev.

The Post-Soviet period of the development of Russia is also contradictory. Anyone can give quite a number of examples. At that, these contradictions being caused by the current circumstances at the same time have the ancestral features of those opposites which have long existed in the Russian society; and these contradictions originate from the difference of potentials between the pole of high culture of one part of the society and the pole of lack of culture of the other part. And then again there are debates over the historical ways of the development of Russia, contemporary Westerners and contemporary Slavophiles adduce their arguments in the modern historical period.

During the early Post-Soviet years the general spirit of society pushed for the blind imitation of Western experience. However it soon became clear that the imitation of somebody else's can not possibly solve the problems hastily.

The recent introduction of a new concept 'the sovereign democracy' is conceivably supposed to merge the unique identity of Russia, the peculiarities of the historical way it has gone through with democratic values stored in the Western world. But one thing is to join the Russian unique identity and the Western values in a concept and a different thing is to apply it to practice. The latter is much more difficult. This merge is going on rather inconsistently.

During the period of liking for Western democratic models there appeared a great number of works concerning the 'real federalism' and this federalism started to be implemented both in political and economic spheres. The modern Westerners, the followers of the Westerners of the century before last triumphed over the Slavophiles. But the new, borrowed not even from Europe but from America political culture being transplanted onto the Russian ground had difficulty striking root. It was impossible to expect a different outcome. The USA appeared as a union of previously independent states, but in Russia a significant amount of sovereignty

was gained by parts of the previously united state where absolutely different political culture had been formed for centuries. At once these contradictions made themselves felt, and the pendulum swung to the other side. Today the ruling political party is called 'United Russia'. The centre of political power has been strengthened by way of creation of the institution of President's plenipotentiaries in the federal districts. The election of governors, heads and Presidents has been supplanted, as a matter of fact, by the appointment of them. Gradually the traditional political culture has started to gain the upper hand. The interaction between the traditional Russian and the new Western culture is highly likely to result in the appearance of a new political culture on our country's ground, but this has not taken place so far.

The case is even more difficult with economic and budgetary federalism. In the political sphere it was decided to honour the tradition, but in the economic sphere it was carried through by implementing the western models of the strict division of authority between the federal centre and the subjects of the federation. This not only contradicts the Russian traditions but also causes immense difficulties to the development of vast territories. The subventions and subsidies allocated to the regions by the federal centre to some extent make the situation better but they can not serve as a solution to the issue of equalizing the levels of their social and economic development. And these levels differ greatly. For the role of the centre to become more significant when it comes to deciding the social issues the so-called 'national projects' were introduced and realized in the subjects of the federation. In the context of these projects the public health services and the educational system started to get funds from the centre bypassing and contrary to the applicable legislation, which divided the authority and the areas of responsibility and which forbade the centre from financing the establishments under the regional jurisdiction. But culture was left beyond the scope of these projects. There was left that most significant sphere of social life which is a 'civilization-generating' one. The fundamental sphere which forms the unique 'face' of the society. There was left the space where the creative impulses for the development of all fields of life appear. It cannot be said that it had a disastrous effect – the potential of Russian culture is high enough for it to survive. But at the same time it cannot be considered a normal phenomenon. First of all this is because under such circumstances the advanced achievements of the world and our country's culture will still remain unavailable for millions of people. Moreover, there is a threat that the contradiction between the poles of culture and lack of culture in our society will intensify.

Let us turn to the facts. Russia, unfortunately, still remains one of the European countries which are the least provided with the services of culture. For instance, only one fifth of Russian towns have their theatres; half of the country's urban population, let alone the rural population, are deprived of the opportunity to visit theatres regularly. To compare, in Russia at a rate of one million residents there are only 3.2 theatres working, with this figure being 24 in Austria, 13.6 in Sweden, 9.6 in France, 8.9 in Great Britain, 5.9 in Italy and 8.7 in Japan. Per one million residents in Russia there are 10 museums, whereas in Germany there are 32, in the Czech Republic there are 33 museums, in Sweden there are 34 and in the Netherlands there are 35. Even in Moscow per one million residents there are only 8 museums while in Rome there are 36, in Paris there are 39 and in London there are 41.

Here we should take into consideration the geographical peculiarities of Russia. If in a little township of any European country there is no theatre its resident can easily get to a play in a neighbouring town. A Russian resident living in a town where there is no theatre is virtually deprived of the opportunity to enjoy the theatrical art.

Unfortunately, the number of libraries available to the public in Russia has considerably reduced as compared to the late '80s of the previous century. The renewal of library stock in one third of Russian regions is five times worse than the world standard. In such regions the state of affairs is unlikely to be compensated for, at any rate today, by the development of the Internet. This problem has particular effect on the young generation. Today even in big cities about half of children not even once visit musical concerts, art museums, exhibitions during a year; only every fifth child visits theatres. In small towns two thirds of schoolchildren see neither plays nor exhibitions nor concerts. As for our country's television its negative effect on young people has not been spoken of only by the lazy.

To improve the situation it is unnecessary to claim culture to be one more national project. The state can realize only a limited number of such projects during a certain period of time. When it is a matter of choice – whether to build a theatre

or a hospital in a town – the authorities are likely to plump for building a medical establishment. And they will be right in every concrete case when it is a question of spending of limited resources. But on the national scale there should exist some balance of the expenses on schools, hospitals, roads and cultural establishments. In this sphere we should be very careful in erecting 'walls' between the authorities of the federation, its subjects and municipalities, connected with the development of cultural establishment. Following only Western patterns of the structure of power and of social relations the Russian society will not solve its urgent problems.

We will be able to get rid of inveterate 'birthmarks' of our Russian civilization only when all people living in cities and villages have the chance to familiarize with the best works of our country's and world culture; living with these 'birthmarks' we retain the 'cultural gaps' in the modern Russian society. Then we will probably differ in a good light from Gogol's characters.

**O. A. Buzina<sup>1</sup>**

## THE UKRAINE: A TRIANGLE OF CROSS-CIVILIZATIONAL CONFRONTATIONS

The subject of our scholarly conference is the dialogue of cultures and partnership of civilizations. I, however, would like to draw attention to one aspect of the dialogue which is often overlooked when we speak about culture. Not only can this dialogue be conducted on raised tones, but accompanied by sabre rattling and exchange of threats and battle cries.

The word 'culture' generally brings to mind a university, a professor with a Chekhovian beard, a writer squiggling letters with a goose pen, or a stage director rehearsing a new play. But that is the very top of the cultural development. Inside this pyramid, passions are boiling, crimes are committed, and real, not mock blood is shed.

Before somebody decides to take up writing, he might probably have been a doctor enlisted in the army who cheated death when sentenced to be shot, as in the case with the Kievan writer Mikhail Bulgakov. Another example is the famous film director who served in Petlyura's army. This fact of Alexander Dovzhenko's biography was silenced in the Soviet period. Incidentally, if those two cultural workers (both were born in the Ukraine) were to have met on the battlefield, they would have had to kill one another as belonging to opposing political camps crossing swords.

In this respect, the Ukraine is a unique country. Its identity does not lie in the political myths, which are being steadily ingrained into mass consciousness by the contemporary Kievan authorities, about the Ukrainians being descendants of the Tripoli civilization, or about Kievan Russ being exclusively 'Old Ukrainian state.' After all, it is just a belated hundred-year-old local version of a pan-European nationalist myth made in opposition to the great imperial myths of Austria, Germany, and Russia.

The uniqueness of the Ukraine manifests itself through something quite different. The country emerged on the crossroads of three civilizations – Russian Orthodox, West-European Catholic, and Oriental Muslim. Military reporters and cultural workers have been reaping masterpieces from

these cross-cultural battles, and thus they have contributed to the world culture. 'Tarass Bulba' by Nikolai Gogol published in St. Petersburg in 1835 and the novel 'With Fire and Sword' by the Polish writer Henryk Sienkiewicz which first came out in Warsaw in the newspaper 'Słowo' ['Word'] in 1882, are just cultural imprints of that confrontation. Curiously enough, recently screened versions of these novels have incited ideological conflict in the Ukraine again. The pro-Russian camp of Ukrainian critics views the film by the Polish director Jerzy Hoffman as Western propaganda. On the contrary, Vladimir Bortko's 'Tarass Bulba' is labelled as a Russian propagandist trash.

The Ukrainians having failed to create their own monumental cinema (the example of this flop is *Mazepa* by Yuri Ilyenko), churned out quite a sailable TV series, *Roksolana*, with an Oriental underpinning about a Ukrainian girl who was taken prisoner and made a Turkish sultana. This series about a sexual intercourse of the Orthodox and Muslim civilizations was simultaneously purchased by both Russia and Turkey.

Should you open modern Ukrainian textbooks published after 1991, you will come across a lot of remarkably telling stories in them. For instance, about a country with a backdated name of Kievan Russ. About a 'state' called the Ukraine which allegedly lost its independence after the *Pereyaslav Rada*. And about the Russian tsar Alexander II who supposedly banned the 'Ukrainian tongue.'

You, however, will never find a clear answer to the question when and why the Ukraine came into existence. But it is high time the question was posed. The country does exist and its background is still obscure. It has but an assumed identity like an undercover agent.

Let us start with an old myth stating that the Ukraine is the only heir of Kievan Russ. Professional historians know that the term Kievan Russ is absolutely bookish. It is as relative as Byzantium. It was introduced in the 19th century by Nikolai Karamzin. As the contemporary historian Alexei Tolochko puts it, 'The state with the name of Kievan Russ never existed in reality. Contemporaries called the country in which they lived "Russian land" or just "Russ".'

I am also prone to think there is more logic in calling this medieval state, which fell apart in the 13th century, the way it called itself. It proves to be more appropriate from the

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Modern Ukrainian writer who writes in two languages – Russian and Ukrainian. He worked for various Kiev periodicals: the newspaper "Kievskiy Vedomosti," "2000," journals "Drug Chitatelya," ("The Reader's Friend"), "Lider" ("The Leader"), "Natali," "Ego," "XXL." He is a columnist and keeps his own blog in the newspaper "Segodnya" ("Today"); presents the TV program "Teen-Liga" ("Teen-League") on the channel "Inter" (Kiev).

Author of many books, newspaper and journal articles among them "Taras Shevchenko, the Vampire" and "The Secret Ukrainian-Russian History".

standpoint of science and common sense. More so, because its origins can be found not in Kiev but near the place where the conference is taking place, near the Ladoga Lake. The first echelons of 'Russ', Swedish Vikings landed here. They were called 'ruotsi' by the local Finnish population.

Now, let us take a look at the map of the modern Ukraine and superimpose it over the map of Old Russia in the period of its fullest blossom. The area where they overlap is quite narrow! Most of Old Russia appears to be part of present-day Russia and Byelorussia, while most of Ukrainian land lies not on the territory of Russia but in the realm of the Polovtsi, the Wild field. The Prince of Novgorod-Seversky from the epic poem *The Lay of the Host of Igor* used to make incursions on the nomads populating that 'unknown steppe.'

As is known, the prince mismanaged his military campaign and in despair wedded his son to a daughter of Khan Konchak, his captor. Therefore, Igor's grandchildren were half-Asian. The Polovtsi are typically Mongoloid. Suffice to look at their tombstones in the museum. And some Old Russian cities became abandoned after the Polovtsian invasion. Slavic population fled to the North while nomadic people from the steppe started to populate their territory. It is very useful to turn to the chronicles. Or at least one should re-read *The-Russian-Primary-Chronicle* dating back to 1159 to refresh memory. The story goes that the Prince of Kiev, Izyaslav, and the prince of Chernigov, Svyatoslav, had a talk. Izyaslav reproached his counterpart of being greedy, while the latter replied that he was a humble man and would be content to get into his possession only seven other cities, which were abandoned anyway. He put it like this, 'No other but huntsmen and Polovtsi live in them.'

He might be exaggerating, being a little too dramatic, which is a typical Russian trait. But it follows from his words that the Polovtsi were moving rapidly and settling along the Russian borders. They had to get along with the huntsmen of princes. They would learn a local Slavic dialect and start gradually to convert into Christianity. It is to them that pretty Ukrainian girls owe their hazel eyes and black eyebrows on pristine white faces, the features that some time later would be praised in songs.

Typical fair-haired Caucasians among the population of Old Russia outnumbered those among modern Ukrainians. Nowadays, there is a joke referring to Tatars who are to blame for having fun. Actually, they are not the only ones to be responsible for the mix. The Mongolian steppe people had mingled with the Ukrainians long before the Mongol-Tatar invasion. One can state with certainty that most modern Ukrainians are of Slavic and Turkic descent.

Even *kobza*, a musical instrument considered to be a Ukrainian one, is of a Polovtsian origin. Its Turkic name was 'kobyz.' Dozens of its prototypes are still found in the graves of Nomadic burial places of pre-Mongolian age in the South of the Ukraine. The Polovtsi strummed them 500 years prior to *kobza* players.

In the West, beginning with the time of Kievan princes, Russia was attacked by Roman Catholic Europe. Eventually, it led to the emergence of a special Greek Catholic region in the modern Ukraine – Galichia – with the Orthodox rites and the Roman Catholic doctrine. This area occupies present-day Lvov, 'a cradle of nationalism' and 'the Ukrainian Piedmont.' In the 16th century, it was still the last refuge of Orthodoxy in the West of Russia and the stronghold of the Russian spirit. In 1596 after the adoption of the Brest Union, when Orthodox bishops betrayed their faith and turned to the Pope, Lvov and Peremyshl eparchies were the only ones who adhered to the Orthodox Church.

Russian inhabitants of Lvov became Greek Catholic only at the end of the 17th century, after Bohdan Khmelnytsky's period, when Isyof Shumliansky, a former Polish cavalryman,

who was promoted to the top of the clerical ladder, secretly converted to the Uniat Church at the will of the Polish authorities.

It was not until after World War I that most of Galich population realized they belonged to the Ukraine. The local people were called Russians, the way they used to call themselves in the times of Old Russia, and thought to be a part of the Russian nation, if drawn apart. Ivan Franko was among those who called himself a son of a Russian and now he is considered to be a classic of the Ukrainian literature. In 1904, he wrote the entry for the Brockhaus–Efron Encyclopaedic Dictionary on 'Literature of Southern Russia' which is now known as the Ukrainian literature. In spite of the fact that Franko lived in Lvov, he knew the Russian language as well as many educated people of the city did. He liked it to write in Russian. And he received a considerable fee, too. Addressing in one of his letters Professor Vengerov who worked for the Brockhaus and Efron publishers, he asked if he could write something else in Russian for St. Petersburg publications.

With the purpose of depriving Galichian population of their historical memory, the Austro-Hungarian government, which got the province after the *Rzeczpospolita Polska* (Republic of Poland) had been divided again, started to act in a special way. Austrians put it bluntly to Russians that they either have to declare themselves a separate nation or to be ready for troubles. What troubles meant became clear with the beginning of World War I. Those residents of Galich who claimed themselves Russians were sent to the concentration camp Talerhof to be corrected as the government of Franz Joseph I of Austria put it. Nevertheless, many people of Galich remained loyal to Moscow and several issues of 'Talerhof Almanac' were published in Lvov in the period between World War I and World War II. They contained reminiscences of prisoners of Talerhof, the concentration camp which had appeared long before Majdanek and Sachsenhausen.

Austrians made attempts to straighten up those who were born in the part of the Ukraine which belonged to the Russian Empire and served in the Tsar's army before their captivity. But the process of 'Ukrainization' of Southern Russians was not an easy one. Max Ronge, head of the Austrian intelligence service, had to confess in his memoirs: 'There were such Russian Ukrainians who wished to be freed and favoured joining to central powers; but they were few and their influence on the majority was rather insignificant. They never succeeded in their propaganda among Ukrainian prisoners. The latter were interested in socialist ideals rather than nationalist ones.'

It was only the Soviet power that succeeded in indoctrinating national ideals in the Ukrainians. The Soviet government annexed industrial Donbass, Novorossiia and the Crimea including them into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and pursued the firm policy of Ukrainization in the 1920s. The opinion of those wishing to be part of the Russian people was ignored. Moreover, there was a threat for them to be repressed as the concept of triunity of Russians was the basis of the ideology of the White Guard defeated in the Civil War.

The word 'Ukraine' itself reflects a changing nature of the country – a spirit of some border state, bilinguism, dual belief and multiple views, on which the diplomacy of official Kiev was based in the time of the former President Leonid Kuchma. However, it was the dual nature and outlying that officious Kiev kept denying.

Let's take Kuchma, for instance. How much effort he made to prove that 'the Ukraine was not Russia.' He went as far as publishing a book claiming authorship. He himself could hardly put two words together in the Ukrainian language at that.

What Leonid Kuchma especially disliked is the etymology of the word 'Ukraine' which means 'outskirts.' He was willing to live in the centre. No wonder he was eager to act on a cosmic scale – in fact, he had been a top manager of a rocket-building plant. Should he have been transferred to Moscow in the Soviet times, there would have been another USSR's privileged pensioner, but no President of the Ukraine.

However, West European travellers kept calling the Ukraine a country at the frontier. 'The country is called frontier,' ambassador of Venice Alberto Vimina wrote to Bohdan Khmelnytsky. 'The country where Cossacks reside is called the Ukraine which means outskirts,' wrote his French contemporary Pier Chevalier, the author of *History of the War between Cossacks and Poland*. Voltaire in his *Histoire de Charles XII, roi de Suède* [History of Charles XII, King of Sweden, 1731] depicted somewhat grotesquely but truly the territory of the country and its political system: 'This is the land of Zaporozhye Cossacks, the most weird nation in the world. They are a gang of Russians, Polish, and Tatar who worship some Christianity being highwaymen at that...'

The Ukraine could have remained an obscure thing from the historical point of view as in the case of Serbian Krajina but for the victorious wars of Catherine II who put an end to the Crimean Khanate and the Polish Kingdom. The Crimean Khanate, as is known, spread beyond the peninsula territory. It also occupied vast steppes of the present Odessa, Kherson, Nikolayevsk, Donetsk regions and half of Kharkov region! Whether one likes it or not, we have to admit that mother of the present Ukraine was the Russian Empire cursed by Kiev today. It was ripening in Russia's swollen steppe belly in the 18th–19th centuries to spring out like moustached Petlyura with a bayonet on the famous stove described by M. Bulgakov in his *The White Guard*.

Travelling in the Crimea today and looking at minarets rising in Tatar villages, I take them for the signs of the Muslim South. Entering the Greek Catholic cathedral of St. Jura in Lvov, you feel the hand of the West stretching over the

Ukraine. And only when you go through the gates of the Kiev-Pecherskaya Laura you come back to Holy Russia.

These three vectors have been determining the present and the future of the Ukraine and its culture – the country where three civilizations confront.

Only on the top of the civilizations their peaceful interpenetration is possible. The Russian philosopher and diplomat Konstantin Leontief viewed Turks as nice and pleasant people due to the fact that he contacted them on the upper layers of the system. He dealt with the educated cultured men of Turkey – not desperado but diplomats like him.

In the Ukrainian folk tradition, the epitome of 'cultural contact' is the tale of Baida the Cossack, hanged by the hook in Istanbul for his refusal to defy Christianity. This kind of contact led to a bloody tragedy instead of an intellectual discussion.

Russian Emperor Alexander I as well as his brother, Crown Prince Constantine, could be admirers of Poland because the former had a friend from his young days, Prince Adam Czartoryski, and the latter married a Polish mademoiselle. The consequence of this pro-Polish policy of the august brothers who granted Poland a constitution while the rest of Russia had none, was the insurrection in Warsaw. It befell to the Ukrainian field-marshal, Ivan Paskevich, to suppress it. His vision of the Poles was not of beautiful women or good friends but of enemies in the Napoleonic wars, of people he had to cross swords with in his youth almost during ten years.

The peculiarity of the Ukraine (I'm reluctant to pronounce this hackneyed word 'tragedy') lies in the fact that civilizations meet on the basic level here, and mainly soldiers, Haidamaks (rebel fighters), Cossacks and other valiant people living at any frontier take part in the process. No wonder that inspired by this 'enchanted place', as Nikolai Gogol called it, writers fill their works with vampires, witches and the rising dead. The battlefield of three civilizations is only able to produce such characters – grotesque and audacious, matching the enemy's image.

**Polad Bülbüloğlu<sup>1</sup>**

## **AZERBAIJAN AT THE CROSSROADS OF THE DIALOGUE OF CULTURES AND CIVILIZATIONS**

Dear ladies and gentlemen, dear friends!

The name and heritage of our great contemporary Dmitry Likhachov who was bearer of the highest spiritually radiant ideas have again gathered us together.

While preparing for this meeting I kind of returned in my mind to the time a year ago, I tried once again to become aware what significant, essential events occurred during this time? And how our life experience for this time epoch correlates with the criteria of this Humanitarian held in high esteem in the whole world?

It is quite evident that, by event richness, this past year was full and uneven. Natural elements remained still a threat for mankind bringing along pain, suffering, famine and devastation. All kinds of militarist sabre-rattling went on, wars that lasted for decades were still not stopped. Moreover, during

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Member of the Humanitarian Council of the CIS, permanent representative of Azerbaijan and member of the International Foundation on the Humanitarian Cooperation of the CIS. Member of the International Academy "Europe-Asia" and of the National Creative Academy of the Republic of Azerbaijan, professor emeritus of Azerbaijan University of Arts and Culture.

this past year, new types of confrontation were advanced including those within the frame of the post-Soviet area. This led, in particular, to a new sharp exacerbation of relations in our Caucasian region that had already been quite difficult. And the wars themselves, having changed their profile, became deformed into economic, informational, cybernetic, virtual those, and God knows what else.

Nevertheless one cannot ignore that, against the background of enforced tendencies towards confrontation and even regardless of them, a greater understanding appeared in respect to historical predetermination of living together and, consequently, to summing up the world potential for common creation. It seems that now, after entering hopeful terminology in the world policy, the character itself of its practice will change. Having started the 'reloading' in international relations, the world political practice kind of altered the matrix of its strategies, acquired a more trusting tone. The former, forceful code of controlling the World yielded its place to a code of sense and historical reasonableness. And you must agree that even this is not too minor an achievement.

And still, among the multitude of today's problems, the global economic crisis has become the main point owing to its irreversible hardness. Its effect upon the worldwide processes

can be compared with a devastating earthquake or some global tsunami. The echo of the crisis that has plunged economy to a hard shock even in the most developed countries was quite sobering. It demonstrated that today any prosperity or welfare could not happen in just some countries. The crisis has convinced the world leaders that the mankind future involves joint development, and this has been confirmed at the recent meeting of the big 'Twenty' in London.

To my mind, in our further prognostication of the intercultural dialogue character, we will also have to proceed from this ambiguous reality.

But can we, while proceeding from this past year lived in an enforced regimen, state that today's global changes will be useful for the World culture? Will they become an impulse for accelerating the process of culture rapprochement, finding new non-standard ways of the dialogue reinforcement?

It is not easy to answer this question in an unambiguous way. Actually, from the positions of nowadays extremely urgent cultural self-identification of peoples, the results of our common efforts look sometimes like two-faced Janus. Probably, that is why the World, burst open with a lot of contradictions as it is anyway, has roughly been divided into the 'globalists' and 'antiglobalists'.

On one hand, it seems obvious that along with the globalization processes, some unification occurs, a systemic standardization of cultural component. Today, the total cultural potential of countries comprises, apart from peoples' intellectual and spiritual capital, such commonly significant humanitarian parameters as the level of life, rights and freedoms of citizens, their educational qualification, awareness, the socio openness, the range of cultural demands of population's different strata. Many peoples following their country's intellectual elite reveal their apprehension that the accelerated tempo of globalization will devour the last remaining and anyway weakly stimulated echo of originality and unique nature of their spiritual culture and its main bearer: the native language. Quite reasonably they do not want to be an object of such a levelling, and perceive the globalization as an asphalt road-roller that tramples down the fertile layer of living earth.

But, on the other hand, the globalization is actively being accompanied by strong migration flows, inflow of new labour force to super-states' economy from other world areas. Because of that, by its main premise, it is kind of summoned to weaken the scale of obvious xenophobia, to bring about in people national and confessional tolerance, to create or at least to try to create premises for equal possibilities for each and everyone. But this positive aspect still remains in the shadow of frightening pictures of the total and dull 'egalitarianism', competition in the sphere of employment and share of the social welfare.

Dear friends! Today, as well as yesterday, pundits try to find a universal justification of the idea: 'the dialogue of cultures' and of the opposite expression 'clash of civilizations'. And while no consensus in this problem has yet been found, it is quite natural that all of us we have our own judgement with a lot of nuances. For instance, I am at a loss perceiving the global dialogue of civilizations as some philosophical substance. For me this is a live quite tangible and clearly felt phenomenon. And the sense comprised by this term implies everyday conscious move of individuals, whole peoples and communities towards each other, their interpenetrating communication.

The etymology of the word 'dialogue' comprises the fact of communication as a minimum 'for two'. And everywhere with two or more persons present, the oncoming and mutually interesting exchange with cultural information gradually occurs.

And not in the prestigious forums alone, not only in officious meetings at all levels but in every private meeting, at

every friendly handshaking or creative exchange with opinion, the atmosphere is being created where there is always a place for a dialogue of cultures. As well as the hope to be heard, understood, accepted.

Ideally it is considered that the globalization in the culture segment does not necessarily mean a triumph of one national culture over another. On the contrary, it is summoned to create conditions for every local culture finding its own niche in the multicultural world, it must lead to multitude of choice from among the proposed ways of development. It has the unified scale of humanitarian values and ideals, the equal assessing criteria. And from the very beginning it excludes any cultural supremacy or expansion.

I, too, remain a convinced adherent of the idea of cultural wealth of each subculture, without dividing them into major and minor, near and far, related and alien. But under the condition of mandatory preservation of commonness of the cultural aura within the Eurasian area, within the context of the integrated outline of the world culture. Nowadays as never before it has become quite evident that ethnic cultures, even the most powerful of them and those established as a civilization stratum, cannot develop in isolation from the external world.

It seems to me, at that, that it is rational to regard the cultural dialogue problems within the context of the whole complex of geopolitical, economic, social realities: with due consideration of the wide range of national priorities, the international, inter-confessional relations and other interests.

I would like to cite Tyler Cowen, author of the book *Creative Devastation: How Globalisation Changes the World Cultures*.

He thinks that the future of cultures comes with their mandatory joint development. And those cultures that try to become preserved within themselves, to develop separately from the world tendencies will inevitably become obsolete and may disappear altogether. He attracts specific attention to the fact that in the modern world an unprecedented mixing of cultures occurs, and the brightest manifestations of this are kneaded in a thick alloy of the past and present, traditions and innovations, the academic and the ethnic-folklore.

Probably, in such a perception of cultural diversity there is its own rational grain. But how, in fact, does the matter stand with exchange of cultures? Is it always in the modern world that globalization brings some absolute positive to culture? And where is that dividing line beyond which substitution of first-rate culture export for a momentary fashionable ersatz called the 'mass culture' occurs?

Statistics states that in 2002 alone the world culture export amounted up to about \$60 billion. The fresher figures have not yet been officially published, but it is already well known that in the subsequent five years this parameter grew up nearly twice. Let us think of these impressive figures. They turn the spiritual culture product into an object of well-organised world industry, make it a unit of global trade and mass consumption. These comprise millions of the world turnover books, other printed and audio-video produce, works of all kinds of fine art, theatre-show, radio-, tele-, cine- and photoindustry, antiques, etc. And all this, apart from the items so widely accessible in the virtual worldwide web, and various digital carriers.

So large and practically uncontrollable volume of the cultural exchange could be probably compared with independent from humans' turnover of water in the Nature. In such apportionment, to separate grains from tares, the art from surrogate, the essential from husk, rational from irrational is an extremely complicated task, almost impracticable. But then it is significant, ponderable in the missionary way.

Apparently that is why the UNESCO efforts for preservation of the world heritage integrity in its every significant manifestation are so important. The UNESCO humanitarian

policy in respect to protection of real cultural masterpieces that can be considered as the 'certification of the world spirituality' deserves the most serious attitude.

I will try to corroborate this with concrete examples from cultural practice of my country.

Azerbaijan is a cultural crossroad where, during the whole history, ethnology and religions were adjoining, and the sacredness of spiritual ideas lived in harmony. It is this that has predetermined the character of the milieu where the nation, its language, and its cultural component were formed.

Our land was traditionally the exporter of both the energy resources so important for life of man, and also of the numerous spiritual novelties. In the country's cultural practice, the word 'first' is repeated quite justly and over and over again. In fact, the first prosaic work in the whole Muslim East as well as the first professional theatre of Western style, and also the easel painting, academic western musical genres: the opera, ballet, symphony music, were created by us.

Such initial openness to the world, the high enough degree of adaptation to progressive tendencies and innovations enabled Azerbaijan to join confidently the flow of the world civilization processes, to become today a point of rest at the geopolitical and cultural 'East-West' vector.

The adherence to traditions of cultural variety remains the conceptual pivot of the country's new cultural policy. Sensing itself as part of Europe, of the vast Eurasian area, of the Turkic area, and the Caucasus Region, we allocate a special place for the multi-aspect international connections.

And it is far from pure chance that the capital of Azerbaijan, the city of Baku was the first among the CIS countries' capitals to have been chosen as a place for conducting the International

Conference of Ministries of Culture of European countries under the aegis of the EC and European Parliament.

In Baku, too, an International Forum on the subject of 'The role of women in dialogue of cultures and civilizations' was held.

The same urgent theme but from the viewpoint of modern youth was discussed in Baku by participants of the International Youth Forum.

In addition, the Islamic Conference Organization uniting today 57 countries of the Muslim world with the population about 1.2 billion people selected in 2009 the city of Baku as the capital of Islamic culture. This is a high honour for us, a fact of recognition of the specific role of Azerbaijan in the development of the Islamic civilization that is one of the important components of the world's spiritual heritage.

All the above said gives us grounds to state that the practice of Azerbaijan, opened simultaneously to the West and to the East and having access to the best achievements of the world's spiritual heritage, can serve as a model for solving the problem of dialogue of cultures and partnership of civilizations.

Such intercultural dialogue enables peoples to know and perceive each other better. It creates the possibility to assert openly and confidently their own attitudes and, even more so, to cooperate, to create together the architecture of the culture of the future. It is just the culture that keeps traditions, creates new reference points and values. It is owing to the culture that the arms calm down, peace and prosperity come.

We, living now, are but translators of the mankind's spiritual capital addressed to the generations of the future. In accomplishing this high mission, I sincerely wish everybody great successes. Thank you for your attention.

**V. A. Chereshnev<sup>1</sup>,  
V. N. Rastorguyev<sup>2</sup>**

## THE IMAGE OF RUSSIA IN THE MODERN WORLD

Selling off their national cultural values, leaving them as a deposit (the peoples of the western civilization have always considered usury the most loathsome business) is the mortal sin of a nation. A government or a parliament or even a contemporary generation alone cannot be in charge of cultural values, because the latter do not belong to one generation only, they belong to the future generations as well. Just as we have no moral right to plunder natural resources, with a complete disregard of property or the vital interests of our children and grandchildren, in the same way we have no right to dispose of cultural values which should serve the future generations.

*D. S. Likhachov, Kultura kak tselostnaya sreda  
[Culture as an Integral Environment]*

The global crisis has a set of dimensions among which the economic and financial ones are usually mentioned, as they are connected with the main axis of any power – control over

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He wrote over 400 scholarly works, including 28 monographs, 2 books, 2 manuals for university students, 3 guidelines for studying combined radiation lesions, 8 textbooks. 29 of his inventions have been patented.

He heads section of ecological policy at the scientific expert committee under Chairman of the Council of Federations of the Federal Assembly of Russia, being member of this council. He is President of the Russian scientific Society of Immunologists, Chairman of the Urals Society of Immunologists, member of the Council of the Russian Fund of Fundamental Studies. He is decorated with the gold and silver medals of the Russian Academy of Medical Science named for Pashutin, Speransky, Pavlov, Timofeyev-Ressovsky, the gold medal of the Russian Scientific Society of immunologists "For the outstanding contribution to the development of Immunology," the golden medals of P. Erlich and R. Virkhoff of the European Academy of Natural Sciences (Hanover). He is a Laureate of the government award of the Russian Federation in science and technology.

the strategic resources. Social and ecological dimensions of a crisis are not mentioned so often, because social and ecological risks during an epoch of disturbances constantly become apparent through social explosions and a chain of anthropogenic catastrophes. Yet, a civilizational dimension is hardly ever mentioned, and never is a personal one. On the one hand, it is connected with the perception of the causes and the scope of the crisis in the public consciousness, for the vital interests and plans of people are affected. On the other hand, it has to do with the notion of personal responsibility for political de-

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Member of the Scientific Expert Council and of the Coordination Council for the Chairman of the Federation Council, member of the Expert Council of the State Duma of the Russian Federation Committee on natural resources and environmental management.

Author of over 200 scientific publications, among them 20 books ("The Russians Abroad: Past and Present", "The Russian Problem", "Concepts of Regional Cultural Policies: Principles of Methodology" and others).

cisions that may either strengthen or weaken the destructive factors. What lies behind such a differentiated approach that shows some obvious underestimation of the most important factors of the present crisis which reveal its nature and allow treatment not only of the symptoms, but of the causes of the disease as well? Much can be explained by the narrow-pragmatic and purely technocratic character of the modern world politics because of which the time horizon of the strategic planning and forecasting is limited to rash actions.

The reason for a narrow-pragmatic direction of the majority of crisis management palliative programs carried out today is accounted for by the fact that corporate and group interests in the modern world explicitly dominate over all other interests. That is true for both expectations of the world community connected with minimizing the outrageous ecological threats, and peoples' hopes for managing social and ethno-cultural problems. The interests of entire cultures and great civilizations, including the Russian civilization, are not simply being ignored, but sacrificed to the new political doctrines based on the old friend-or-alien principle, dividing human community into 'the civilized countries' that are a part of the 'successful' democratic states elite and into the 'outcasts'. It is not only the latter's right for the remains of sovereignty that is being rejected (the sovereignty reduction is the general tendency of the globalization era), but it is also the inalienable right for the civilizational identity.

An extremely dangerous tendency in the modern geopolitics can be identified; the tendency which was defined in detail in the inter-civilization conflicts theory; the tendency which in the environment of a massive and lingering recession can well transform into a political ideology of inter-cultural and inter-confessional wars. The meeting point of the millennia was marked by an attempt to launch such a kind of non-localizable wars that were somewhat intended to delay the financial and economic crisis. This led to the boosted activities of the transnational terrorist organizations and to the collapse of the world financial system which no longer is responding to the traditional 'treatment'.

The reason for the transformation of the ordinary scientific theory into a dangerous strategy is accounted for by a considerable weakening of the humanitarian culture, based on the national traditions, and, consequently, by the minimizing of the humanistic content matter within the western civilization. That issue was touched upon in detail by D.S. Likhachov, who believed that there are no sharp distinctions between European and Russian civilizations, and such kindred connection will remain as such until destructive changes prevail. The national and general cultural crisis can be characterized as hardly reversible, and it is made worse under the pressure of commercial subcultures supported by the world mass-media. The most powerful among the uncountable destructive factors in the information age are purposeful activities targeted to reduce the humanitarian knowledge in the system of education, and also the 'visual culture' and 'network communications' domination over reading (individual and family) and traditional interpersonal contacts.

The fact that the national interests are being victimized in favour of the group interests remains almost unnoticed against the background of the non-stop references to the global dimensions of the forthcoming catastrophe and the necessity to recognize the priority of global problems over the problems which presumably have a private and purely national character. However, it is the solution of these problems that the competent definition and understanding of the global problems depend on. Similar arguments, justifying the superiority of global issues over the national ones, are taken for granted for the only reason that in the epoch of globalization it is extremely difficult to draw any borderlines between the interests of the financial elite and those of the transnational corporations on

the one hand, and the national interests, on the other. Besides, the national interests even at peaceful, 'crisis-free' times can hardly be given a precise definition: the number of competing and hardly compatible versions of 'national ideas' can hardly be counted, as well as the number of the parties, political trends and doctrines in which these ideas are originated and duplicated in a non-stop mode.

The question why the personal aspect of a global civilization crisis is being ignored, needs a reference to social psychology and, perhaps, the forensic science. A severe crisis is known to be a perfect opportunity to ascribe errors and even obvious crimes (plunder, usage of an administrative power in the mercenary ends and other law-breaking activities) to some external circumstances. The self-justification logic is extremely simple: if the leaders of the developed countries and the most highly paid managers of the world leading companies could not suspend a total and rapid collapse of their own national economies or their largest banks, who can blame their native oligarchs and political managers? In fact, a crisis should highlight personal responsibility and make use of repressive mechanisms since it provokes both criminality and corruption growth at all levels of power. Moreover, a crisis is a season for hunting the weak, whatever social layer or professional group they belong to.

Together with that, the current crisis is sometimes mistaken for the moment of truth: we only observe the first tremors of powerful tectonic shifts in the world frame, but uncountable publications have already appeared on the topic of how the crisis 'has opened the eyes of the people' and has shown 'the essence of things'. It is assumed to display the real correlation of forces in the world, which is not obvious in the quiet times, and is also assumed to show the deeply hidden essence of each person who is involved in the general whirlpool of events and is compelled to live in the epoch of a high-risk society, as our time is being referred to more and more often. Such an interpretation of the crisis is, probably, a little bit justified, but contains much more of self-delusion, and even deceit in it.

It appears that the crisis does not only destroy illusions, but also generates new, sometimes more dangerous, ones. It was the first wave of the current crisis that has already shown the readiness of the expert community to recognize its universal character, and, therefore, to direct the search for the crisis management measures on the development of the unified models of national economies behaviour in the environment of total destabilization. At the same time, there is no responding to the risk that this approach has with reference to the states which are in the obviously unequal position (any crisis is a version of the operated chaos offering advantages to few players), with reference to Russia which falls out of the universal scheme of the expansion of the crisis. For example, by certain parameters it is possible to conclude that the megatrends which have thoroughly destroyed the whole financial empires of the Western world are only a destabilizing factor in the country's financial and political system that is not breaking a critical verge of stability. This phenomenon is usually explained by the efficiency of 'a financial pillow' created during the epoch of 'a petrodollar dope'. At the same time, the other indicators of no less importance present an absolutely different picture, as the mechanisms providing the degree of stability of the new economic and political system are not reduced to a set of the political decisions connected with the creation and distribution of the stabilization fund.

Among the illusions generated by the so-called global financial crisis, it is particularly necessary to emphasize the temporary loss of 'historical memory'. Alongside with the ongoing stresses we have almost failed to notice the system crisis which our country has been going through since the collapse of the USSR and the bipolar world. It would be naïve to think that Russia has completely overcome its consequences.

It would be even more naïve to assume that Russia has got rid of the underlying factors of the historical and even transhistorical character that predetermined the great country's disintegration. But the external destructive influences (the 'economies devastation' worldwide) may take a different shape in Russia's environment. Everything depends on the ability to look at a problem not from a short-sighted perspective, minimizing momentary risks (following the principle 'after us the deluge'), but from a genuinely national perspective, considering the long-term targets hierarchy and the historical context. Thus, the scenario forecasting procedures comprise giving prognoses of both positive and negative consequences of such a shape. The matter is that our many advantages (for example, system resource potential) and those obvious defects which turn the advantages into the risk factors, represent either the phenomena of one kind, or can be regarded as different sides of the same process. Better than many other intellectuals of our time, academician D.S. Likhachov understood the nature of the civilization crisis and the risks for Russia, which we are talking about. In his opinion, 'the present has always been interpreted in Russia as a crisis condition', as 'being typical for Russian history'. Stating the given fact, Likhachov puts a rhetorical question of 'whether there has been an epoch in Russia which would be perceived by its contemporaries as quite safe and stable'. Here again he shows that the simple enumeration of epochs suggests an answer. Which of them was not a crisis: 'the period of princely conflicts or tyranny of the Moscow sovereigns? The epoch of Peter the Great and after his reign? The reign of Ekaterina? The reign of Nikolay I?' The general conclusion from the stated above citation is supported by the references to the outstanding thinkers of the past: 'It is not a coincidence that Russian history was marked

by the anxiety caused by a dissatisfaction at the present, popular assembly excitements and princely conflicts, revolts, uneasy Assemblies of the Land, religious turmoil. Dostoevsky referred to this as 'an eternal process of Russia's creation', and A.I. Herzen highlighted: 'There is nothing in Russia that is complete, fossilized: everything in it is in the state of solution, preparation... Indeed, one can smell finish lime and hear an axe and a saw everywhere'.

For politicians, bankers and economists the current crisis is the main global problem in comparison with which all other issues lose their sense, whether it be a coming ecological collapse or a collapse of languages and peoples, comparable only with the tempo of dying out of wildlife species. But isn't the threat of extinction of the greater part of cultures and languages during a two-three generation lifetime (from 60 per cent to 90 per cent of the languages and dialects) a global problem, underestimation or hushing up of which can be equal to the heaviest all crimes, the crime against the humanity? It is known that each two weeks one language dies out on the planet, which automatically means the death sentence to a nation. But the dimensions of the threat escape notice when it is the crisis that gets all the attention. At this point the doubt creeps in: what if the crisis is the very anaesthetic that allows altering the world political, ethnic and resource map in accordance with corporate interests?

The conclusion is obvious. The tools to the crisis management should be searched for not in filling the gaps in the decayed world financial system (it is just a palliative capable to delay the inevitable pay-off to the nature and the culture), but they should be searched in the joint efforts targeted at the restoration of the long-lost trust among various civilizational worlds, where the Russian civilization has its specific place.

## Leonidas Chrysanthopoulos<sup>1</sup>

### ECONOMICAL AND CULTURAL COOPERATION OF MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE BLACK SEA ECONOMIC COOPERATION

The theme of this Conference "Dialogue of Cultures and Partnership of Civilizations" is of primordial importance since its effective implementation will ensure humanity's existence.

In my intervention I would like to make a reference on how BSEC is affecting in an indirect way the dialogue of cultures and since BSEC is basically an economic organization, I will dwell on the economic aspects of BSEC's contribution.

The Black Sea region, like other regions of the world, has a very long history of coexistence of peoples of different cultures and religions. And it was these peoples who for more than three thousand years have been trading and interacting among each other. So a multicultural business environment pre-existed in the Black Sea region. The area around the Black Sea, due to its geographical location between the eastern and western world and due to the fact that the oldest known

civilizations developed there, embedded trading in the psyche of the people of this area, thus facilitating doing business in the region today. By promoting economic cooperation among its Member States, BSEC brings its multicultural people even closer together.

The basic objective of BSEC's project oriented approach is to create and implement projects that will have positive repercussions on the every day life of its people's while at the same time enhancing economic cooperation between them. Hence our two major transport infrastructure projects; the Black Sea Ring Highway (BSRH) and the Motorways of the Sea in the BSEC region. The BSRH project envisages a four lane highway system, approximately 7100 km long that will not only connect the BSEC Member States to each other, but will also connect the European road transport system to that of Asia. Furthermore it will facilitate intra-BSEC trade, tourism and bring the people of the region closer together, thus entailing greater cultural interaction and understanding. This project is already in the stage of implementation. The project of the Motorways of the Sea aims to upgrade the ports of the Black Sea and thus increase the maritime links between the Member States, increase maritime shipping, passenger transportation and ro-ro ferries.

BSEC is also closely cooperating with the UNDP in enhancing intra-BSEC trade and investments through a project called the Black Sea Trade and Investment Promotion Program (BSTIP). This program is a joint project between the two Organizations, co-financed by Greece, Turkey, the

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Ambassador Chrysanthopoulos joined the Greek Foreign Ministry in 1972.

He was appointed as Ambassador of Greece in Yerevan in 1993. He served as Director of the Diplomatic Cabinet of the Alternate Minister of Foreign Affairs (until July 1994) and Alternate Director General for EU Affairs, Director of C4 Directorate for Justice, Home Affairs and Schengen, and Representative of Greece to the K-4 Committee and to the Central Group of Schengen at the Foreign Ministry (1994-1996).

Appointed as Ambassador of Greece in Warsaw (1996-2000) and Ambassador of Greece in Ottawa (2000-2004), he served as Director General for EU Affairs (Jan. 2004) and Director General for Bilateral Economic Relations and Multilateral Economic Cooperation (Dec. 2004) at the Foreign Ministry.

He has published the book "The Caucasus Chronicles - Nation Building and Diplomacy in Armenia."



UNDP and BSEC. It aims to enhance trade and investment linkages among the BSEC Member States with the direct participation of the business communities. It brings together the businesspeople from the Member States in business fora organized for seven sectors. And up to know the results have been positive.

On November 1, 2006, the BSEC Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs that was held in Moscow, decided to add culture in the areas of cooperation of our Organization. Since then the Working Group of Culture has met many times and has been actively working and we have had one meeting of the Ministers of Culture that was held in Sounion, Greece. Through the activities of the Working Group of Culture, the BSEC people will increase their knowledge of the various cultures existing in the area, their similarities and their differences, thus creating an understanding that leads to a stronger cultural cohesion in the Black Sea region. The same applies to the Working Group of Tourism that is coordinating its activities with the Working Group on Culture, in organizing various cultural routes in the Member States. In September 2006, BSEC co-organized with the Global Heritage Fund a Workshop on regional and tourism development of Kars, which made a very small contribution in bringing Turkey and Armenia closer together.

For BSEC the challenge of combining 12 countries, having 6 different alphabets, into peaceful and harmonious cooperation is enormous and has been quite successful. Successful economic cooperation allows people to live at a level that assures their income, health, security and general comfort. Consequently they are then much more inclined to live in peace and more willing to accept a trade of cultures, traditions and understanding.

The issue of the Dialogue of Cultures is a topic that is being examined by the UN, within the framework of the Alliance of Civilizations, which is a UN initiative, co-sponsored by Spain and Turkey. At the beginning of April the Second Forum of the Alliance of Civilizations was held in Istanbul. It was a high level meeting with the participation of the UNSG, the Prime Ministers of Turkey and Spain, the UN High Representative for the Alliance and many other Ministers and high dignitaries. All the discussions were interesting and assessed on how to go forward in avoiding a clash of civilizations and bringing humanity closer together, in bringing our cultures and civilizations closer together. Much follow up remains to be done in order to implement the conclusions of the forum, particularly having the conclusions of the Forum, reaching the grass roots of humanity, the people of our planet. The "Marketplace of Ideas" of the AoC is a first indication of creative efforts to bring the dialogue of civilizations down to the people.

Allow me to add some personal thoughts on this issue, thoughts that were also reflected during the discussions that took place at the Istanbul Forum.

A change of perception is needed of how this world is seen by us. Our world is afflicted by misunderstandings, clashes, wars, terrorism, random killings, famine, pandemics and other severe catastrophies – many, if not all of them avoidable. The younger generations are being taught security

and strategic studies, even war studies. The language of war has been adopted in the language of business, where we "defend "our market share," "attack" new markets and "eliminate" our competition. Where are the institutes for peace studies, where are the universities for a dialogue of cultures? In one of his books, Brezinski mentions that the 21st century was the most bloodiest in the history of humanity. While it is true, why should we promote that outlook and not the positive outlooks of the 21st century? The progress that humanity achieved in science, literature and arts. So if we are able to achieve a change of perception on how we see this world, it would be a great contribution in bringing humanity closer together.

Businesses and the private sector can play and are playing an important role in intercultural dialogue and understanding. Motivated by the need to sell their products, they have learned how to operate in cross-cultural environments. Their strategies are adjusted according to the countries they market their products. Some of these companies offer cross-cultural and interculture awareness seminars to their employees in order to make sure the individual sensibilities of other cultures are taken into consideration. The ten principles of the UN Global Compact (a practical framework for over 5,000 companies that are committed to sustainability and responsible business practices), cover the areas of human rights, labour, environment and anti-corruption and are useful principles that if implemented may have positive practical results.

Intercultural dialogue can also help combat the global financial crisis. If western banks would examine why Islamic banks are not facing problems today, they would see that these banks are not profit oriented and do not use interest in their transactions. A more thorough examination of the Islamic banking system by their western counterparts, might perhaps help them resolve their current problems, under the condition of course that they would accept to limit their profits, consequently their greed, which constitutes the basic reason of the financial crisis.

And here the role of spiritual belief or religion becomes important. One of the many unifying factors of religions is that greed is considered a sin. In Istanbul, a Summit of the Primates of the Orthodox Churches was held last October. This is what they had to say in their communiqué about the global financial crisis. "The gap between rich and poor is growing dramatically due to the financial crisis, usually the result of manic profiteering by economic factors and corrupt financial activity, which by lacking an anthropological dimension and sensitivity does not ultimately serve the real needs of humanity. A viable economy is that which combines efficacy with justice and social solidarity." Presumably similar statements have been made by leaders of other religions of the world. It might consequently help the private sector were it to listen to the spiritual leaders of humanity.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the organizers for holding this Conference and I hope that the results of our deliberations will play a role in making this planet a more peaceful one.

A. O. Chubarian<sup>1</sup>

## RUSSIA AND EUROPE: MUTUAL IMAGES AND IDEAS, HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE AND TRADITIONS

In the overall complex of problems connected with the place of Russia in Europe an important place is occupied by the stereotypes which influence the image of Russia abroad. Very often the sense of these stereotypes consisted and consists in denying and minimizing the contribution made by Russia to the formation and evolution of all-European cultural and political area. That is why the task of overcoming these clichés and stereotypes does not lose its importance and acuteness. This task is directly connected with the issue of cross-cultural dialogue in Europe, of principles and forms of formation and evolution of all-European cultural space.

The real historical events, the lag and alienation of Russia from Europe in the 13th–16th centuries, Russia's belonging both to Europe and to Asia coupled with geopolitical and other interests of the Western world influenced the attitude of Europeans to Russia and led to the formation of settled stereotypes and even mythologization, which made a significant impact on Europeans' political thinking and political culture, on their commonplace mass consciousness concerning their perception of Russia.

In the 20th century due to the efforts of mass media these ideas also had a great influence on the political sphere and became embedded in the sphere of mass consciousness.

A significant number of modern specialists – historians and experts in literature, ethnologists and psychologists, political scientists and sociologists – concern themselves with studying the attitude of the West towards Russia on the level of elites as well as on the level of commonplace mass consciousness. The research on this topic is now made easier by the fact that over the last 10 years in Russia a great number of travel writings, memoirs and works about Russia have been published and republished, which came out in Europe during the 15th–19th centuries.

The above-mentioned research is carried out not only in Moscow and St. Petersburg but also in many Russian regional centres and universities.

In the world science the problem that has been under discussion for many years is the problem of 'The image of the other'; this discussion includes theoretical questions, discovery of the mechanisms of these images' formation, based upon the materials within this or that country and upon the relations between peoples inhabiting different states.

With regard to the topic of 'Russia and Europe' it can be said that the framed and widely-spread in the West ideas of Russia and Russians still make a significant impact not only on the attitude of countries and peoples of Europe, of the European public thinking towards Russia but also to a great extent influence the debates in Russia concerning Russia's belonging to Europe; any disapproval, criticism or censure of Russia causes discontent and even protests in Russia and gives an additional argument to the ones who in Russia caution against too close connections with Europe and insist on the profound difference in the ways of development of Russia and the West.

Stereotypes of this kind are often rather settled; they are passed on from one generation to another and are quite difficult to be done away with in politics and consciousness. Based upon real separate facts and displays they at the same time become the footing for the formation of the entire system of mythological conceptions and ideas.

The system of images, which often become settled stereotypes, mostly negative ones, influences the entire complex of relations between the countries and peoples of Europe including the cultural and psychological sphere.

To understand the real content of the images of Russia and the reasons of their mythologization and dissemination we should turn to the history of their appearance and to the modifications which they experienced in the course of the centuries-old history of the interconnection of Russia and Western Europe.

In the ancient period for many early authors who lived in the western part of Europe the population living far in the east was associated as a rule with the nomadic world and with those 'wild' and 'barbarian' tribes which posed a threat to Europeans.

The Slavic ethnos in concrete practice was often contrasted with the classical west European standards. And even the process of baptism, of Christianization of Russia and the widespread dynastic connections of Russian princes with west Europeans could do little to change the existing ideas about people living in 'Russian steppes'.

At the same time we should admit that in reality the ancient and medieval Russia developed according to the Byzantine pattern.

Certainly, at that time these ideas were to a large extent based upon the lack of knowledge of the western society about the events which took place in the distant and mysterious East; the entire population of this region was identified with nomadic world.

In the 16th–17th centuries Russia gradually began to appear at the proscenium of European life and became involved in the rivalry of European Powers in the Baltic and in the southern outlying districts. As has been mentioned before, in the west Russia competed with Livonian Order, and in the south it waged long wars with the Turks.

In the 17th century Russia's relations with Western Europe grew to become more active both in political and economic spheres. The deliveries of Russian grain in the '30s of the 17th century in many ways made it possible to stabilize the situation in France and in Holland.

In England Cromwell and his rivals tried to enlist Moscow's support. In a number of countries of West Europe they kept discussing the ideas of the possibility of Russian market development.

It was in the 15th–17th centuries when the first diplomats', merchants' and travellers' detailed notes appeared, these laying a certain tradition in the description of the Russian state and Russians.<sup>2</sup>

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Author of more than 300 scientific publications including 11 monographs. Among them there are "Peaceful Coexistence. Theory and Practice," "The Brest Peace. 1918," "The European Idea in History 19th–20th centuries. A view from Moscow," "History of the 20th century (New Study Methods)."

President of the Russian Society of Archive Historians, member of the Bureau of the International Committee on Historical Sciences, foreign member of Norwegian Academy of Sciences.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Contarini. *Rasskaz o puteshestviy v Moskvu v 1476–1477* [The story of travelling to Moscow in 1476–1477]. – In: Barbaro and Contarini about Russia. Leningrad, 1971; S. Herberstein. *Notes on Muscovite Affairs*. St. Petersburg, 1908; J. Gorsay. *Jerome Gorsay Recounts of Muscovy of the 16th century*. – St. Petersburg, 1909; J. Margeret. *Sostoyanie Rossiyskoy imperiyi i velikogo kniazhestva Moskoviyi*. [The Russian Empire and the Grand Duchy of Muscovy]. – In: *Russia in the beginning of the 17th century*. Captain Margeret's notes. – Moscow, 1982.; Adam Olearius. *Opisaniye puteshestviya v Moskoviyu i cherez Moskoviyu i obratno*. [Travels of Ambassadors sent by Frederic, Duke of Holstein, to the Grand Duke of Muscovy and the King of Persia]. – St. Petersburg, 1906; De La Neville. *Zapiski o Moskoviyi*. [Notes on Muscovy]. 1689; *Relation of Petrus Petreius about Russia of the beginning of the 17th century*. – Moscow, 1976.

These notes also drew the attention of many Russian researchers and became the subject of study especially in the 19th–20th centuries.<sup>1</sup>

The appearance of the notes about the distant Muscovy resulted from a great interest of the political and social circles of Europe in the far and to a large extent unknown country. Cardinal Richelieu in France, the Queen of England Elizabeth I and Cromwell, Philip II of Spain showed a keen interest in Muscovy, trying to use it in their own political and economic interests.

But also in the spiritual sphere of West Europe the interest in Russia was apparent. It was mentioned by Shakespeare and Rabelais, Cervantes and other great writers of that epoch, by scientists Jean Bodin, Thomas More, Michel de Montaigne and others. In European projects and treatises of the 15th–17th centuries the records of Russia and Muscovy were not infrequent.

The rising interest in Russia to a great extent stimulated official representatives', merchants', literary men's, architects' and ordinary travellers' trips to Muscovy. The range of their national origin was broad and various.

At our disposal there are notes and memoirs of the Germans, French, Englishmen, Swedes, Italians, Austrians, Dutchmen and Poles.

Their whole set constituted voluminous literature, the wealth of sources which were probably the main source of information of the ideas of West Europeans about Russia. The overwhelming majority of these works were published in West Europe, later they were translated into Russian and became the common property of researchers and the public both in European countries and in Russia.

It is quite natural that the compositions of West Europeans about Russia were estimated in different ways in Russian historiography. For some historians it was first of all an important source of the history of that time in which the numerous facts and descriptions of Russian life, of the state system, of the geography, of the nature, of the climate, of the way of life and of the mood of people were of particular value. Other historians emphasized the political and religious bias of the authors, criticized them for tendentiousness and negative assessments given to Russia and its people.

Let us stop at some most significant notes which made an impact on the ideas about Russia, on the formation of its image in official circles and in the public opinion in the countries of West Europe.

In this context we should mention the notes of a Venetian diplomat Ambrogio Contarini who visited Moscow at the end of 1476 – at the beginning of 1477. Contarini visited Moscow with an official mission, he met Ivan 3 of Russia, Grand Duchess Sophia Palaiologina and others, he in many ways promoted the origin of Russian – Italian relations.

The greatest interest at that time was provoked by the work of Sigismund von Herberstein. He was born in Carinthia and communicated with the Slavs since his childhood; this fact determined his goodwill towards the Slavonic world and towards Muscovy. He also performed an official mission in Muscovy. Habsburg Emperor wanted to draw Russia into the fight with the Turks and to re-establish the normal relations between Russia and Poland.

Herberstein visited Muscovy twice, in 1517 and in 1526 and he met Vasili III Ivanovich, the Grand Prince of Moscow, and many representatives of Russian nobility. On coming back to Europe he wrote a book 'Notes on Muscovite Affairs' which was published in 1549. This work may have played a

more important role than other works in providing Europeans with information about life in the distant and for many people largely unknown Russia.

The 16th-century Russia is described quite fully and objectively in the work of S. Herberstein. The author gave a geographical description of the Russian state, told about the history of the appearance of Old Russian state (about the ancient tribes which lived on that territory and came from without), about the state structure (including the description of the ceremony of coronation of the Grand Prince), about Muscovy's neighbours – Lithuania, Poland, Belorussia, Russia, about family affairs of the Russian Grand Prince, about the way of life and customs of nobility and ordinary citizens.

The work of Herberstein, so to say, discovered Russia of the 15th century for Europe; it played a significant role in the ideas of the West about Russia in the period when it gradually became a more important element of European international life.

In the 16th century grew the number of notes and other records about Russia. During that period the Englishmen became particularly active. Out of the considerable number of notes we should single out the ones made by Jerome Gorsay. He was not an official representative; he came to Moscow at first as a clerk – trainee of the English Moscow company.

In the 17th century the notes of French captain Margeret became the most famous work. He was one of the first Frenchmen not only to visit Russia but also to be in the Russian service.

Before that, in France, Margeret took part in religious wars on the side of Protestants – Henry III. Later he fought against the Turks in the Balkans and joined the army of the Polish king. In 1600 Margeret enlisted for service in Russia; at that at first he fought against False Dmitry I, and when the latter came to Moscow the captain went over to his service. In 1611 he participated in the repression of the rebellion of Muscovites against the Poles, in the arson and plunder of Moscow. Before it, being in Paris, Margeret wrote a book about Russia.

The work of Margeret reflects the contradictoriness of the figure of the author himself, which influenced the content of his book. On one hand in the book there is wealth of information about the state power in Russia, about Boyar Dumas, about Prikazes, about the military forces in Russia, about the financial system. But on the other hand the adventurism of the author, his participation in the fight against Russians in many ways caused his clear tendentiousness and hostility towards Russia and the Russians.

Subsequently, if the personality of Margeret aroused disapproval and blames, his work itself was estimated in different ways. It contained wealth of information and in this context it continued the outlined line of giving information about the system, the life and the lifestyle of the Russian state and its citizens in the 17th century to a western reader.

Margeret's book contained a considerable number of critical attacks upon the lifestyle of Russians, upon their character and inclinations, upon the state policy of Russian rulers. In this sense it made its 'contribution' to shaping those stereotypes which were formed about Russia.

In conclusion let us mention one more work of the 17th century, belonging to a German Adam Olearius, published under the title 'Travels of Ambassadors sent by Frederic, Duke of Holstein, to the Great Duke of Muscovy and the king of Persia'.

Adam Olearius was born in 1599 to a poor German family. He obtained education and a degree in one of the best universities of Germany. His truly encyclopaedic knowledge became the reason of his inclusion in the embassy sent by Frederic III, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp to Moscow in 1633, and then in 1635 again to Moscow and to Persia.

<sup>1</sup> About the relations of Russia and the West and about notes of foreign authors on Russia see an interesting article by Y. A. Limonov "Rossiya v zapadnoevropeyskikh sochineniyah 15–17 vv." [Russia in West European works of the 15th–17th centuries]. – In: Rossiya 15–17 vv. glazami inostrantsev [Russia of the 15th–17th centuries through the foreigners' eyes]. Leningrad, 1986, p. 3–16.

The outcome of the embassy missions was receiving important information about Russia and its spread in Europe. A great role in it was played by the book by A. Olearius about Russia which was written and published by him in 1634 and in 1636. Later – in 1643 Olearius visited Russia again.

His encyclopaedic knowledge gained Olearius respect and recognition in broad circles of Europe. It was this encyclopaedic knowledge which was shown in his work about his travel to Muscovy and Persia.

In the work of Olearius many various aspects of Russia's life are dealt with. Olearius writes about the benevolent attitude of Russians towards foreigners. 'They,' the author writes, 'have no lack in good heads for learning. Among them there are people who are quite talented and lit up with good intellect and memory.'<sup>1</sup>

In the work of Olearius there is also a considerable number of critical attacks and assessments. As a protestant, Olearius does not accept many of Orthodox norms and guidelines.

The 18th century came, and it radically changed the position of Russia in Europe. The reforms of Peter I led to the transformation of Russia and its turn into a powerful European state.

Russia of the 18th century showed not only political domestic consolidation and impressive international activity, but also a rapid development of sciences, education, Enlightenment.

The principles and forms of the European Enlightenment became widespread in Russia with due regard to Russian traditions and peculiarities of Russian everyday life and lifestyle.

In Europe of the 18th century Russia was viewed as a strong and dangerous competitor. On this basis new ideas of Russia and Russians began to be formed. The previous ideas of Russian people as of illiterate and uncivilized ones did not vanish but gave way to the point of view that though reforms had started in Russia it still considerably lagged behind European standards.

Here we should take into account the fact that at that time in the West the process of formation of class-representative system was under way (the French General States and the English Parliament had begun functioning); what was dubbed 'Enlightened absolutism' was developing. West Europe entered into the age of Enlightenment.

Russia was unaware of all this and that is why the European elite, though with some modifications, continued speaking about retarded peoples and archaic state and political system, about 'wild customs' and lack of education in Russia.

However, in West Europe there were quite a number of people who saw Russia in a different light, as a developing country, which was rapidly reaching the European level. They noted, in particular, the growth in the number of gifted and educated people in Russia.

At the same time it was in 18th century, at the time of Catherine II, when a number of famous French enlighteners and first of all Voltaire and Volney, to a smaller degree d'Alembert and Diderot admired the Russian empress and her policy; they did not doubt the success of Russian culture and the growth of education in the Russian society.

There is no doubt that these French enlighteners in many ways promoted the popularization of Russia in Europe and evoked interest in it both in France and throughout Europe. But, unfortunately, the brilliant works of Voltaire and others did not reflect the views of the majority of people in France (for instance those of J.-J. Rousseau), and on the whole the image of Russia as of a retarded and uneducated country continued to spread in Europe.

<sup>1</sup> See: S. A. Mezin. Vzgliad iz Yevropy. Frantsuzskiy avtory 18 veka o Petre I [Views from Europe. French authors of the 18th century about Peter I]. Saratov, 2003.

For the overall characteristics of the image of Russia in European conceptions of 18th and 19th centuries we will note two compositions which can serve as some symbols of the image of Russia in the West of Europe.

Both of them belonged to the pen of Frenchmen. The first work was written by a French priest Ch. D'Aueroche (*A Journey into Siberia*), who travelled to Russia in 1761 and visited not only Moscow and St. Petersburg, but even reached Tobolsk.<sup>2</sup> And the other work is well-known; it was written in the middle of the 19th century and it belongs to marquis de Custine, whose work for many decades secured a certain image of Russia among European elites and in the mass commonplace consciousness.

The French priest Ch. D'Aueroche under the instruction of the French king Louis 15 travelled to Russia to inform the monarch of the events which took place in the distant and mysterious Russia.

The author scrupulously noted all the details of the journey, including even the smallest ones.

As a result, the priest's notes, which came out in France in 1762, turned out to be distinctly anti-Russian. The author did not conceal his contempt for Russia and the Russian people as a whole. In pejorative expressions and tones he described the state system of Russia, its lifestyle and customs. The author disliked almost everything in Russia. He loathed various aspects of Russian life – bad roads and houses, the appearance of Russian peasants; he resented even the looks of Russian women.

All the pathos the French priest aimed at proving the fact that Russia and its people were a barbaric and uncivilized country, which had nothing in common with the enlightened and civilized Europe.

The book did not become wide-spread in France, and, moreover, in the rest of Europe, but it supported the opinions of those authors who tried to create a negative image of Russia in Europe.

D'Aueroche's work to a large extent became well-known because the book got to Russia and Catherine II familiarized herself with it. The reaction of Catherine II was instantaneous and unusually sharp. The attacks upon Russia exasperated and insulted her. Soon in Russia a book called *Antidote* was published; it was the answer to the French priest's composition.

For many decades heated discussions were held about the authorship of *Antidote*. Naturally, from the very beginning it was not called into question that Catherine II was fully aware of the content of *Antidote*. But gradually the ones who studied the problem became fully convinced that it was the empress herself who was the author of *Antidote*. In the book called *The Empress and the Priest* which was published in France not long ago, a French historian, the permanent secretary of the French Academy of Sciences H. Carrère d'Encausse convincingly proved the authorship of Catherine II.

Catherine II refuted the priest's attacks, protecting Russia, its structure and its place in Europe. A particular indignation of the author of *Antidote* was caused by d'Aueroche's coarse attacks on the Russian people. Catherine II literally razed the priest's statements about the wilderness and lack of education of Russia and its people to the ground.

The point of *Antidote* was to prove Russia's parity among European states in its progress along the 'enlightened path'. Simultaneously the author tried to ground the originality of the Russian people, the distinctive features of the spiritual aspect, of the lifestyle and of Russian people's character.

<sup>2</sup> See: L'Impératrice et l'Abbe. Paris, 2003. Présentée par Hélène Carrère d'Encausse de l'Académie française; about the book of Ch. D'Aueroche see: I. M. Elkina. Frantsuzskiy prosvetiteli i kniga Shappa d'Auerocha v Rossiya. [French Enlighteners and the book of Shappe d'Aueroche in Russia]. – "Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta" [Bulletin of Moscow University] Series 9. History; 1973; No. 6, p. 77–81; I. M. Elkina. Shappe d'Aueroche i yego kniga "Puteshestviye v Sibir" [Shappe d'Aueroche and his book "A Journey into Siberia"]. – "Voprosy istoriyi SSSR". Moscow, 1972, p. 361–388.

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According to all signs the 19th century was to bring considerable changes to the European ideas about Russia and Russian people.

After the Patriotic war of 1812 and the Decembrist revolt the topic of 'Europe and Russia' was more often heard and it even prevailed in public discussions, which got its brightest expression in the debates between the Westerners and the Slavophiles.

Russian culture became an integral part of European culture and received general recognition.

It seemed that after Europe had familiarized itself with the works of Pushkin and Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy and Turgenev, the ideas of Russian cultural and civilizational backwardness were supposed to change gradually. But in practice they continued to spread in the circles of European elites.

Certainly, Russia continued to lag behind many other countries of Europe when it came to political structure and democratic reforms; but the reforms conducted at the beginning of the 19th century promised further changes in Russian development.

In the 19th century another book was published in France; the book made a great impact on the forming Western stereotypes concerning Russia.

This book, *Nikolai's Russia* published in 1843,<sup>1</sup> immediately drew great interest; it was the work of French marquis A. de Custine. For the middle of the 19th century the overall number of the book's printed copies of 200 thousand copies was an unprecedented phenomenon.

A. de Custine, the son of famous French royalists who were guillotined during Robespierre's reign of terror, was going to Russia, as he said, in search of new arguments against the 'representative government'. But after all, his book about Russia written in distinctly anti-Russian tones laid down the foundations of a number of further negative stereotypes which took root in the consciousness of many figures in Western Europe.

One of the main statements of his book was the proof of an extreme backwardness of Russia, of its 'slave system', of the 'wild' state and social system.

In this sense de Custine really described Russian ways of that time. His stories about the complete arbitrary rule of Russian officials and customs officers (when crossing the borders), about their total disrespect of the law and the norms established all over Europe also reflected the real state of affairs.

All this pathos of the French aristocrat did not become something unexpected for the Russian public. Russian literature, social and political journalism, and our country's thought wrote about the same things; Russian authors criticized autocracy (as far as it was possible in the conditions of the gravest censorship), spoke about the grievous state of Russian peasantry who were in serfdom, which was a deep anachronism in terms of Europe of that time.

However, it was not de Custine's pathos that aroused such sharp criticism and even indignation in Russia. The main point was that he transferred his contempt of Russian system over to the whole Russian people. De Custine was trying to prove that the retarded and servile, wild customs, etc. – all these had been deposited at the bottom of souls of the Russian population since remote ancient times.

Meanwhile, 1830s–40s in Russia was the time of Pushkin, Lermontov, and others, and ignoring this fact was unexplainable and unjustified for an enlightened European.

Identification of the people, the society and the power was evidence of de Custine's narrow-mindedness and of the narrowness of his approaches to the analysis of Russian life. Brilliant literature and social and political journalism, includ-

<sup>1</sup> Marquis Astolphe de Custine. *La Russie en 1839* [tr. into Russian as *Nikolai's Russia*]. Moscow, 1990.

ing the literature in opposition to the government, totally disproved the author's ideas.

Russian public took de Custine's book with criticism. It was officially banned. The government initiated the publication of some critical books concerning de Custine: the books by N. I. Grech, who bitterly battered de Custine; at that, condemning Custine Grech wrote about the system in Russia and about emperor Nikolai I with admiration; compositions by Y. I. Tolstoy – a correspondent of the Ministry of Public Education (agent of the 3rd department) which also castigated de Custine; and the compositions of a Counsellor of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs K. K. Labensky which also contained severe criticism of the works of de Custine.

De Custine's book was also condemned by Russian progressive-minded public. A. I. Herzen, A. I. Turgenev and P. A. Vyazemsky were indignant after the publication of de Custine's book which was much spoken about in Petersburg salons.

'I do not know any home where there is not de Custine's composition about Russia,' A. I. Herzen wrote in 1851.<sup>2</sup> F. I. Tyutchev wrote about the intellectual shamelessness and moral corruption of the authors like de Custine.

But several years later and especially after the publication of Grech's servile book the very same A. I. Herzen wrote: 'Slavish, servile view and insolent familiarity, cynicism of a slave who has lost any respect for human dignity. Grech has committed to shame the matter in favour of which he raised his mean voice'. By denying the facts which are well-known to everyone Grech, according to Herzen, achieves the opposite result, he just intensifies the power of de Custine's accusations.<sup>3</sup>

A. I. Herzen and some other figures of Russian literary and journalistic intelligentsia bitterly criticized the activity of autocracy and the persecution of liberties in Russia, but they maintained their keenly negative attitude towards A. de Custine's Russophobia.

Unfortunately, some of de Custine's ideas and 'arguments' are used in the history of the 20th century at present. However, it was in the 20th century when Russia's relations with other countries of Europe, with their public and with their ruling groups advanced.

In the West of the continent interest in Russian science, literature and art was constantly rising. Recently in Russia there have been published translations of many famous Western philosophers and figures of culture.

Russian avant-gardism has occupied a leading position in European modern. Wassily Kandinsky who in 1911 founded a school of 'objectless art' was conferred (though later, in 1925) professorship in Weimar.

A great number of Western artists and musicians have performed in Russia.

These phenomena served as bright corroboration for the words of Dostoyevsky that 'a Russian person has two native lands: Russia and Europe', and that any educated Russian thinks first of all about Europe.<sup>4</sup>

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Russia's conversion to the track of liberal market economy and conducting deep democratic transformations and reforms in Russia, in fact the main arguments of some representatives of the public in Western Europe fell away; these were the arguments of those who spoke about incompatibility of Russian system with European norms and principles. In this way the conditions were gradually formed for Western Europe's breaking from old anti-Russian and anti-Soviet stereotypes.

<sup>2</sup> Herzen A. I. *Complete Works and Letters*. Vol. 6. P. 364.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*. Vol. 3. P. 314–315.

<sup>4</sup> Many facts and words of Dostoyevsky are taken from the article: F. A. Stepun. "Rossiya mezhdru Yevropoy i Aziyey". [Russia between Europe and Asia]. In: *Rossiya mezhdru Yevropoy i Aziyey*. Yevraziyskiy soblazn. [Russia between Europe and Asia. The Eurasian temptation]. Moscow, 1993. P. 326–327.

Certainly, they have greatly deformed, though, unfortunately, have not vanished from European ideas about Russia. There still are some accusations of Russia concerning the tendency to authoritarianism, human rights violation; from time to time old anti-Russian stereotypes are revived.

Apparently, what is in effect here is the inertia of the past, the pressure of previously settled stereotypes and clichés, which were formed many centuries ago and which have not left the ideas of certain Western elites.

The steadiness of negative stereotypes is based on certain traditions and the historical memory of centuries-old past; they are supported by the same idea that Russia belongs to both European and Asian civilizations and lifestyles; and, finally, it is based on the fact that in Russian

reality, in its traditions, culture and mentality there are kept those signs and peculiarities which make Russia different from classical Europe, and add originality to Russian political and social thought, to Russian culture and the system of values.

The understanding of this specific character does not eliminate the indisputable fact of Russia's belonging to All-European cultural area. The dialogue between cultures and civilizations in different spheres, affecting different strata of society, is now an important means of overcoming negative images and stereotypes, of forming the ideas of tolerance and respect for other values in elites and in mass consciousness, which in broader context will change the system of 'the images of others'.

V. E. Churov<sup>1</sup>

## DEMOCRACY AND FORMS OF ITS REALIZATION IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD

Honourable ladies and gentlemen,

Let me follow the centuries-old Russian tradition and start my brief talk concerning some questions of comparison of electoral system with the words of the head of the state.

Not so long ago in a newspaper interview Dmitry Anatolyevich Medvedev said that 'democracy is a historical category and at the same time it is a supranational category'. Some people who for some reasons call themselves analysts lost no time in trying to contrast this quotation with the term 'sovereign democracy', as usual muddying the waters in an unshadowed day. It is absolutely evident that democracy as a notion, as the basic principle of the organization of the society (and society cannot exist without organization, otherwise the anarchic idea would have been realized at least somewhere and sometime) is supranational and even global at present, as it is widely recognized as the best model, the best principle of the organization of the society. However the forms of realization of democratic principles, of the organization of power are quite sovereign in every particular country. Otherwise we call into question the independence of existing states. The chain is simple:

*worldwide democratic principles → sovereign  
democracy → sovereign elections → sovereign power*

Departures from this chain can take place either with the agreement of the state, which has assumed certain rights, vested in documents drawn up according to the principles and procedures of the international law or without the agreement of this state.

In the first case, from my point of view, the principle of sovereign democracy is in effect, in the second case, undoubtedly, it is not. The second case is the case of Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Afghanistan (the first elections), and Iraq.

It is very important to correctly understand the principle of international control over the organization of elections and, consequently, over the process of formation of power structures. To my mind, the limits of the international control are as follows: the lowest limit of the permissible and possible for the international control are not the widely recognized norms (everyone strains them in their favour), but the norms which are widely recognized and memorialized

in the international compulsory document, which has been drawn up, signed and confirmed according to the norms and procedures of the international law. This is the lowest limit. The highest limit is the format of the international control; at that, the control, due to the request of the state itself, leads to the restriction of sovereignty (I have already cited the examples).

It is noteworthy that the overwhelming majority of citizens interpret election as popular, equal election by direct vote with the proviso that the secret ballot principle is observed. Say, in the sovereign democracy of the United States the sovereign electoral voting system is decentralized, it is not popular, not equal, it is not carried out by direct vote and in a number of states it does not observe the secret ballot principle. However this is a sovereign democracy.

In the Russian Federation in a similar way the election of governors is held. It is positively incorrect to say that our governor is not an elected figure who occupies a state position. Indeed, the election of governors by direct vote is not held now, but the election by indirect vote is carried out. First, the representative body of power is elected; in this representative body of power, according to the legislature which has recently been changed, the candidatures of governors are offered to the President by the party which has the majority in this representative body of power; this procedure being identical to the way in which the majority of electors elect President in the United States of America. Secondly, the President of the Russian Federation, who is nationally elected by direct, equal, popular, secret vote, introduces the candidature of the governor. And, finally, the confirmation of the candidature offered by the President is performed by the members of the representative (legislative) body of power of the subject of the Federation; these members having been elected by direct, popular, equal, secret vote.

The question of which is better – direct or indirect election – is a subject of political debate and has nothing to do with the organization of the democratic system of bodies of power, it does not determine the differences between democratic and non-democratic system.

In any democratic state, and we have assured ourselves that the democratic principles of the formation of bodies of power are put into effect in the sovereign form ranging from constitutional and sometimes even constitutional monarchy to direct parliamentary system, with a number of peculiarities for every state, the electoral system is a strategic resource. Without it the democratic bodies of power cannot be formed.

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Author of over 30 scientific works including the books: "Mystery of Four Generals," "The Whole Russia Is Voting: on Legal and Organizational Peculiarities of the Coming Elections" and others.

The fact that it is a strategic resource is confirmed by the number of groups of citizens and the overall number of citizens who take part in the formation and functioning of the election system. First, these are, certainly, all electors of a country. In Russia there are over 109 million electors, taking into account those citizens who live abroad. Secondly, these are political parties, numerous candidates, party activists, propagandists, authorized officials and election agents, observers representing different parties. Thirdly, these are the institutions of the civil society which specialize in control over the organization and conduct of the election. Fourthly, these are mass media and their employees because in a contemporary state it is impossible to conduct a democratic election without an active participation of mass media. They act as mediators and bring to the electors' notice the ideas, political platforms and information about the participants of the election process, i.e. about candidates and parties; they also ensure the fulfilment of the election commissions' function of informing the electors. No election commissions could fully inform electors about their rights, about the time and place of the voting and about candidates without mass media.

The fifth 'group' of the participants of the election system is the legislative bodies, from the level of creation of regulatory acts about local government to the State Duma and the Federation Council. They are the ones which form the regulatory basis of the election system at all levels.

The sixth 'group' is the executive power, the employees of administrations of all levels, which according to the legislation create the material basis for the work of the election system, provide premises, transport, means of communication, ensure the development of information technologies and public security of the election process.

And, finally, these are 5.5 thousand employees who work on a professional basis in local commissions, commissions of the subjects of the Russian Federation and the Central election commission of the Russian Federation; 1 million members of precinct election commissions join them during federal election.

An effective election system provides democratic election with reasonable periodicity, according to international norms memorialized in compulsory documents.

Let us come back to the question of international observation. The institution of international observation during our federal election was formalized in the legislation of the Russian Federation a long time ago. Most countries of Europe now follow our example and include this regulation in their legislation. Not so long ago Austria did it. But there are constant debates concerning the fact that there is no recognized, confirmed and signed document about the international standards of observation. None of the methods which are being used by the numerous observation missions has undergone either scientific or intergovernmental agreement or assessment. It does not only cause numerous debates but, by the way, is a good basis for the development of corruption, for instance, when choosing the organization which is awarded a contract for conducting some monitor work. There is an impression that somebody is taking an advantage of this situation, when the international rules for the conduct of observation over the election do not exist.

Not going into details, I will mention only the simplest facts. The country which invites the international election observation mission only demands that its work be transparent at three stages: when forming the mission, during the work of the mission and when making the final report. How can we possibly speak about the transparency of some missions when the methods of forming of some of them are absolutely non-transparent, they include people with some false education who allegedly know a great number

of languages, but when you ask a question about the people who checked this knowledge when making the decision of inclusion of this or that person in the mission, you receive no reply. There is no transparency during the work of the mission either. Why does it happen so that just before the Election Day a mission meets three out of five contestants for the presidency or four out of eight parties taking part in the election?

Making of the final report is also non-transparent. There was a case when the final report turned out to be signed by 38 members of one of the missions out of 150 members, but it was presented as a report, as the opinion of the whole mission.

Correction of all these quite apparent faults for unknown reasons encounters communication failures and resentment. To tell the truth, I would not like to suspect the worst intentions and the worst motivations.

There is not a better way of increasing trust in the election system than publicity and openness. But, by the way, publicity and openness should also be confirmed by objective data and factors.

The unhampered access of citizens to socially significant information is one of the main attributes of a developed civil society. On the basis of citizens' equal and open access to the information about the work of state bodies the legal and political culture of the population is formed. Citizens' understanding of how the key state institutions function is the basis of trust to the existing political system.

The access to socially significant information in the modern world is fulfilled by way of three key mechanisms:

- official inquiry;
- access of mass media to the materials of state bodies;
- official publication of information about different aspects of work of state bodies.

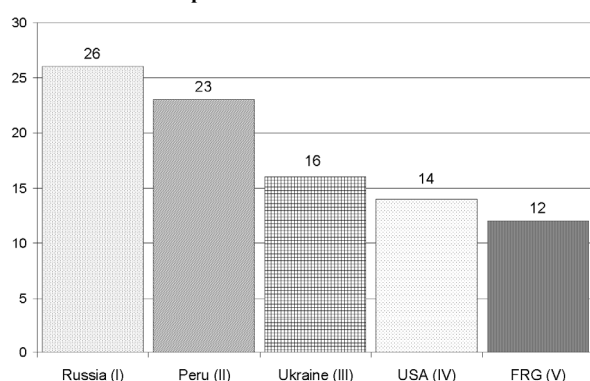
The opportunity of combination of all of these mechanisms is provided by the Internet and in the first place by creating official sites of state bodies. Such combination of the basic ways of access to the information makes the sites of bodies of state power one of the main channels of informational cooperation between the power and the society.

Conducting of election by election bodies (commissions) which are separate and independent within their competence is recognized to be one of the main democratic standards on the international level. The status and powers of such bodies are determined by the constitution, by legislative acts of a state. The analysis of the amount and quality of information presented on the official sites of election bodies is one of the key criteria of their informational openness.

The sites of central election bodies of the following countries have been chosen for comparison: the Russian Federation, the United States of America, the Republic of Peru, the Federal Republic of Germany and Ukraine. Besides, while analysing the amount of official sites of central election bodies, the site of the Central election commission of the Republic of Poland was considered as an indicator as this site is one of the world's biggest sites. There was determined a list of 32 criteria which allow to define the degree of information openness of the sites of election bodies. The availability of the following pieces of information to citizens was assessed: information about work concerning creation of regulatory acts, about the decisions made, about the process and results of election campaigns, about the results of international work and so on.

The list of criteria was based upon a number of regulations of the international law and on the experience of research groups, first of all, of the Institute for Freedom of Information Development (Informational Openness of State Internet-Resources to the Interest of Young People. Moscow, 2008).

Level of openness of central election bodies



The list of election commissions:

The Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation.

The Central Election Commission of Ukraine (Tsentralna vyborcha komisiya Ukrainy).

The Federal Election Commission of the USA.

The Federal Representative responsible for conducting election of the FRG (Der Bundeswahlleiter).

The National Service of Election processes (Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales, ONPE) / The National court of Peru dealing with election (Jurado Nacional de Elecciones, JNE).

Criteria	I	II	III	IV	V
1. Regulatory and other legal acts promulgated or confirmed by bodies of power.	+	+	+	+	+
2. The order of work concerning the realization of citizens' rights, freedoms and lawful interests, fixed by the legislation.	+	+	+	+	-
3. Surveys of the received appeals of citizens and organizations, generalized information about the results of consideration of such appeals and about the measures taken.	+	-	-	-	-
4. Information about structural subdivisions and about officials who provide information orally or in writing.	-	-	-	+	+
5. Lists of information systems for public use, the bases of registration entries which are within the competence of state bodies.	+	+	+	+	+
6. Information about the organizations which in the fixed order were awarded state orders for completing work concerning the provision of technical accompaniment of functions connected with the provision of access to the information about work.	-	-	-	-	-
7. Information about visits and working trips of executives and official delegations.	+	+	-	-	-
8. Information about official events.	+	+	+	+	-
9. Information about decisions made at official events and about their fulfilment.	+	+	+	-	-
10. Data about plans.	+	+	+	+	+
11. Texts of official statements and speeches of executives and deputy executives.	+	+	-	-	-
12. Information about work concerning creation of regulatory acts.	+	+	+	-	+
13. Information about the projects of regulatory legal acts, special purpose or other programmes, concentrations.	+	+	+	-	-
14. Information about special purpose and other programmes whose originators or executors are bodies of power.	+	+	+	-	-
15. Data about the outturn of budgets.	-	-	-	+	-
16. Analytical reports, reports about work.	+	+	+	+	-
17. Information about the main factors which characterize the situation and the dynamics of development of the spheres which bodies of power are in charge of.	+	+	+	+	+
18. Official statistic information.	+	+	+	+	+

Criteria	I	II	III	IV	V
19. Information about open competitions, auctions, tenders, investigations and other events which are held by state bodies.	+	-	+	-	-
20. Application forms determined by legal regulatory acts, which are taken for consideration by bodies of power.	+	+	+	-	-
21. Information about the results of inspections held by the bodies of power themselves within their competence.	+	+	-	+	-
22. List and important conditions of civil and legal agreements made by state bodies.	-	-	-	-	-
23. Information about international agreements in the realization of which bodies of power participate.	+	+	-	-	-
24. Information about citizens' joining the civil service.	+	+	-	+	+
25. Information about the interaction of bodies of power and their subordinate departments with other state bodies.	+	+	-	-	-
26. Information about the executives of state bodies and of their structural subdivisions.	+	+	+	+	+
27. Information about organizations which are subordinate to state bodies.	+	+	-	-	+
28. Telephone numbers and address references.	+	+	+	+	+
29. Information about participation in the realization of international agreements.	+	+	-	-	-
30. The register of incoming and issued documents in state bodies.	-	-	-	-	-
31. Multi-language support.	+	-	-	-	+
32. Conveniences for physically challenged people.	-	-	-	-	-
Total	26	23	16	14	12

The analysis has shown that the greatest informational openness is demonstrated by the site of the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation (it meets 26 out of 32 criteria).

The sites of the National Service of Election Processes (Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales, ONPE) and the National Court of Peru dealing with election (Jurado Nacional de Elecciones, JNE) meet 23 out of 32 criteria. As in the Republic of Peru, two bodies are in charge of organizing the election, the amount of information given to citizens is significant. However, it is noteworthy that the access to this information is hampered due to the absence of a single information portal dealing with questions of voting.

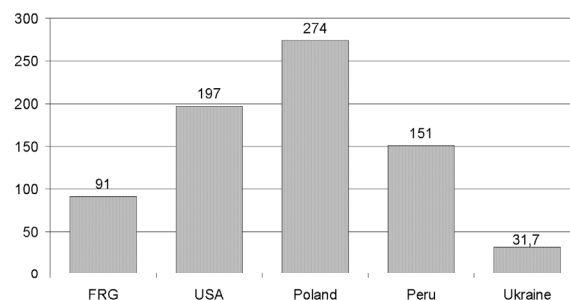
The site of the Central election commission of Ukraine (Tsentralna vyborcha komisiya Ukrainy) satisfies 16 out of 32 criteria.

The site of the Federal Election Commission of the United States of America satisfies 14 out of 32 criteria.

The site of the Federal Representative responsible for conducting election in the Federal Republic of Germany (Der Bundeswahlleiter) meets 12 out of 32 criteria.

When comparing the official sites of central election bodies of foreign countries in terms of the amount of information they provide, it was found out that the average capacity of sites was about 150 Mb.

Capacities of sites of election bodies of countries of the world (MB)

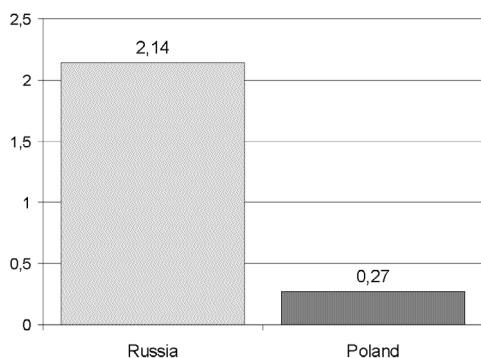




Among the sites of central election commissions of foreign countries the official site of the Central election commission of the Russian Federation stands out, as the total capacity of this site is over 2.14 Gb, which is ten times more than the size of the site of the Central Election Commission of Poland (Państwowa Komisja Wyborcza, PKW).

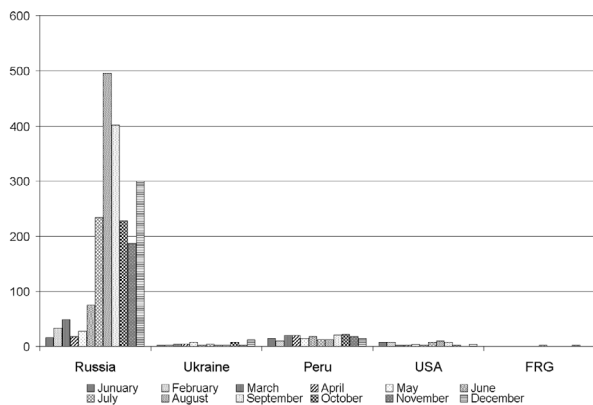
We should pay attention to the fact that multiple superiority of the total capacity of the site of CEC of Russia over the sites of foreign election bodies is ensured by the considerable amount of available archive information placed there and given by the 'Election' State Automated system of the Russian Federation.

**Comparison of site capacities of the Central election commission of Russia and PKW of Poland**



The following diagram shows the dynamics of publication of materials on the site of CEC of Russia and on the sites of election bodies of other countries. It can be seen in the diagram that since the middle of 2008 there has been a considerable growth of the saturation of the site of the CEC of Russia. The number of published materials is dozens of times more than the amount of information provided by the official sites of foreign election bodies.

**Number of materials published on official sites of election bodies of world countries in 2008**



The analysis has shown that the official site of the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation is the most informative-open one among all the sites included in this research, and the work of the Central election commission of the Russian Federation meets all the international requirements of publicity.

The data about the sites were supplied by the Federal center of informatization subordinate to the Central election commission of the Russian Federation; Teleport programme was used to receive information about the sites of election bodies of the countries of the world.

Now let me tell you about the election systems and the main trends of their development, and provide the tables of comparative analysis of some modern election systems.

At present, three varieties of electoral systems are the most widespread ones: majoritarian (of simple [non-quota], qualified [50 percent] and absolute [two thirds and more] majority), proportional (with different modifications including the system of single transferrable vote), and combined electoral systems. These days out of 213 states and territories (199 states of these are members of the UN, other 14 countries are self-governing or dependent (protectorate) territories) the majoritarian electoral system of simple majority is used by 47 states, the system of qualified majority is used by 22 states, the exceptionally proportional system (of different types) is used by 72 states, the combined system of election (different models) is used by 30 states, other states and territories use even more sophisticated variants of the mentioned electoral systems. At that, out of 31 new democracies (after the disruption of the USSR and the socialist camp) initially 6 states chose the majoritarian electoral system, and other 25 countries chose the proportional system (of them 6 countries chose the combined system and 19 countries chose the proportional system). In the world practice there are 12 basic types of electoral systems; the use of these systems can have different political consequences for a particular state.

Majoritarian electoral system of simple majority (it is used in 47 countries, in some cases it has turned into an exceptionally 'party' system of nomination and election of candidates (for instance, England);

The system of bloc 'candidate' ballot – in a multi-mandate electoral constituency the number of votes of an elector is equal to the number of candidates included in the ballot; the candidate is considered to be elected if they received the greatest number of votes of electors (this system is used in 15 countries);

The system of bloc 'party' vote – in a multi-mandate electoral constituency an elector votes only for a party (a strict list); the party which received the greatest number of the votes of electors gets all mandates in the multi-mandate electoral constituency (it is used in 4 countries);

The system of alternative ballot is used in single mandate electoral constituencies when an elector is given the right to express their preference to candidates. In case the candidate did not get 50% of the vote, the candidate with the smallest number of the votes of electors is excluded and their votes (preferences) are shared by the rest of candidates till one of the candidates is elected deputy (it is used in 3 states);

The system of second ballot – if during the first ballot none of the candidates got absolute majority of votes, which, as a rule, is 50 percent (it is used in 22 countries);

Proportional electoral system (the list of candidates) – the single multi-mandate electoral constituency (it is used in 74 countries, including Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Ukraine);

The system of a single transferrable vote – it is used in multi-mandate electoral constituencies; initially the quota of (the first) votes of electors to consider a candidate to be elected is established; in case a candidate did not reach the appointed quota the candidate with the smallest number of the preferential votes of electors is excluded and their votes (the first and the second preferences) are allocated between other candidates before a candidate (candidates) is elected deputy (it is used in 2 states);

The combined (classical) electoral system – initially the seats are allocated to constituencies, and then to party lists of candidates (it is used in 9 states);

The combined (neo-classical) electoral system – a fixed part of deputies is elected in constituencies, the other fixed part is elected by party lists (it is used in 17 states);

The system of a single non-transferrable vote – it is used in single mandate constituencies where an elector votes only

for one candidate, and the candidate with the most votes of electors is considered to be elected (it is used in 4 countries);

The system of voting 'Borda count' – it is used both in single mandate constituencies and in multi mandate constituencies, an elector is given right for preferences and those preferences are given corresponding ratio. The candidate with the greatest ratio of the preferences is considered to be elected (it is used in 1 country);

The system of limited ballot – it is used in multi mandate constituencies and an elector is given fewer votes than the number of candidates in the ballot (it is used in one country).

Electoral systems Nos. 1–5 are majoritarian ones, Nos. 6–7 are proportional ones, Nos. 8–9 are combined and Nos. 10–12 are varieties of other electoral systems (to some extent they are independent types of electoral systems). Proportional and combined electoral systems assist retaining and possible development of a multi-party system whereas majoritarian electoral systems can lead to political stagnation of a two or three-party system.

We should bear it in mind that according to the use of this or that electoral system the results of the election can be dramatically different for further political development of a country and for the representative institutions of democracy. It is likely that in the context of any electoral system an only strong political party can appear and exist for a long time along with the existence of a dwarfish multi-party system.

The **parliamentary electoral systems** used in the 30 states under consideration are different from one another – from majoritarian electoral system of simple majority (Great Britain) to a combined electoral system (Georgia), to an entirely proportional electoral system in a single constituency (the Netherlands) or in the corresponding constituencies (Italy), to the system of a single transferrable vote (Ireland).

The majoritarian electoral system (or its varieties) is used, in particular, in Azerbaijan, in the PRC, in the USA and in France; the combined electoral system (taking into account the structure of parliament) is used in Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Monaco, the FRG; the proportional electoral system (taking into consideration the structure of parliament) is used in Argentina, Belgium, Spain, Italy, Kyrgyzstan, the Netherlands, Poland, Russia, Serbia, Turkey, Ukraine, Finland and Switzerland. The common tendency is **the transition from the majoritarian electoral system to the combined or entirely proportional electoral system**. Recently the transition from the majoritarian electoral system to the combined electoral system has been fulfilled, in particular, in Monaco; the transition from the combined electoral system to the proportional electoral system has been fulfilled, in particular, by Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Ukraine. Conversely, in Azerbaijan in 2002 on the grounds of the national referendum a transition from the combined electoral system to the majoritarian electoral system was fulfilled.

In a number of states a part of members of national parliaments, including the countries with a two-house parliament structure, are elected after fixed periods of time (as a rule, every two or three years) **on the rotational basis**. For instance, members of the House of Representatives of the USA Congress (435 members) are elected on the rotational basis for two years. Half of the elected members of the Senate – the upper house of the parliament of Kazakhstan are re-elected every three years. In Argentina the members of the Chamber of Deputies are elected by direct popular vote for 4 years, at that, the staff of the house is half renewed every two years. In France the Senate consisting of 321 senators since 2003 has been elected for 6 years with the rotational renewal of a half, and the General councils of departments which are elected for six years are also half renewed every 3 years. The only country where the position of President of the state is occupied on the rotational basis is Switzerland. The President of the Swiss

Confederation – the head of the state – is elected among the members of the Federal Council (the government) for 1 year with the following annual rotation from the set of its members.

Many countries which use this or that variant of proportional representation have threshold indicators during parliamentary election – the so-called 'threshold' for admission of political parties to seat allocation. At that, they use different combinations of thresholds – from zero 'threshold' to 12.5% threshold. For instance, in Great Britain, Ireland, the PRC, the Netherlands, the USA and Finland in the framework of both majoritarian and combined electoral system, as well as the system of a single transferrable vote no thresholds apart from electoral quotients are established. In Argentina, Spain, Ukraine there is a threshold of 3%, in Belgium, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Monaco, Poland, Serbia, the FRG the threshold is 5% (at that, in Poland the barrier is 8% for electoral coalitions, and in Georgia in the context of the majoritarian part of the combined electoral system the barrier is 30% for candidates in local constituencies), in Kazakhstan<sup>1</sup> and in Russia<sup>2</sup> the barrier is 7%, in Turkey and Switzerland (for the upper house) it is 10%, in France it is 12.5% for the participation of candidates in the second ballot. At that, in Moldova in 2008 the threshold for the participation of political parties in parliamentary election was increased to 6%. A special system of thresholds (the so-called 'double curtain barrier') was used during the parliamentary election in Kyrgyzstan which was held in 2007: there were implemented two thresholds – one (5%) determined by the legislation concerning election – for the single national constituency, and an additional one (0.5%) – by the decision of the CEC of Kyrgyzstan – for a district (a city). In the course of the election campaign the Supreme Court of Kyrgyzstan confirmed the lawfulness of implementing of the threshold.

In the Russian Federation the legislation concerning election (the constitutionality of its regulations confirmed by the verdict of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation) determines that with 7-percent, 5-percent, and lower threshold in the legislative (representative) body of state power there must be present at least two political parties not to allow monopoly of one political party for the state power.

The absence of such norms in legislation of this or that state can practically lead to a situation when 100% of seats in parliament are received by one party, which gained the support of the majority of electors, as a result of the proportional electoral system. Kazakhstan can serve as an example: during the special election of members of Mazhilis on the 18th of August 2007 the political party 'NUR OTAN' won; having overcome the curtain barrier of 7% and having secured 88.41% of the votes of the electors it became the only party which gained seats in Mazhilis. Along with this there are no reasons to claim that such variant of regulating the electoral system contradicts international electoral standards, this fact once again supporting the above-mentioned thesis that in the regulation of its electoral model every sovereign state has a broad discretion, the limits of which are only determined by the necessity of real provision of electoral rights for electors and of the observance of the international obligations assumed by the state in the electoral sphere.

**Methods of seat allocation and the principle of proportion.** There are different methods of seat allocation

<sup>1</sup> In November 2008 a decision was made to introduce changes into the mentioned constitutional law to avoid monopoly of one political party for the execution of the state power – in case the 'threshold' of 7% is overcome by only one political party, the political party, which follows it in terms of the results of the election, is bound to take part in the seat allocation.

<sup>2</sup> In the Letter of the President of the Russian Federation of the 5th of November 2008 there is an offer for the political parties which took part in the election of members of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation and which received from 5 to 7% of the votes of electors to be given one or two seats in order to provide a wider parliamentary representation of different political powers (the so-called deputy quotas for 'minor' political parties) (the corresponding changes have been introduced in the legislation concerning election).

according to the classical principle of proportion, which provide its realization with the account of the multi-party system. Due to the existence of minor parties and the fact that it is necessary to form big parties there are some methods in use which refract the realization of the principle of proportion to a certain extent to the advantage of minor parties, but not to the existing big party.<sup>1</sup> Due to the necessity to form a multi-party system realized in a situation when two or three big political parties should carry on a political (electoral) struggle only between one another – other methods or electoral systems are used, in particular, the method of D'Hondt (the highest averages method) is the most optimal one. This method is most frequently and widely used in proportional electoral systems of the latest political time.

On the whole in the election legislation the following methods are used: the method of D'Hondt (the highest averages method), Droop (Hagenbach-Bischoff) quotas, the method of Haar, Imperiali (the largest remainder method), and 'compensatory' deputy mandates (to level the proportion between big and minor parties), 'bonus' deputy mandates (to provide the priority in the formation of a steady parliamentary majority and determination of the composition of the government on this basis). Besides, following the tendency of providing the equality of political opportunities for men and women, in party lists of candidates, in legislations of a number of countries there have been introduced strict requirements on the legislative level to the rotation of candidates of one sex in the mentioned lists (for instance, in France). At that, this requirement refers to all types of election to the representative bodies of power and to the bodies of local self-governing. In Spain parties, coalitions, groups of citizens are eligible to set up lists of candidates, at that no less than 40% of candidates in one constituency should be of one gender (during all elections, but for the Senate election) and the same requirement refers to candidates in every group of candidates within a list, at that every group consists of 5 candidates (this legislative statement was appealed to by one of the parties which was denied registration at the municipal election on the Canary islands, as there were only women included in the list; on the 29th of January 2008 the Constitutional Court of Spain supported this restriction and rejected the party's demands).

Preferential voting based on the use of the so-called 'open' lists of candidates, who are nominated by political parties (coalitions), proceeds from giving an elector (while voting) the right to determine the standing of the candidate in the list included in the ballot; at that, an elector can be given the right to express their preference either to a fixed number of candidates on the list, or an opportunity to express preference in favour of candidates in different lists of nominees. Besides, preferential voting systems are used not only while conducting parliamentary election, but also while conducting election of elected officials, mayors, in particular.

<sup>1</sup> There are several basic varieties of the mechanism (methods) of providing parliamentary representation of minor political parties. In the framework of **bonus (Italian) method** – the so-called bloc method – during the election to the Chamber of deputies a party coalition should get 10%, at that within the coalition the political party should get not less than 2% to get a seat; at that the political party which gets nearly 2% also gets a seat. A political party beyond a party coalition should get 4%; if a party coalition received less than 10%, but a political party within a party coalition received over 4%, this political party will participate in seat allocation. During the election to the Senate a party coalition should get 20% of valid votes, at that within the party coalition the political party should get not less than 3% to receive a seat. In the framework of the so-called **bonus (Greek) method (multi-staged)** in the first allocation of 288 deputy seats in 56 constituencies all political parties which have nominated their candidates take place. To the second allocation of deputy seats in 13 constituencies only the following bodies are admitted: political parties which have received 10% of the votes, two-party political coalitions which have got 25%, coalitions of three political parties which have secured 30%. At that this scheme of deputy seats allocation covers also the **'deputy bonus' for parliamentary minority: the political parties which have put up the lists of candidates in 3/4 of constituencies and which have received 2% of the votes, will get 3 deputy seats, from 1% to 2% – one deputy seat.**

In Poland during the election of deputies to the Sejm – the lower chamber of the parliament – proportional system combined with preferential voting system is used; in this procedure within every list of candidates an elector ticks off one candidate preferable for them (at that the initial standing of the candidate on the list is of no importance). In Belgium while electing deputies of the House of Representatives an elector can vote for the list of candidates as a whole, by putting a mark in the square opposite the name of the political party, or preferentially for candidates on the list (the preference is quite broad – it is limited only by the number of candidates on the list). Deputy seat allocation among the lists of candidates is fulfilled on the basis of D'Hondt's method (the largest remainder), at that within the lists of candidates – on the basis of preferences reaching the election quota which is necessary for election (the number of votes for a list of candidates is divided by the number of deputy seats of a constituency belonging to a political party +1). If the election quota is not achieved, the preferential votes are transferred to the candidate with the most votes and so on to a decline. At that in the course of the election reform in 2002 in order to intensify the effect of the preference it was established that half of the list of electors' votes can be used to raise the candidates to the election quota. In Ireland an elector in the framework of the electoral system of a single transferrable vote is eligible to vote – in the format of preferences – for any number of candidates included in the ballot. In Spain out of 257 senators of the upper house of parliament 208 senators are elected by four mandate electoral constituencies and by open lists of candidates; an elector has the right to choose three candidates out of the list of candidates, including the lists of candidates of different political parties (i.e. the so-called preferential panachage is used). In Great Britain on the 10th of June 2004 when holding the election for mayor of Big London another electoral system was used: according to this system an elector had two votes (two preferential votes), which were counted with the use of corresponding procedures. At that, in this country there is still a social debate about the possibility of transition to the proportional electoral system in the format of the single transferrable vote (preferential voting).

**The transition to proportional electoral systems as the basic tendency of electoral development.** Since 1993 – when the national referendum concerning transition from majoritarian electoral system to a combined electoral system was held in Italy – about 30 countries have completed the transition from one electoral system to another – all of them have transferred from majoritarian to proportional system and only some of them have transferred to the combined electoral system. Such approach is also characteristic of countries of the CIS: in particular, in Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Ukraine. Thus, the leading trend of the development of electoral systems is the transition to proportional and combined electoral systems.

In Italy at present the proportional electoral system is used; it is based on local lists with a number of thresholds (quota method) which determine admission to seat allocation, including the largest remainder method; for the election to the House of deputies there was introduced a threshold for the country as a whole, and for the election to the Senate a separate threshold exists for every constituency. It is well known that in 1993 at the referendum there was completed a transition to the combined electoral system; in its framework 75% of deputies are elected in one mandate constituencies according to the principle of simple majority, and 25% are elected according to the proportional system basing upon the party lists of candidates. In December 2005 the transition to a completely proportional system was fulfilled, though it was aimed at strengthening party coalitions, not independent big

political parties. For the House of deputies – in 2005 there was introduced the ‘bonus of majority’ to form a stable parliament and government if a party or a coalition at once did not receive 55% or 340 deputy seats (55% of deputy seats are allocated to it) (the Senate – bonuses for every constituency). At that, in the House of deputies a coalition should get 10%, and within the coalition a party should get not less than 2% to get a seat; the party which has almost 2% also gets a seat. A party beyond a coalition should get 4%. If a coalition received less than 10%, but a party within a coalition received over 4%, this party participates in seat allocation. The senate – a coalition should get 20% of valid votes, at that within the coalition a party is supposed to get not less than 3% to be allocated a seat. A party beyond a coalition is to get 8%. If a coalition received less than 20% but a party in the coalition got over 8% this party participates in seat allocation.

At present the European parliament is elected on the basis of national laws according to the rules of proportional electoral system (before 2002 some countries elected on the basis of majoritarian electoral system (for instance, England).

**The main factors which affect the transition from one electoral system to another electoral system are the following:**

(1) Provision of stability and effectiveness of the work of parliament (as a means against pre-term election in the conditions of the parliament being entered by a great number of parties, including minor ones and the establishment on this basis of reluctant parliamentary coalitions to provide a steady work of parliament, as well as of the government, especially in cases when the parliament forms the government on the basis of parliamentary majority);

(2) Provision of a maximum account of political (multi-party) diversity as of one of the main tendencies of European electoral heritage;

(3) Assistance to the formation of a system of big and responsible political parties in the framework of proportional electoral system (on this basis the electoral system is meant

to play a leading, determining role in provision of the development of a multi-party system, including parliamentary multi-party system)<sup>1</sup> – it is paid attention to in one of the latest resolutions of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation (2007) concerning the matter of the number of members of a political party;

(4) Creation of conditions for a party of parliamentary majority to be determined to form a stable government (in a number of countries to achieve this goal electoral systems provide assignment of electoral bonus (of an additional number of deputy seats) to a party under certain conditions, for instance in Italy);

(5) The use of thresholds (or quotas) for a certain range and number of political parties to enter the parliament, at that in a number of countries this threshold was decreased (to 3% the Ukraine), which follows one of the latest recommendations of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (April 2007), where the establishment of a threshold which does not exceed 3% is recognized to correspond to the European electoral heritage; in other countries this threshold was increased, including the cases when it was increased to 7% (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia), which does not contradict the European electoral heritage either, as in the case with Turkey (2007) the European Court of Human Rights stated that a 10% threshold can be used if it does not hinder the formation of a political multi-party system in parliament, i.e. if it does not create a political monopoly of one party and single political views. Therefore, the threshold is supposed to promote the formation of a steady political diversity in parliament, but not to hinder its forming and functioning.

I would like to thank **Igor Borisov**, member of the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation, **Ivan Mostovich**, head of Information and Public Relations Administration (IPRA) of the Executive office of the CEC of Russia and **Vladimir Lysenko**, deputy chief of IPRA of the Executive office of the CEC of Russia for their great assistance in preparing of this material.

**Armand Clesse<sup>2</sup>**

## ELEMENTS FOR THE FOUNDATIONS OF A NEW CIVILIZATION

A civilization comprises material and non-material factors, concrete and abstract ones. It consists of science, tech-

nology, economic production and it consists of culture, art, religion (s. Alfred Weber), all these factors having taken a distinct shape and acquired perennality, lasting for centuries or even millennia, changing modalities but not the essence. It is difficult to say how many civilizations there are at the present time: a Western, a Chinese, a Hindu, an Islamic one? Most philosophers and historians do not agree how many civilizations have existed in the past. Arnold Toynbee for

<sup>1</sup> According to the legislation of a number of countries to form a political party it is necessary to observe a complex of organizational, legal and other conditions, to which, in particular, the availability of a minimum number of members of the political party refers. The minimum number varies from one country to another – from mega minimum to Maxi minimum. For instance, in 29 countries of Europe and Asia the requirements to the minimum number of members of a political party are the following: 3 members of a political party in Finland; 10 members – in Hungary; 20 members – South Korea; 30 members – Turkey; 100 members – Croatia; 200 members – Armenia, Greece, Slovenia; 300 members – Georgia; 400 members – Lithuania; 500 members – Albania, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia; 1,000 members – Azerbaijan, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Estonia; 10,000 members – Ukraine; not fewer than 20,000 members living in at least 8 local subjects – (regions), including the Republic of Karakalpakstan and the city of Tashkent – Uzbekistan; 50,000 members of a political party – the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan. Besides, in a number of states there are other requirements including the ones which are directly or indirectly connected with the minimum number of members of a political party. In the Law of parties in the FRG though there is a legislative requirement to the availability of a certain number of members of a political party, which is supposed to prove the seriousness of its intentions, this very number is not established by the Law. In Latvia it is fixed that at least half of a political party should be represented by citizens of the Republic of Latvia (taking into account the fact that non-citizens can be members of a political party, though according to the legislation they are considered to be a special group of residents of Latvia). In Malta foreign citizens can be members of a political party, however 9 months before the election day of Parliamentary elections they lose their rights as members of a political party (up to the end of the election campaign). In Poland, Spain, Great Britain, the Netherlands there are no direct indications of the minimum number of members of a political party in the legislation. At that,

in the Netherlands, for instance, it is necessary for a political party to meet the requirements to legal bodies, which is enough for a political party to take part in the election. In Sweden and Japan there are no requirements to the formation of political parties, including the minimum number of their members, in the legislation. In Italy political parties are not registered as legal bodies. In Belgium the legislation about political parties is absent.

In Kazakhstan in November 2008 there were some changes introduced to the legislation concerning political parties; these changes referred to the decrease of the minimum number of members of a political party, which is necessary for a political party to be registered – from 50 to 40 thousand members. In the Letter of the President of the Russian Federation to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation of the 5th of November 2008 there is an offer to gradually decrease the maximum number of members of a political party, which is necessary for a new political party to be registered.

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example first talked of twenty-one, later twenty-three, William McNeill and Fernand Braudel of nine.

Many people even outside the West think of the Western civilization as the dominant one. But what is Western civilization really about? A certain way of life? Specific values (freedom, tolerance), political institutions (democracy), a certain economic dispensation (liberalism), a certain religion (Christian), a certain state of the mind (reason), certain cultural traits?

It seems that the content of the Western civilization and perhaps of the other ones becomes more and more diffuse. Are we watching under the labels of modernisation and globalisation the slow dissolution of civilizations? Indeed, they seem to lose increasingly their contours as well as their substance. This, however, appears to be less true for Islam, and the question more generally arises whether religion might be not just the most significant glue but also elixir keeping a civilization strong and vibrant.

Civilization is wider than culture; culture is part of the civilization. A civilization may be created on purpose, whereas culture emerges above all spontaneously. Civilization can be universal in its claim, appeal and application, culture not.

Civilization, to a certain degree at least, precedes culture, and culture may be a kind of compression of civilization. Women have played a greater role in the process of civilization than in the making of culture; they had a decisive impact on customs, "moeurs", i.e. the basis of any cultural refinement. This civilizational role of women has however been declining in the Western societies in the second half of the 20th century and has almost vanished now, a feminist and largely barbarian influence having replaced the feminine one. This feminist movement contributes to the vulgarisation and impoverishment of Western culture as well as civilization.

Certainly each civilization is a mixture of refinement and brutality, the decisive question being which elements prevail. One may also talk of a discrepancy or even contradiction between realms of sophisticated culture and realms of barbarism: concert halls and slaughterhouses.

As the 20th century, and of course all previous centuries have shown there has been no civilizational progress when it comes to the behaviour of man towards man or man towards other creatures.

Regarding the political organisation of life, (parliamentary) democracy provides for at least an indirect participation of all citizens in decision-making but in reality these citizens have no substantive role to play. In the material realm most Western societies profess an egalitarian credo when there are in fact growing economic discrepancies.

The stated efforts, particularly since enlightenment, to give Western civilization a humanist and humanitarian touch have largely failed. The proclaimed aims of civilization have not been fulfilled. Religion, philosophy, scientific enquiry and discovery have not managed to raise the inner core of civilization to a higher level.

Western civilization, which now is often perceived as an American civilization, consists of debris laboriously lumped together. It is a plasticized, synthetic and deossified civilization – decadent, exhausted, emasculated and derelict.

The main characteristics of the present Western civilization are its emptiness and vacuity. Western civilization has been losing its substance throughout the centuries. It has also lost its faculty to create and to reinvent itself. The loss of intellectual and spiritual substance has been exponential in character in the second half of the 20th century, with mediocrity triumphing in all realms of Western life. Philosophers and others may have

succeeded in deconstructing the Western discourse but they have not been able to come up with something to fill the void. The West remains haunted by the aberrations of modernity and post-modernity.

Looking beyond the West we see largely colonised and heteronomous civilizational models: this is true for the whole of Latin America but also for Africa, and even large parts of Asia with the exception of China and Japan.

There is an ongoing process of de-civilization engendered above all by de-spiritualisation. The West desperately tries to maintain a supremacy no longer underpinned by substance. On a global level, and despite the resiliency and even a certain revival of Islam, a hollowing out and a shrinking of the concept of civilization takes place.

What is now called civilization is at best referring to some increasingly marginal aspects of what traditionally has been called civilization. The process of secularisation has been paralleled by an erosion of the foundations of Western civilization manifested by a reprimittivisation. The result is a morally clueless, bewildered and disoriented society. Some rather trivial concepts such as human rights are supposed to serve as ethical surrogates. The values that are proclaimed to guide the behaviour of so-called modern citizens are at best derivate in character.

If it is true that much of the world beyond the West has been impregnated and in a sense contaminated with Western civilization, this would mean that the creation of a new civilization would require a radical de-Westernization of the world and a decolonisation of the minds. To get rid of the Western civilization, its cultural hegemony and even diktat a global restructuring and rebalancing would be needed. A new civilizational model based on diversity drawn from many roots will have to be founded on a number of common values and beliefs.

The key value of any future ethical code will have to be the absolute sanctity of life, the absolute respect for all forms of life.

The separation into the worth and dignity of human life versus that of animal life is at the basis of a divisive and discriminatory philosophy of life which is characteristic of Western philosophy from Plato through Descartes to the mostly minor philosophers of the 20th century. Religion, with the exception of Jainism and to a certain degree Buddhism and Hinduism, is also to blame for this greatest ethical aberration. For the Christians for example man is the crown of the creation who has the right if not the duty to subjugate all the other creatures and nature itself. What is needed is a conciliation – for those who believe in the paradisaic version of evolution, re-conciliation – of the so-called humans with the so-called animals, with a focus on spirituality instead of materialism, Dostoevsky instead of Marx. What this implies concretely is for example the prohibition of abortion of human beings as well as the consumption of "animals", the end of speciesism, the end of all forms of domination and exploitation – intraspecies as well as interspecies (for those who want to stick to this, in fact obsolete, category of species), the end of exclusion (of ghettos etc.), the end of racism, the end of political borders, the end of militarism.

What it would lead to is the dawn of a new civilization, in fact a first civilization, i.e. the first way of living together that would deserve the name of civilization. It would imply the eradication of the will to harm or to oppress, to kill, and thus entail an ethical, mental, spiritual and ultimately ontological revolution, the first real revolution in the history of mankind and at the same time the last one.

Anne Coldefy-Faucard<sup>1</sup>

## DIALOGUE OF CULTURES WITHOUT A LANGUAGE

To the two key words of the conference, 'dialogue' and 'culture', I would add another: 'language', which is justified by the fact that those using the dialogue use the language. My presentation is going to evolve around these three notions. Put together, these three words raise a lot of questions. I am going to highlight only a few: what language or languages are meant and what dialogue do they serve? We all live in the era of communication, means of communication being numerous and perfect, but do they have anything to do with the dialogue? 'Dialogue of cultures' implies existence of several cultures, so can one speak of cultural diversity in the time of globalization?

Keeping these three questions in mind, I could entitle my presentation 'Cultures and languages without a dialogue' or 'A dialogue and languages, but not culture?' Apart from aesthetic aspect, and just because it sounds not as good as my 'Dialogue of Cultures Without a Language', this word combination means that the given speculation refers to the language. My personal experience which makes the foundation for my lecture explains it: I teach the Russian literature at Sorbonne (it includes language and culture) to French and Russian speaking students (a number of Russian students coming to study in France is increasing constantly – here we deal with language and dialogue); I translated a great deal of works by Russian authors into French and I conduct a seminar on literary translation at Sorbonne and Lausanne universities (it refers to language, culture and dialogue).

\* \* \*

In the early '20s of the 20th century, 'the first wave' of Russian emigration to Paris, as it was later called, started. It was caused by the October revolution of 1917 and the Civil War. The emigrants felt at ease in France. It is all the more surprising if one compares the first wave with the second one (after World War II) or with the third wave of 1970s and early 1980s. As the second wave failed to get adapted to Paris and in a broader sense to Europe they fled to the USA and Latin America. The third wave, not so numerous or at least those who settled in France, were dissidents which means writers, painters and intelligentsia, in a word, cultural workers. How could one account for the fact that they eagerly come back to Russia in the 1990s, as soon as they are allowed to, while their predecessors of 1920s have long before become 'the Frenchmen of the Russian origin'?

The meaning of the language here is doubtless: all Russian emigrants of the first wave and their descendants speak fluent French. French of the third wave is very poor. Moreover, the first-wave emigrants belong to two cultures simultaneously: Russian and French (speaking broader, European). Here we hardly speak of 'a dialogue of cultures' as they represent several cultures. Some first wave emigrants are known to have come back to Russia as early as in the '30s because, unfortunately, they could not stand their separation from the Fatherland. Emigration remains emigration, though immersion into the language and culture of the host country makes one's life easier.

The third wave of emigration represents the Russian culture – an interesting one, but insufficiently studied, I think; the culture alien and ideologically opposed to the Western culture (Western European and American), whether we like it or not. This culture is based on the language of the Soviets,

the Soviet ideological language, which in any respects is artificially formed and planted.

I know from my own experience that this language is impossible to translate into any other human language. I wish I could give more examples. But I'll limit myself to mentioning but one Soviet language fact which came into existence after the revolution of 1917: abbreviations. All modern languages abound in abbreviations: the faster the life, the shorter the words; as if we are short of time to pronounce them in full. But Soviet abbreviations are of a special kind: they develop earlier than in other countries and they are more numerous. Their aim is to 'deprive life of certainty,' make it abstract. Alexander Zinoviev played on the phenomenon in his works.

Let's take the Russian notion 'zhilploshchad' – in which 'zhil' is shortening for living and 'ploshchad' is area ('housing' or 'living area'). What does the dialogue of cultures or just dialogue have to do with it? We could translate the term literary in French as 'surface habitable'; but it is impossible to abbreviate the word the way it is shortened in Russian. What we get is 'surfhabit' or 'habitsurface' which does not make sense for the French. The unabbreviated combination 'surface habitable' is also so obscure that one can hardly guess what is hidden in it. Some will argue that we touch the sphere of everyday life. But isn't everyday life a part of culture?

Thus, the Soviet language is rich in the words which can be translated into other languages only 'word for word,' and it makes them even more misty. Gorbachov's trinity 'perestroika, glasnost, uskoreniye' (restructuring, openness, acceleration) is another recent example. In the beginning these three terms were translated into French as 'restructuration, transparence, accélération'. But soon it became clear that the notions 'perestroika' and 'restructuration' differed; the words 'glasnost' and 'transparence' did not mean the same. As for 'uskoreniye', the only word that rang a bell, it came out of use very soon.

After all the collisions of the late 20th century the world had to face an unprecedented situation which can be described by the word 'globalization'. In terms of culture (rather simplified, though) globalization means the following: all individuals should be able to understand each other in every corner of the Earth. What is needed is similar lifestyles and thinking.

Practically, it inevitably leads to some political consensus, to economic and state models applicable to all and, therefore, unified and simplified cultures.

On the level of words, it manifests itself in the emergence of some 'universal' language: we are well aware of the expansion of the American English language with its tendency for simplification; to say nothing of other languages imitating and borrowing its vocabulary.

The Russian language used to borrow a lot from other tongues: sea terminology from Dutch, military terms from German, ranks from German of the time of Peter the Great, philosophic concepts from German and French, literary ideas from French of the late 18th and of the early 20th century. It did its best, however, to retain its inner fertility (sometimes unconsciously). All the more, these transformed borrowings added to its profusion. Therefore, it is only owing to such mutual exchange that the dialogue like that may be possible. In the frame of a linguistic interchange, I would like to give a few examples of such terms as 'nihilism', which was coined by the most European Russian Turgenev on the basis of Latin (the language common to entire Europe) and then was borrowed by other world languages. The same refers to the term 'intelligentsia', also of Latin origin, but with the Russian

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suffix, which also reached every part of the planet (it should be noted, however, that the term does not necessarily mean the same, say, in Russian and French).

Beginning from the 1990s, Russian as many other languages has loaned much from American English, for instance, in economics, finance, partially politics and diplomacy. I remember the words 'merchandizing' and alike in the Russian press which revealed their meaning only when pronounced aloud. They provoked readers' question, 'What creature is that?'

Nevertheless, one can concede that in the field of technology the schematic 'international language' is more convenient as it gives a chance for the professionals of different countries to understand each other instantly. Computer language belongs to the same category. Though we are speaking here of the 'language' with its rich history and human elaboration rather than 'speech'.

But in the sphere of philosophy and ideology the language of globalization is of little help for understanding and a fortiori conducting a dialogue. Let us take as an example the word 'global' expressed in the words 'democracy', 'démocratie', 'демократия' (their nature is in fact the same, but they differ slightly in 'local' grace notes). You may not be sure that the word means the same or something similar to all. Let me remind you that new ideological ideas thrust on Russia in 1917 and later on were so strange for most people that they distorted these foreign words. Many writers and memoirists mention that 'revolution' could change into 'leftorution,' 'socialism' into 'sucilism,' etc., the words easier pronounced. That case was not new. As far back as in 1825 when the aristocrats made soldiers on the Senate Square shout 'For Constantine and the Constitution,' the latter were sure that the mysterious Constitution was Constantine's spouse.

Today we can smile or even laugh at their ignorance. But we should not. There is no indication to where we are in the process of assimilation of cultures on the global level. Pessimists, who are known to be well-informed optimists, will argue that the opposite is true.

The European Union seems to have taken a wise stand towards cultures and the dialogue between cultures: not to use any foreign language, in most discussions, English on occasions. All the languages of all the countries of the global community are equal in the right of citizenship, both in

Brussels and Strasbourg official languages are equally used for translations.

In theory, one can favour such a state of things. But practice is not so cheerful, because in spite of seeming equality of the languages and cultures, in spite of the acceptance of their diversity we witness another form of 'globalization' and levelling. The reason lies in the dominant ideas imposed on us by means of translation. In short, a reverse order is used: instead of taking numerous languages and cultures of Europe as a common reference point, attempts are being made to develop an artificial unity based on utopia, nothing real. It resulted in a costly, hardly manageable and inefficient organization. In fact, one has to visit some countries of the Union (in particular, former countries of the Warsaw Pact which have become members of the EU recently) only to see a great disproportion and understand that facets of this notorious 'European culture' are viewed as a neglect. Ironically, before World War I Europe seemed a greater cultural unity with peasant and Christian traditions serving as its foundation. So, Polish, French and other peasants could understand each other without knowing the language of their European neighbours owing to similar lifestyles and culture, as shown in *The Peasants*, a fascinating novel by the Nobel laureate in literature, Polish writer Władysław Stanisław Reymont.

Such Europe no longer exists; it is doing its best to form the union, in vain; but the dialogue of cultures sometimes resembles the dialogue of the deaf.

It is not for the first time in history that we turn to the unavoidable question, 'What to do?' No true dialogue of cultures is possible unless representatives of different cultures respect each other. Learning the otherness may take years. No doubt, universities should play a significant role in the work. And no doubt, there are a lot of obstacles ahead, as the 'global' tendency is the tendency to simplify.

The inevitable question, 'What to do?' leads to another no less inevitable one, 'Who is to blame?' The fault is partially 'global': we yield to shallowness. But only partially. There is another dream in History, a utopia based on more or less plausible and recognized reasons, a model to fit the whole planet, sticking out its nose as if the lessons of the past were not learnt. University professors should be in the forefront fighting against such barren schemes and should defend cultures and languages, in other words, people.

Marc Druesn<sup>1</sup>

## OUR TARGET IS TO TIGHTEN UP THE BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP

I feel highly honoured to be given an opportunity to participate in this conference; all the more so because I do not belong to either academic or scientific community. And still my presence here is not accidental. I would like to welcome, confirm and even test Your aspiration to involve in the conference named 'The dialogue of cultures' a representative of a democracy which is growing decrepit, but which is in fact innovative and critical, for this representative to share his civic experience. As an executive of a public organization I am an active member of the 'union of citizens', whose vocation is to cement the friendship and promote the exchange between our countries – Russia and France – their peoples, and, therefore, their cultures.

Let us start with the language: the range of problems of a language as of a means of communication and thinking is quite significant in the structure forming dialectic of our own

self-awareness (identity) and our attitude to the Other. Please, take into consideration my deliberate intention to speak French, for me, I hope, to be able to put across the sense of what I am saying as well as possible and to strengthen this language in the diverse chorus of languages which our human culture consists of. In this way I may respond to the alarm signal which was sent out by the UNESCO and which makes a prediction that 'with the disappearance of languages entire ethnos will disappear'?

A necessary condition for the practical work of our association is fulfilling of a broad and mutually enriching exchange and promoting of teaching our two languages – Russian and French respectively. We try to stand in the way of Anglo-Saxon hegemony and that is why, for instance, during the scientific colloquium 'European dialogues in Evian' which deals with global warming issues and which is held on our initiative we choose French and Russian to be our working languages. In this sense we think an idea of a French philologist Claude Hagège to be relevant, an idea according to which 'English

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is a universal language only because this is the language of the domineering state and, consequently, of the winning liberalism'. All this would mean that we are supposed to interpret this hegemonistic situation not in essentialist terms concerning the pseudo virtues inherent in the English language, but in terms of historical conjuncture which is subordinate to the free will of people. Also, being partners of the 'Russophonie' prize awarded for the best translation from Russian into French we would like to start two proposals:

– the Russian language which a lot of people speak within Russia and outside Russia is the uniting means of transference and spread of culture and in this role it is an active participant of the worldwide dialogue where it has its own place and where it plays an active role;

– translation is not only some optional useless work or a special means – though it undoubtedly is some special means – but it is a necessary and fundamental act of civilization. Probably, a special gift of men and women to draw from the source of the Other is expressed and consists in it (let us remember the quotation of A. Rimbaud 'I am somebody else'). I would like to cite a funny remark of Erich Einhorn concerning Paul Celan's translation of the poems of A. Blok and S. Yesenin; this translation probably 'could excel the original', as in the so-called foreign language the sense of the poems was put across better.

In this place of my report I think it necessary to apply for help to a philosopher Jacques Derrida. Indeed, the desire to propagate and extol, as we do it, our 'own' language seems to be exposing us to a danger which is not an imaginary one; this is the danger of nationalism and linguistic patriotism, which is not intent on listening or sharing an opinion but on dominating and discriminating. According to the statement of Derrida, the key factor of the wanted policy could become the urge for listening and sharing others' opinions 'because a language is not a property of something and it cannot become a thing belonging to some national or ethnic community, it is attacked by all types of nationalism and predatory other is created around it. Because from the moment I start to respect and cultivate the singularity of a language I cultivate it as mine and the other's one, i.e. the language of the other is to be respected and, consequently, I should resist the nationalistic temptation to cross my borders, as this temptation has always been imperialistic'. This is a warning, and, without a doubt, a call for managing contradictions which are typical of human narrow-mindedness; the contradictions in the form in which they are presented to us by the caution and belief taking root from the experience of well-considered and corrected practice.

Certainly, there are basic universal requirements of human rights for life and dignity. There is no doubt that we cannot violate the commandment of 'thou shalt not kill', nor can we break the Kantian maxim 'to always consider a human being to be the highest aim, but not a means'. But can a completed, prescriptive and regulatory code of laws remain exceptionally settled, self-evident and eternal, always drawing inspiration from one and the same things? Or in the future the universal will deny itself to the renewed and coordinated action of united peoples, who are busy understanding a human movement where no one will be able to take advantage even of a temporary privilege to proclaim the paradigm of the mankind.

This assumption – which nevertheless can be reassessed any moment – occurred to me, particularly, while I was travelling around your enormous country from the north to the south and from the west to the east, after my long stay in African wilderness, and my long stay in India only fastened this idea in my mind, even if, as I have already mentioned, this assumption is preliminary. It may seem pathetic but think over the question asked by Valentin Rasputin about the constancy of the lost or endangered 'Russianness'; this question was asked there, on the bank of Baikal, not far from China and

Mongolia, where one can feel the impact of the morals, customs and divine beings of Buriatia.

I am coming to the conclusions, my conclusions being only preliminary ones. I will come back to what I was saying at the beginning of my report, to what may have seemed to you to be only my introduction at the first meeting. It went: 'our vocation is to cement friendship', and the principles and philosophy of cultural exchange are contained in it. Firstly, here we need friendliness, which does not annul insight, which on the proviso of an effort full of mutual respect of common cognition will be able to break prejudice and preconceptions. This is the respect, to which Derrida calls and which is love in Kantian tradition, i.e. an act of hospitality, of readiness to accept the Other in their likeness and difference.

Putting it in a different way, I will say that we at least have found out that there is not an unconditional model which we could categorically boast of, and that it does not become us to glorify ourselves and promote ourselves to the rank of ones teaching lessons. We have realized that it is necessary for us to work, and this is our task and our challenge, at enjoying equal rights and fraternal accord (Régis Debray specified that accord does not belong to the sphere of the given, but it belongs to the sphere of change). Everyone, in their place and in their role, is meant to take part in working out this last problem.

The following facts from my experience can be discussed as examples:

mission of observers at the election of March 2008;

founding of the 'Russian World' foundation in November 2007;

connections with Irkutsk.

Last year I was a member of the French mission of observers at the time of presidential election, we were to issue or not to issue the certificate of the correct management and compliance with the principles of democracy to Russia. Certainly, I was not misled and let me express some of my views concerning this matter:

We can only observe what can be observed, and the shown things cannot always be read without the code for reading.

To be an observer means to commit oneself to an outward attitude to the event.

In this case there appears a wish to compare it with your own experience which becomes a sample, norm and even a model... and reality, not being different, quickly becomes a deviation from the norm, a withdrawal from the right way, or a fault.

I have always maintained that the moment of election, a necessary and revealing one, still should be understood in the context of the entire democratic process, i.e. it should provide everybody with the freedom of will expression and of choice, to strengthen the sovereignty of the people in this way. Let the citizens of Russia themselves make sure in a corresponding way, if the mandate their representative is entrusted with is performed in the necessary way and if it serves the common advantage. This reasoned reference to civic responsibility does not remain an indifferent one but is regardful and trustful, but at the same time it reminds – without pressure (without prescribing) – that sovereignty undoubtedly complies with the criteria of the requirements which are universal for all of us. And, finally, for a mistake or confusion not to occur here, when I say 'amiability' I do not mean indulgence: act of racist violence and of physical intimidation practiced with some fighters for social rights, are unacceptable and cause protest in the name of the respect, which was spoken of before. Here is the final specification, to give a reply to everybody, who will see only bias and extenuating compromise with the existing order of things in our position. You have realized, and I am not thinking anything up and I am not embellishing the reality, that politics and culture are in cross-defining relations, and it is checked, having no formal expression, in the course of our cooperation.



## El Hassan bin Talal<sup>1</sup>

### DIGNITY AND JUSTICE: COMMON CHALLENGES OF GLOBAL SECURITY

The Third World is my first world, the most deprived and dangerous but also most diverse and dynamic part of the world. The region from which I come, the Middle East, embodies these qualities as well as anywhere in the third world. Perhaps because of its sometimes seemingly insuperable difficulties, the Middle East has accumulated an increasingly rich alphabet soup in an attempt to define it and to categorize the dynamics common throughout the region: MENA (Middle East and North Africa), WANA (West Asia and North Africa), NANE (North Africa and Near East), ROMENACA (Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia), and there must be more. They come and go. The region stretches from Marrakesh to Bangladesh, from Casablanca to Calcutta. It is currently enduring at least three wars which have already resulted in more displaced human beings than at any other time in human history. It contains some of the earth's driest regions and some of its richest – not only in oil reserves, which often seem more like a curse than an asset, but in its largely untapped human potential which is where we must expend our efforts to engender hope of better lives than most people currently endure.

The term human security was coined to shift the focus of security from the state to the individual, to emphasize freedom from fear and want. But I would like to depart from the familiar dichotomy between security as the *defense of states* and security as a *personal right*, and offer a different perspective, viewing this question through a wider lens, a lens which captures the full gamut of inter-personal, community-oriented and culturally-founded relationships which take place between the levels of individual and state. This lens is the one with which I am the most familiar, and the lens, which I believe gives us a way to frame and implement effective and collective action toward the advancement of human security.

The scale of the elemental crises of the last few weeks in China and Myanmar have given us a glimpse of the challenges that the world will continue to face. They have reminded us of our common vulnerability and shared humanity while also emphasizing the need to bring the concept of human security from the conceptual to the practical as we ponder critical questions of responsibility and sovereignty. It would seem to me obvious that we must frame the meaning of security within an expanded context, that human security must now contain the imperative of *human survivability and resilience*.

Imbalances between nations – population growth, poverty, food, resources, ecology, migration, energy, money peace and cultural understanding – are pivotal security issues. They have the capacity to impact individual lives exponentially in all places across the world. As transnational issues, they are multipliers of human security – either for widespread stability or instability - and these multipliers can provide a new foundation for human security as a responsibility of the global commons.

Let me explain what I mean by briefly reviewing current global conditions.

#### Population Security

World population is now 6.6 billion, and we're adding 220,000 new people each day. Our enlarging global

population – combined with rising wages, purchasing power and consumption in the emerging economies – has escalated the demand for food, commodities, oil, and other resources. If the world is going to carry 9 billion people by 2050, we must all have the right to population security, ensuring that the resources available on this planet are sustainable in relation to our population growth and consumption per person.

#### Food Security

As the world grows more populous, many nations are also becoming more prosperous overall. Some two dozen states from the emerging South have enjoyed economic growth and become more dependent on each other's growth; but the poorer states of the developing South are just as dependent on demand from the North as they were thirty years ago. One billion people still live in extreme poverty, 70% of whom are in Africa. Unbearable poverty continues to afflict major regions of Asia and Latin America. Three-quarters of the world's poor live in rural areas, where food accounts for more than half of a family's spending.

As you are well aware, tightening food supplies and rising food demand are now resulting from:

- poor harvests
- lack of fresh water and fertile soil
- rising prices for seeds and fertilizer
- the use of food crops for bio-fuels
- increases in the land needed for meat and dairy production (displacing grain production for people)
- rising oil and transportation prices
- trade-distorting subsidies on agriculture
- and food export restrictions

As demand soars, supplies are unable to keep pace. Food aid, health services, and medicinal supplies also decline as the price of food goes up, pushing hundreds of millions into hunger and malnutrition, economic depression, and social unrest. It should be clear by now that water and food, which are essential to life, are human rights reflecting the personal dignity, common needs and well-being of humanity.

#### Resource Security

Nonrenewable resources are also being depleted at a rapid rate. As population, industrial output and consumption continue to rise, more and more capital and energy are needed to grow food and to locate, extract, and process the remaining resources. Major new investment is being diverted both into agriculture and the extraction of nonrenewable resources. While this increasing financial speculation in food and resources is decisive in meeting human needs, it is also draining the money that would otherwise be going into industrial production and basic capital growth.

This misallocation of investment – which is further distorted by uneven terms of trade – diminishes the quality of life and security for local populations across the world. Obviously, the inequitable distribution of world resources has a profound impact on human security. Each of us should have the right to an adequate supply of goods based on our interdependence with one another, the interests of our future welfare, and that of our descendants.

#### Environmental Security

Rising temperatures and extreme climate patterns are also having an enormous impact on human security. Many people – especially the poor in some of the world's most crowded and marginally productive areas – are affected by:

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a lack of water for drinking and irrigation  
 a decline in agricultural production  
 increased resource scarcity  
 loss of supportive wildlife  
 widespread disease from mosquitoes and other pests  
 declining health  
 economic losses caused by hurricanes, tornadoes and cyclones  
 volatility in economic output and trade  
 and increasing poverty

The harmful impact of these climate extremes on human livelihoods and living conditions, combined with heightened competition for scarce resources, has triggered disputes over territory, food and water supplies, social and cultural traditions, and tribal and religious differences. Fundamental and unresolved issues of territoriality, identity and movement<sup>1</sup> of peoples lead to sectarian and ethnic violence, armed conflict, mass migration, and the spread of infectious disease. The health, well-being and rights of those who are forced to leave their homes and communities through external disruptions must be given particular attention. We usually think of migrants and refugees fleeing political conflict, but increasingly they are also victims of the menacing effects of global warming. We are currently witnessing many instances of this kind of temperature-driven civil strife and social displacement in parts of Central Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America.

Environmental stability, including the protection of displaced persons, is an essential human right that flows from our commitment to human dignity, our connectedness with all living beings, and our responsibility to the Earth.

#### **Energy Security**

In addition to food, resource and environmental instability, there is growing anxiety about whether the world has enough oil to meet its future energy requirements. As you know, an energy disruption in one area of the world has an immediate impact on prices and energy security in other areas. The national security dangers arising from dependence on foreign oil, combined with aggressive competition for strategic reserves of fossil fuels, will likely lead to further degradation of natural resources, continued global warming, and major economic instability, particularly in the world's most impoverished regions. And this is likely to further inflame extremism and terrorism in some places, particularly where rising energy costs severely impact human livelihood – which is why legal empowerment of the poor through improved access to justice, the rule of law, and property, labor and business rights, is now so critical.

Access to reliable and affordable supplies of clean energy is an essential human right based on the responsibility of the world community to empower the poor to meet their material needs, to fuel economic productivity, and to ensure the quality of life for people everywhere.

#### **Monetary Security**

The rising demand for food, energy, and other resources, which is now causing significant declines in supply, has also become a source of macroeconomic instability. Although emerging and developing states have been decoupling from the US financially for several years, they are still closely linked monetarily. If oil producers and states that peg or manage their currencies against the US currency decide that the long-term value of the dollar is unsustainable, they may shift their funds into other currencies. The United States would be forced to (1) reduce its massive current-account deficit (its trade flows and other international payments) through a significant drop

in the value of the dollar; and (2) increase its savings, either through a huge decline in consumer and corporate spending or by slashing its federal budget deficit drastically.

These two fiscal adjustments – especially if combined with the continuing inflation of food, commodity and energy prices – would send shockwaves across the world. It would produce volatility in exchange rates, currency instability, disruption of global capital flows, a disorderly unwinding of global debt payments, and increased protectionism. National budgets, trade balances, economic growth, jobs, income, and political stability would all be affected.

That is why monetary security is vital now for everyone, especially the poor. Our purchasing power, which directly affects the ability to feed our families, pay our bills, save and invest, is an essential social entitlement. The right to stable currency rates – as an expression of our collective cultural values, personal livelihood and self-worth – is particularly important as we enter this uncertain period of adjustment.

#### **Cultural Security**

Money, energy, resources and materials are necessary but not all-encompassing attributes of the human experience. Cultural security, a critical but often forgotten multiplier of human security, sets the stage through which all other forms of security ought to be defined and understood. One cannot feel secure without mutual understanding and cultural integrity, a reality which has become increasingly apparent among both the developing and developed worlds. Perceptions of too-rapid cultural change or 'cultural invasion' spurred by globalization and migration have strained inter-personal and international relationships. Lasting security for the individual and the nation necessitates a practical approach which understands culture as a pivotal component of human experience and political dialogue.

#### **Preventive Security**

There is an additional multiplier of human security which is closely related to the others. In states vulnerable to genocide, ethnic cleansing, and other crimes against humanity, as all may indeed be, there is an obvious need to protect individuals from atrocities before they are committed. The concept of states having a 'responsibility to protect' (R2P) citizens of all nations, debated in recent years by the United Nations in response to escalating violence, remains more heightened and ideologically coloured than such issues commonly are. I am of the opinion that the resolution of this debate is overdue.

The question today is whether intervention in the affairs of a state is a moral duty of the international community or a violation of state sovereignty; yet there is no forward reason why sovereignty could not be shared to reflect the realities of an interdependent world. Preventive security demands that we prepare for potential local and regional conflicts to protect people at risk of grave harm, and this becomes decisive as we face the grim prospect of mass hunger, large-scale environmental disruption, and clashes over increasingly scarce resources like oil and water in some areas. The right to preventive security arises from our collective responsibility to guarantee political stability, protect the defenseless, and ensure human betterment, based on the unique value of every person.

#### **State and Market Security**

The final two human security multipliers are ones that you might have expected me to mention first. But I don't believe they need to be emphasized, since they are so familiar. I'm speaking of states, which have the responsibility of providing political security to the people within their borders. And, of course, free markets – including labor, production, and finance – which provide a vital basis for economic security. States

<sup>1</sup> *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*. Vol. 28, No. 3. 1999. P. 483–498 (16), *Mapping Political Power Beyond State Boundaries*, Dr. Lothar Brock.

and markets are the cornerstones of modern civilization, and I could not possibly enumerate all of their many virtues in providing essential goods and services to consumers and protecting the welfare of citizens.

But I also think we overestimate their importance to human security. Indeed, because they exist virtually everywhere, there is a tendency to assume that only governments and markets can solve the world's problems, or that governments and markets are the sole agents of human security. Indeed, most of us are conditioned to see the world this way, which I believe is a very limiting point of view.

As I travel and discuss with many people the global challenges we are facing, it becomes increasingly clear to me that there are few foreign policy or commercial solutions that will ensure the common security of humanity. Strategic planning and cooperation for the future of the planet are desperately lacking.

I will be frank. The real issue today is not whether markets are self-correcting or whether they need regulating by states. The real issue is that nation-states and markets are not sufficient to handle the many problems that transcend national borders – problems like world hunger, resource depletion, economic deprivation, wealth disparity, global warming, environmental pollution, infectious diseases, cross-cultural conflicts, and terrorism.

### Global Commons

I'm convinced now as never before that there must be a third sector of popular will – a powerful countervailing force dedicated to ensuring human security and cooperation across borders.

Responsibility and authority must shift from governments downwards to individuals, communities and civil society, and upwards to international organizations, regional systems and networks. I also believe that together, as a global citizenry, we must now confront the many problems that impact our lives across territorial boundaries, involving matters of shared international concern that governments and markets are not equipped to address.

The real issues are:

that states have not relinquished their sovereignty to cooperate with one another more effectively, and market-driven solutions have proven incapable of addressing the systemic problems that transcend national borders

that a new balance between the common interests of states, markets, and people is essential to economic and social development, environmental harmony, and peace

that all matters bearing on the global commons must soon be linked together in one multilateral agenda and discussed

by a diverse group of representatives from every sector – government, business, and civil society

that these representatives should launch an immediate global action program ensuring the end of poverty, adequate food supplies, fair distribution of resources and commodities, a clean environment, protection of migrants and refugees, reliable and affordable energy, stable purchasing power, and a climate of peace

that this common action plan must also be seen as a tentative step toward geo-political realignment and global economic adjustment, leading to a greater degree of international unity and the creation of inclusive global governance

I'm presently heading a group of high-level representatives called the Integrity Council that is serving as an advisory body for an international consultation process. We have launched an international partnership – called the Coalition for the Global Commons – to engage civil society groups and individuals across the world in the development of a common global action plan, and empower them to take an active role in shaping our growing interdependence across the global commons.

My Dear Colleagues, on this 60th Anniversary of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, let us recognize that the principle of 'Dignity and justice for all of us' can only flow from human civilization as a single functioning whole – and therefore the question of cross-border intervention versus state sovereignty is ultimately a false dichotomy. To allow everyone in the world the opportunity to live free from fear and want, and to develop our full potentials in a healthy and supporting environment, means that individual rights, states rights, and international rights must be seen as an indivisible and dynamic unity, not as a source of polarization and conflict.

As human beings we naturally inhabit the future and the present - not just the present. If someone loses food, water and shelter, they can be provided with the means to obtain food, water and shelter, they can be provided with the means to obtain food, water and shelter again. But if that person has also lost their hope and their values, providing for their material needs will never provide them with a future again. Hope can only be rekindled with the re-implementation of those values which had been lost.

When we say that we are looking at human security, what we mean is that we want to alleviate the present situation by creating a system so that, as the future keeps arriving, it arrives in the form of better and better present situations. The consequences of what we do now must bring about a better present moment in which to live. The results of our actions now should lead to improved quality of life and the ability to instill hope.

**G. A. Gadzhiyev<sup>1</sup>**

## CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES – SOCIAL VALUES – INTERACTION OF LAW CULTURES

1. Century-old experience of humanity gives evidence that the dialogue of cultures rests upon human values which are its objective foundation. Cultures of different nations have something in common. Indeed, they are more alike than different. In terms of mathematics, their common root is wisdom gained through much suffering and guidelines that are

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passed down from generation to generation and that should be followed.

The guidelines taken separately assume an obligatory nature, while its highest manifestation is regulation. The idea is expressed in Dmitry Bykov's saying "Culture is a sign of obedience." Obedience to thousands of elaborate requirements and rituals developed through centuries, unnecessary as it may seem conventionalities... It results in the following: a cultured man is a person complying with plenty of taboos - not external like principles of law, but internal ones.

2. The world we live in has special segments in the form of legal reality. Only those who study law know about it. Law

students are sort of provided with ad-hoc glasses enabling them to see such parties as legal entities (the ones, ordinary people cannot see). The legal reality is inhabited with special characters. Even words of the human language acquire some special legal sense here. The word “deal” can be understood differently by an average man and a lawyer. Say, a big house which may seem very expensive for a lay person looks shabby in the eye of a lawyer who has found out that the house has been built illegally and has not been registered in the State register of legal entities.

Legal reality comprises values, constitutional values in the first place. In the opening lines of the Russian Constitution, the principle law of the country, which is at the top of the legislative hierarchy, one can find a statement that the right of a man is the supreme value. But a man enjoys quite a number of rights.

3. The subject of the International Likhachov Scientific Conference “Dialogue of cultures” does not exclude participation of lawyers in the discussion, too, because it is possible to speak of legal culture which is a part of the whole. We can speak of the European legal culture, national legal cultures as parts of the whole. What problems are being discussed by legal scholars regarding the subject of the Conference today?

It is due to time limit and common tact that these issues will be presented not in full but in a condensed form.

First of all, the subject matter of the dialogue of legal cultures is being discussed by scientists, specialists in constitutional and international law.

It should also be noted that within the theory of the constitutional law a new scientific trend is being formed – legal axiology.

What is its subject?

Any national constitution, which is at the top of the legislative hierarchy of legal norms, there is a certain set of constitutional values. (Article 2 of our Constitution states, for instance, that a man, human rights and freedoms are the supreme constitutional values. Not public interests, not interests of the state, but a man, human rights and freedoms).

As a rule, constitutional principles stated in Chapter 1 of the Russian Constitution are viewed as constitutional values alongside with constitutional human rights. And they are such general notions of law as supremacy of rights, dignity of a man, democracy, economic freedom.

Unfortunately, attempts to distinguish between the notions “constitutional values” and “constitutional principles” have not been successful so far.

Constitutional values are to a certain degree universal, i.e. they often embody values and ideas accepted in the modern world. Hence, the fact that they are included into the text of the Constitution allows making universal or European legal values an inner part of a national constitution.

Here comes a surprising phenomenon: the states being sovereign, their constitutions have a common root or a common denominator if we use mathematical terms!

The role of principles is great for exercising the Constitutional policy conducted by so called political bodies and the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation. For example, in order to adopt a law on anti-monopoly a legislator should have a notion what such constitutional terms as “monopolization” and “unfair competition” mean. New notions come up in the process of interpreting the text of the Constitution. The Constitutional Court also takes part in working out the Constitutional policy by monitoring how adopted laws agree with the Constitution.

4. And what should be done if a conflict sparks in the realization of two constitutional rights of equal worth – for instance, the right to freely express one’s opinion and the right to freely elect? The former right, if understood as an absolute

right not permitting restrictions, requires free expression of any political idea in any form. Let us imagine that during an election campaign, all political opponents openly tell sheer lies about each other. Whom should an ordinary man choose and can he/she express his/her free will in the situation (without being influenced by those who spread slander)?

And what should a court do, which has to try cases when conflicts between equivalent legal values arise? Should the court be guided by some extraneous legal values as the source of solving the dispute – let us suppose some ethical or religious values; or should the law and the legal reality possess their own separate set of values of the kind? What should be done if we have to decide whether a law agrees with the Constitution or not, as in the case with euthanasia allowed legally but banned by the religious tradition?

As is known, the right which is not in line with public ethics will be impracticable and inefficient. Hence, should we give preference to globalized cosmopolitan constitutional values or traditional social ones?

It is no coincidence that there are so many questions in this part of the presentation. It testifies to the fact that we lack theoretical or judicial doctrines so far, which could offer some methodology for the interpretation of constitutional norms about colliding constitutional rights on the basis of some extraneous legal (social) values. Judicial liberalism rests upon the permission to rely on moral principles while solving intricate disputes (R. Dvorkin). And again there is a question – whose moral principles are these? Are they the principles of the society or of judges themselves? As Aindrias Ó Caoimh, Judge of the European Court of Justice argues, transparent judicial methodology does not exist for the time being.

5. One thing is clear – constitutional principles are to play a special role, a role of an interpreter, in the dialogue of European and national legal cultures.

The articles of the Constitution containing constitutional principles and the articles containing specific judicial regulations (e.g., regarding the term of office of the President of Russia) differ in principle.

The former are characterized by the highest degree of regulatory generalization, non-specified juridical content and, hence, high diverse ability to develop by means of the formation of evolving ideas about them. These are such principles as recognition of a man’s dignity by the state, economic freedom, the state governed by law, social state, etc. It is only to them that we can apply the image of a constantly growing tree of ideas about constitutional principles. The latter are more specific and clear. They include, for example, constitutional norms regulating structure, procedure of formation, and powers of government bodies. Being a variation of legal principles, constitutional ones are basic world-view judicial instructions in a “contracted form.” Though not fully identified, they are real, but they contain some enigma at the same time and therefore like parables in holy scriptures possess some mystic contents. The social value of constitutional norms and principles is therefore not in their mysterious nature but in their system connections with other judicial regulations. Uppermost, they predetermine specific content of all other constitutional norms. It should come as no surprise, that according to the Constitution no statement of it can contradict constitutional principles which make up the basis of the constitutional system (Art. 16, Part 2).

Besides, constitutional principles are transformed into principles of branches of law and constitute “basics” of their legislature (see, for instance, Art. 6, Item 2 of the Civil Law of the Russian Federation). In this connection, judicial principles being immutable and reflecting objective regularity of the development of judicial regulation predetermine the content of the norms of not only current legislature, but also renewed legislature which is going to appear in future. That is a special

function of constitutional principles in the mechanism of law regulation. The ontological aspect of constitutional principles proposes that the answer is to be given to the question: What does the idea of constitutional principles in a special segment of existence - legal reality - is for? In all probability, predestination of constitutional principles suggests, first of all, programming and choosing of common objectives, in other words, the functions of a lighthouse.

Immutable and abstract nature of constitutional principles means that only the text of the Constitution is invariable. Special statements on amendments and changes of the Constitution written in the principle law (Chapter 9) hinder the revision of the text significantly, but do not prevent from dialectical changes of the notion of constitutional principles. These notions are created in the interests of effective law regulation and law-enforcement by judges. Hermeneutics, the science of interpretation (texts of scriptures, literary and judicial texts) has always implied human participation, and therefore, a certain subjectivity of creating notions. Interpretation activity of judges results in official notions of constitutional principles. Constitutional norms and principles to a greater degree than specific constitutional norms of the branches of law are subject to transformation in the process of interpretation, and it makes the development of the constitutional law dynamic.

Notions of constitutional principles are rather flexible, but they should not be compared to a fickle weather vane. Notions of constitutional principles are kept stable by discerning objective nature of each of them. Constitutional law does not have such a long history as civil law with quite a number of legal principles reflecting objective regularity of the development of property relations which every legislator in any country should not ignore. However, the constitutional law displays objective regularity of the development of the society through its norms and principles.

Changes in the notions of constitutional principles are a result of the constitutional policy adopted by all supreme state bodies.

The Constitutional Court should first of all take into consideration constitutional principles, which embody outcomes of important economic, social, and political decisions, when examining the issues of how judicial norms agree with the Constitution and when evaluating them, making them more exact and even changing notions of them. Thus, the Constitutional Court is more than involved into constitutional policy; it is its active participant.

Hence, constitutional principles belong to the category of the most important legal values and characterize the level achieved by the legal culture of the society.

The analysis of legal acts approved by the corporation of lawyers, legal principles, and the level of legal culture of the society on the whole make it possible to judge not only about the legal culture but about the culture of the society in general. Proving that law possesses its own values, one should not forget that law itself is an effective means to raise the level of culture of the society and is a social value. Using the notion of legal culture we can give the most general evaluation of the quality of legal reality of this or that society. As the constitutional law takes the leading position in the legislative system, its influence on raising the culture of the society is especially significant. The constitutional law of each country is in a sense the language of law, Esperanto, which enables different nations to conduct a dialogue in the sphere of law.

It is the constitutional law that helps relay international legal ideas contained in the international treaties and agreements in the Russian legal space.

It is the Constitution that states that universally recognized principles and norms of the international law and international treaties of the Russian Federation are a part of its legal system (Art. 15 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation).

**A. N. Gorbenko<sup>1</sup>**

## **INFORMATION WARFARE IN THE MODERN WORLD**

Dialogue of cultures is a form and a certain level of communication leading ideally to some harmonious interaction of its participants. However, the world is complicated – interaction of parties engaged in exchange of information does not necessarily presupposes harmony in international and cross-cultural relations, but often informational standoff and confrontation at the basis of which is striving for dominance over the adversary in the interests of one's own goals. In the modern world, the role of informational confrontation cannot be underestimated.

Information forms and means to fight opponents and to manipulate their consciousness, is one of the oldest ways to control people in a physically non-violent form, which has been applied practically and studied theoretically for centuries. Confucius, Plato and Aristotle pondered over the subject. Numerous works were written and methods worked out in the centuries to follow. Alexander Suvorov wrote about the necessity 'to develop spirit' in his theoretical work on military issues 'Science to Win'. As Napoleon put it, 'Four newspapers are able to do more evil than an army as large as a hundred thousand.' However, in spite of the fact that propaganda and sophisticated methods of falsifying information were widely

used in the foregone battles, the decisive role belonged to firepower. At the end of the 20th – early 21st century, the prerequisite and key attribute of the victory is dominance in information and psychology.

Transition to the unipolar world order established after the fall of the Soviet Union, activated theoretical and applied work on new methods and means of the information warfare. The results of the research done by the specialists of the American corporation 'Rand' in the late 1990s and revealed in the report MR-661-OSD (Strategic Information Warfare. A new face of War) prove the fact.

It was in this document that the term Strategic Information Warfare was used for the first time. Terminology of this kind substantially differs from the official version of the information warfare in its rather restricted sense (like radio-electronic bomb).

One should define the following key features of strategic information warfare (SIW): relatively moderate cost of its means, absence of traditional state borders, difficulty in the detection of the beginning of the operation as well as the field of this operation in the general information stream.

Two generations of information warfare differ in the following. Whereas the first generation of the information warfare is viewed as one of the components alongside with other means to achieve goals (nuclear, chemical, biological and others), the second generation of strategic information

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warfare under the conditions of information revolution is defined as a long-term influence (weeks, months, and years), which enables to refuse from the use of military force at all.

In one of the scripts attached to the Report, the Strategic Information Warfare between Russia and the USA is forecast as far as 2010. It is quite obvious that being somewhat of a novelty, 'the second generation of SIW' has formally outlined the goals of information warfare carried out by the US intelligence service from the time of the cold war. 'The second generation of SIW,' however, suggests a somewhat different strategy which is aimed at the formation of the atmosphere of spiritual vacuum, immorality, negativism toward the cultural heritage of the enemy; this plan also includes destabilization of relations between parties, unions and movements, instigation of erroneous management decisions, social and national clashes, discrediting the state in the eyes of international community and some others.

From the late 1990s, 'Rand' experts have realized that SIW is an independent and basically new form of strategic standoff.

US President's Directive PDD-68 of January 30 1999, authorizes a new agency, International Public Group (IRI), which is responsible for professional use of intelligence information with the purpose of influencing 'emotions, motivation and conduct of foreign governments, organizations, and individuals'. US intelligence, primarily the CIA, played an important part in the establishment of this agency. American specialists consider it quite feasible to gain dominance in the information warfare in the foreseeable future which, in their opinion, will shift the balance in conflicts to their benefit without military intervention.

The history of all local armed conflicts in the late 20th – early 21st century starting from the 'Desert Storm', is connected with the manoeuvres of forces and units specially trained for information warfare. Their activities began, as a rule, on the adjoining territory (with no military contacts) long before the first firings. At that the functions of special information and psychological forces were so successful that enemy's armed forces had suffered losses before the battle itself started. In previous wars, similar outcome was possible due to destruction and loss of some part of the country's territory.

In this connection, negative experience of information policy in military conflicts should be taken into consideration as well. NATO officials pointed out a number of erroneous information actions in the operation in the Balkans and during the war in Iraq. However, first and foremost, we should pay attention to our own problems in this sphere. Even the most ardent adherents of Boris Yeltsin's policy cannot but admit that both Chechen military campaigns in 1994–96 in terms of information were completely lost by the Federal government, the fact which had its tragic consequences for international and military prestige of the Russian Federation. One should bear in mind the incomparable information and technical capacities of the two parties in the conflict.

The monitoring potential of this country with regard to the international streams of information turned out to be very weak. The progress in means of international communication brought to the fore the disparity between 'rich' and 'poor' countries in terms of information. Unfortunately, Russia belongs to the latter category.

The fact that mass media belongs to separate individual and corporate owners who monitor information streams, has created situations potentially hazardous to the national interests of Russia. We remember too well how biased were news programmes on NTV, owned by Vladimir Gussinsky. Or the demoniac image of Boris Berezovsky and his role in the Chechen conflict, all masterminded on the First TV channel.

Moreover, as the Chechen events showed, mass media people in their desire to get the most truthful and objective

information 'straight from the horse's mouth' found themselves in formations of the enemy's armies without realizing that they played into their opponents' hands by spreading information about the structure of divisions and subdivisions, their armament, and commanders.

On the whole, underestimation of mass media's influence on the society and lack of skill to work with press facilitated a kind of 'reprogramming' of the Russian public: public attitude to their own army battling in the Northern Caucasus became negative while the Chechen militants' goals seemed closer and clearer.

It is evident that the Chechen campaign proved to be the most powerful catalyst, which led the military and political leaders of the country to realize considerable influence of mass media on public consciousness and state policy. In the following years, Russian mass media never lacked government's attention. It appears that relations between authorities and mass media should find 'the golden mean.'

Today, government bodies get more and more interested in explaining and popularizing their actions, so that the information prepared by them reached the public. Public support is a necessary condition to gain the objectives of the state's activity. In this respect, experience of some Western countries and, first of all, the USA might be of use, as they make their military policy correspond with thorough preparation of national and world public opinion by all means. In practice, it is reflected in the established principle of the American policy towards the nation – 'do correctly and be understood correctly as well.'

However, one should bear in mind that reference to national laws of some Western countries claiming 'unlimited' freedom of information is not always confirmed practically. If anything, to a greater or lesser degree all countries regulate the order of spreading information and its contents within their territory. As a rule, national security is a number one issue in this respect. For instance, in the USA there is a system of norms regulating responsibility of mass media. In the USA, the number of cases in which mass media is sued for slander and distortion of facts has increased, large information agencies being prosecuted more and more often.

Freedom to obtain and spread information is restricted by national security reasons in other countries, too.

Russia, as stated above, has drawn some experience from the Chechen conflict. Already in the period of Georgia–South Ossetia conflict, Russia carried more conviction, at least in reporting on the events for the public of the country, as far as information warfare is concerned. On the international level, we still lag behind, not too much though. The war in the Caucasus this August was made possible due to Russia's passive position in information sphere in the previous fifteen years. Georgia, in its turn, used both military arrangements and the USA's possibilities in information and psychological area to prepare the world public opinion on their actions against South Ossetia and Abkhazia.

On the agenda there still remains the question of information threat and danger from foreign countries and even of the possibility to come back to the 'Cold War' standoff. Attempts of some countries to form a negative image of Russia in the eyes of the world public confirm the idea. Efforts with anti-Russia underpinning are made to change alignment of forces in the most important areas of the world.

Moreover, this danger and threat come not only from Western countries, but from former Soviet republics as well. Concentration of efforts of both state and private bodies is needed in this sphere. For many years they are discussing the establishment of an integrated information holding to unite information agencies, TV channels, radio stations, press and as well as the formation of an office at the Russian President's administration to coordinate their work. But all these plans

are dying on the vine, wishful thinking of some enthusiasts does not come true on the governmental level. It should be remembered that our country's main opponent – the USA – is considering the possibility to make a bill on re-establishing an independent body at the office of the federal government imitating the USA to conduct information work targeted at foreign audience.

It is evident that a systematic information war is being staged against the Russian Federation authorities. Its main reason is increased efficiency and activity of the Russian officials to promote state interests of Russia.

Development of communication competence, skills of politicians and state figures to deal with information, to use it efficiently in national interests should become a priority for our country. Fortunately, political leaders of the highest standing have an ability to build constructive relations with mass media and possess communication competence in full.

Our country's participation in the world dialogue of cultures is inseparable from promoting a positive image of

Russia both in the national and international information space. This phenomenon should be viewed as a national value of the world scale. It is no exaggeration to say that the work to form a positive public opinion should be of primary concern for the political leaders of the country.

National culture and language should be protected from the influence of the countries that dominate in information area. Prohibition methods cannot withstand information expansion. The only effective way is an active development of national industry of cultural contents (production of video, TV programmes, books, growth of the national segment of the Internet, virtual museums and libraries).

Dialogue of cultures is fundamental to a balanced and steady development of the world, but the present day world is far from universal aspiration for mutual understanding and integration of the world community. Failure to see it is dangerous. In the long run, the victory in the dialogue is a form of information warfare. It is the victory of Reason, Good, Humanism.

**R. S. Grinberg<sup>1</sup>**

## UNLEARNED LESSONS

Just in order to really assess the current market reforms in Russia, one cannot ignore the cultural premises of its social-economic dynamics. The culture, at that, is regarded in the broad sense of the word that could not be boiled down to functioning of an industrial branch or system of cultural-leisure institutions. The point involves cultural traditions, value reference points and moral aims accepted in the society. It is evident that precisely these things exert a considerable effect upon human behaviour in the course of the economic activity and, in the end, upon functioning of the economy system itself. Mechanical adoption of standards and laws that have formed in the cultural environment and other conditions may prove ineffective and even dangerous from the standpoint of social stability. With no particular risk of exaggeration one may state that the immense social price of the Russian transformation is mainly due to ignoring the cultural component in the design and implementation of social-economic programs.

Russia still exists in severe conditions of system transformation. And to all appearances, the end of the transition will not occur tomorrow or a day after tomorrow. Moreover, this is the transition to normality, which did not happen. Nevertheless, in spite of all the interruptions and even reverse motions there are still chances for a development of the country towards a civil society, pluralistic democracy and social market economy. One should be able to learn lessons of the recent past and avoid new mistakes. Unfortunately, we have to speak about such a danger. But heretofore I'll try to characterize the intermediate totals of the 'Russian transformation'.

### What did we want and what do we have?

One should admit that there is a range of positive totals in respect to the market transformations. Their obvious positive aspect relates to the fact that isolation of the country from

the external world has been overcome, and mechanisms of command economics and of foreign trade monopoly have been demounted. As a result, humiliating goods and service shortages disappeared, their assortment broadened. With the cessation of the ideological war against 'consumerism' the people's right to 'cosiness' has been restored. What is the most pleasant is that the personal initiative formerly constrained is set free now. Business class is being formed which is expected to lay basis for the country's prosperity. Population swiftly gets rid of historically acquired dependency complexes. In spite of all kinds of predictions Russians quickly adopted a 'market' way of thought and actions. So typical of the Soviet system, the equalization of personal incomes has been eliminated and notable progress of working discipline and ethics of labour has become obvious now: it makes sense to raise money since a possibility to change it easily to formerly unavailable goods and services has appeared. In conclusion, it is worth to note that after the 70 years of fundamentally different economic system the formal institutions of market economy, i.e. commercial banks, commodity and stock markets, currency exchanges, fundamentally new tax mechanisms, antimonopoly regulations, etc., have been created over a sufficiently short period in the country, which started to do their work of sorts. Nevertheless the negative results of market transformations are more gross and noticeable. They obviously prevail over the successful ones. The point is not only that the country has lost half of its economic potential. It is worse that processes of production simplification, labour disintellectualization and social area degradation cannot be stopped so far. Here one should add an outbreak of mass poverty, which during the years of radical changes extended swiftly due to the dissolution of the not very rich by western criteria but still the middle class formed in the USSR. Over the period of the 1990s of the past century, Russia evidently moved away from the desirable socio-economic standards of Euro-Atlantic nations and approached the averaged characteristics of a typical 'third world' country with a great polarization of personal incomes. Calculations of all kinds and studies of material possibilities of Russian households indicate that in fact not more than a quarter of the country's population utilize the fruits of the reformations carried out, and a half of the residents struggle for living even harder than in the soviet time.

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Certainly an effectiveness of the native reforms is influenced by very powerful objective factors, making a system transformation more difficult in Russia, than in countries, our ex-partners in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. While in the countries of the Central and Eastern Europe a socialistic existence lasted for 40 years and in most cases was imposed from the outside, in Russia socialism predominated for more than 70 years and was so to speak a completely native and not 'imported' product. Then one should take into account that unlike the CEE countries the Russian reformers had a purpose to continue a system transformation against a background of the headlong disintegration of a formerly united state that was initiated by themselves. Multiethnic composition of the ex-USSR population under democratization of social life sufficiently facilitated the realization of nation-economic chauvinism which tends to ignore considerations of economic expedience. Whatever intentions of leaders of the new independent states were, the reality demonstrated that a break of the united economic space did not facilitate but rather aggravated a transition to the market economy of every sovereign republic of the ex-USSR, not excepting Russia. And finally, with reforms being started it was a military production that appeared to be a great burden to the economy reconstruction in Russia.

Nevertheless, with no risk of exaggeration one may state that the disappointing totals of the system transformation in Russia are mainly made by hands and only on a second-priority basis predetermined by the special unfavourable starting conditions. In any case, an extremely high social price of the reforms has become the main reason for the fact that the concepts of democracy, market and freedom themselves have been to a great extent discredited in the Russian social conscience.

A social solidarity loss, a social dissociation are the next sad total of the transformation of the Russian society. Among the constituents of the excessive social price which had to be paid for the radical economic reforms in Russia there is a neglect of moral and psychological dimensions of a human being. Intensive elimination of a moral and ethical component from social existence does deform everyday life of man. Demographic studies show that more than two thirds of causes of depopulation in Russia are associated with those occurring during the post-soviet period social-psychological phenomena: social depression, apathy and aggression. Sharp turn of mass conscience towards enrichment at any price proved to be a severe psychological trauma for a considerable part of the Russian population and a source of both personal tragedies and social pathologies of all kinds.

Representatives of the former middle class who at the moment of the reform start were numerous enough (experts with high education, medium-level directors, employees, highly skilled workers) had the hardest time. In comparison with the other groups of population their living standard has decreased especially drastically.

Beginning with the end of the 1950s in the Soviet Union if not the elements then the certain prerequisites for a civil society began to arise, i.e. a wide stratum of teaching, engineering and scientific intelligentsia, medium-level management personnel, cultural workers have appeared. Special features of many representatives of this class were not only a social status, a high level of education and a cash income but also an independence of thinking, a high self-appraisal, ability to resist a political manipulation, self-respect, i.e. all the signs of class consciousness which distinguish a middle class from a middle consumer stratum. Representatives of this class were particularly noticeable in big industrial centres. Russia had at its disposal such locations of scientific and technical brainpower as well as of creative intelligentsia as Moscow, Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk, Gorky, Kazan, Tomsk,

etc., which put Russia in the forefront of the world hierarchy of intellectual countries.

However, innovative personnel potential was not engaged by the reformers in the creation of the new Russia. Moreover, especially the representatives of the middle class experienced to the utmost the economic and social deprivation in the course of the realization of the reforms. Russian reformers tried to get rid of this social group as soon as possible. The majority of its representatives were thrown away at the wayside of the social life, a lot of them emigrated. Thus one of the main factors of a successful transition to a liberal market and a democratic state – a creative resource of the population – instead of being involved was destroyed to a great extent. Drastic weakening of scientific and technical and human potential is irreplaceable from economic and social point of view, which Russia encounters during these 15 years.

It is important to emphasize such a significant social consequence of Russian reforms as a growing gap between the authorities and the people. Alienation of the population from the State machinery, which is typical of a totalitarian regime, not only didn't disappear but even became stronger as a result of the transformation during the 1990s. Actually the state has turned into a closed all-sufficient corporation, and a considerable part of the population, in the first place public sector employees, wage labourers, pensioners, children and invalids, have turned into a burden for the members of this corporation.

This is the list of main constituents of the social price which is being paid by the country for the radical market reforms. And now about their political totals.

In comparison with other European states, in Russia the liberal ideas traditionally had no wide social base. A resort to liberal values is typical only of particular periods of the Russian history in 19th–20th centuries. The decade covering the second half of the 1980s and the first part of the 1990s proved to be exactly the period of this kind. It is hardly possible to deny that in the Russian society of that time a popularity of ideas of personal liberty and private initiative increased headlong. By the beginning of the 1990s, they seized minds of a considerable if not the major part of the population, it being the most productive. In short, a wide social and psychological base for realizing liberal and democratic ideas occurred. As for the state authority, a serious opportunity for the development of democratic processes, the formation of the civil society, the creation of civilized liberal market economy was given to it.

But the Russian reformers not only did not take advantage of this unique opportunity; actually they used best efforts to defile the values of freedom in the public opinion. The situation in Russia of the 1990s caused an increasing negative and even hostile attitude towards both values of freedom and a concept of democracy itself in the public opinion. It became a synonym for stealing and corruption, and a liberal idea was compromised so strongly that already by the end of the 1990s a scale of aggressive non-admission of liberal and democratic values had created real prerequisites for the recurrence to an authoritarian regime. Discredit of democracy and creation of prerequisites to authoritarianism is the main social and political result of the Russian reformers' activity of the 1990s. Today the society reaps the fruits which it sowed. It is sad to state that the present political superstructure logically and irreproachably crowns the economic basis created during the years of the reforms.

#### **'Magic thinking', or Why are they 'like that'?**

There seem to be substantial grounds to suppose that the appearance of radical reformers on the Russian political stage is a result of traditional and, as always, unjustified impatience of the Westernizing wing of the Russian intellectual elite who, as the fate willed, turned out to be at the helm in the



country at the beginning of the 1990s. It is important to emphasize this today because at present, after a period of the 'storm and onslaught' it has become a good form if not to demonize the first team of the 'shock therapists' then, at least, to renounce them. Actually both the intelligentsia and the so-called common people simply adored the then young efficient reformers and, to be quite precise, their patron the first President of Russia who had promised to shortly 'make people happy'. It is only today rather difficult to find people who voted for Yeltsin and who unconditionally supported his young companions-in-arms. In the decisive 1991, everything was different. And if the vox populi, vox Dei maxim is right, then they could not be reproached at all. The thinking part of the people got caught into a trap of a neoliberal utopia, and unfortunately this part of the people played a decisive role in forming and spreading new social illusions.

It seems preposterous to condemn the radical reformers because they supposedly started the deregulation of the country's economy. By 1992, it was mostly deregulated in the result of the disastrous for everybody opposition of the Russian authorities and the Union's central authorities. Undoubtedly those reformers are right who state that, by the time of their taking the helm in their hands, the controllability of the economy: the soviet in general and the Russian in particular, had already been practically lost, whereas the commodity-money imbalance reached its immense swing. It is true, though, that they will have to admit that the country owed both these points mainly to their patron and to themselves.

To my mind, it is incorrect albeit quite widely spread in the society the indiscriminate criticism of the so-called shock therapy implying, in general opinion, the single-step price liberalization that occurred on the 2nd of January, 1992. For the market economy adepts, there should be no doubt in principle that most prices had to be liberated otherwise no mechanism of market self-regulation could be triggered. True, one could argue about the set-liberated price ratio under the then Russian conditions. But that would be an object for a separate talk. Be that as it may, reproaching the reformers for ignoring the monopolistic nature of the soviet economy would be unsound. Many people even now believe that first a competitive environment should have been formed and only after its formation one could start the liberalization of prices. Such an idea is utopian through and through as it is in principle impossible to create competitive relations with the set prices.

As for the not alleged but real mistakes of the 'dramatis personae and performers' of the Russian reforms, it seems that so much has already been said and written that it would be difficult to add anything new. Still, a specific attention should be attracted to the world-outlook nature of miscalculations and omissions in the reform policy as well as in the economic policy in general. Unfortunately, this issue still has not lost its urgency.

I will begin with obvious inclination of both yesterday's and today's reformers towards the 'magic thinking' implying a mixture of failed hopes and widely spread wrong beliefs, illusions and myths. Among the illusions, I would emphasize first of all assuming current world-outlook imperatives of the West as a guide, the imperatives justifying the pursuit of its economic and social standards as well as the absolutization of the so-called universal economic regularities disregarding the requirements of the 'place and time'. Here also belongs the conviction of the necessity of maximally high velocity of the changes as a decisive factor of their irreversibility with which the reformers used to explain their apprehensions of the communist revenge. In addition, the illusion pool should include a naively favourable attitude towards the ways in modern world economy where only friendly and mutually understanding relations seemingly reign. From the very beginning of the radical reforms, the following thesis

was considered infallible: the rapid openness of the Russian economy is beneficial whereas a gradual and dosed one is harmful.

And now to the myths. First, there is a firm idea implying well-being of those world nations who succeeded in boiling the state participation in economy down to a minimum. The point is the anti-etatist syndrome penetrating the 'main bed' of modern economic thought but having almost nothing to do with the reality. Secondly, one should include here the creation of unconditioned regularity of the thesis of organic weakness of a state in the 'transitory' countries and in Russia in particular. This thesis implies that here the interference of the state in the economy life must be even more limited than in mature market economies. And thirdly, in the end, the adherence of reformers to the theory of a 'burden' should be regarded as a myth, the theory implying that Russia will sooner join the flowering West's bosom without the burden of the past: the weak satellites in the persons of the post-soviet republics. And somehow an idea prevailed that the new sovereign states, the former USSR republics, will not be able to survive without the new Russia.

Here, a kind of objection surfaces that all this is the past, that in the post-default Russia the economic policy has lost its strictly ideological trend and acquired an exclusively pragmatic character. It would be desirable, of course, but something impedes thinking so.

It is difficult to get rid of the sensation that the economic philosophy underlying the concrete policy has not changed up till now as compared with the beginning of the 1990s. The tendency towards the denationalization of economy goes on along all the lines even though powerful holdings are being created, but they are a topic of a separate discussion. The attempts to 'market' the whole Russian life are going on in spite of seemingly richest and sad experience of the 'limitless liberalism' that should long ago have become a source of some useful lessons.

#### **With the persistence worthy of a better use...**

In compliance with the idea still existing here and in the West, the neoliberal plan of transforming the command economy into the market one created in the beginning of 1990s has failed in Russia just because various 'unexpected' circumstances interfered with it, although the plan itself was irreproachable. The various circumstances mean 'bad' communists who always strive for revenge, the populist leftist Parliament and, finally, the inert population that had been brought up in paternalism and that has not yet lost the hope to survive after the accomplished reforms.

It is worth noticing that even after the events of 1998 the official statistics by the International Monetary Fund on the reasons of the failure of the Russian reforms remained unaltered. The IMF Management unwillingly admitted some errors in their advice given to the Russian reformers: for instance, the consent for the fixed 'currency corridor' is considered to be an error. In general, however, 'if the Russians (here I almost literally cite Fischer, Smith and Camdessus) had fully followed the recommendations that they had worked out themselves albeit with our aid, then the reforms would have been successful'. And these recommendations are well known to be quite simple: the maximal privatization, the minimal level of inflation, the maximal openness for the outside world, and the minimum of the state interventionism.

Now everything indicates that a new wave of essentially cannibal liberalism is rolling on. Particularly the aiming of the economy authorities at further reduction of the budget expenses in social sector is obvious, the expenses having dropped as it is to the level inadmissible for our country. In 1990s, there still existed some illusions of a spontaneous increment of off-budget support for social sphere branches,

some naïve hopes that a part of the budget burden would be grasped by the newly-made private economic organizations. But now it is quite clear that there exists a strategic tendency towards the reduction of the number of organizations whose activity demands – and I emphasize this – uninterrupted state financing. The objective character of unprofitability of the social sphere of most organizations at any degree of maturity of the market economy is absolutely being ignored. Just from the facts of inherent unprofitability of this sphere, ensue the constitution guarantees and the budget responsibilities of a modern state for a systematic support of institutions of healthcare, fundamental science, culture and education. I would note here that such a support is realized on the regular basis in all mature market economies and in relatively successful post-socialist countries.

But our government does not wish to do this because of ideological but mostly because of fiscal reasons, and it seems to try to get rid of constitutional guarantees of the ‘social’ state (isn’t it a mockery over the written Constitution?) and to switch over to contract relations that in their nature are transitory. The result of such policy is more or less obvious and will not make one to wait too long: the degradation of the social sphere will headily move its collapse near, while the intentions to build a knowledge-based economy will remain just starry-eyed dreams.

Generally speaking, we all must take into consideration the one curious global intellectual phenomenon of today’s. I mean the immense influence if not the total ‘terror’ of the main component of the basic bed of modern economy thought. And the content of this component in brief can be boiled down to the maxim as follows: ‘state’s mistakes are always worse than those of the market’. Hence, it seems better to ‘overdo’ with the deregulation than with excessive spreading of state’s interventions comprising their unavoidable bureaucratic perversions. At the same time, a huge gap exists between the ideological component and the real practice of the very ‘market-oriented’ western countries. It suffices to say that now through the total state budget of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, i.e. the richest states of the World, half of the gross domestic product will be distributed, while one hundred years ago this parameter did not exceed 10 percent. It is appropriate to note that one hundred years ago there existed no middle class, and that it appeared in the second half of the last century, i.e. just when the state’s participation in the society economic life reached its apogee both in quantitative and in qualitative aspect.

It is quite obvious that the ‘demonization’ of state as such that started about 25 years ago is associated exclusively with the ‘over-socialization’ of mature market economies, i.e. with a certain hypertrophy of the state’s social functions. Nonetheless, limitation of the state interventionism there, mostly imaginary or at best insignificant, should be regarded as just a correction of the ‘general prosperity State’ and not as its dismantling.

But it seems that our reformers are interested in a made-up life rather than in the real life of the ‘reference’ countries. They must have ideologically pure regimes of free market where the State is reduced to the role of a ‘night watchman’ of the 18th century. It seems that for them any activity of the State is vicious except the provision of ‘the unity of the game rules for all’ and the compulsion to follow them. True, this quite easily combines with lamentations apropos of a ‘weak’ State and the wish to enforce the power authoritarianism. In brief, here in Russia the anti-etatist rhetoric is not just rhetoric. It is still a guide to action. And I see great danger in this.

The above said does not mean that the social policy demands no renovation. But it should be based on a different in principle world outlook idea in compliance with which just the development of the social sphere in its broadest sense

predetermines the prospects of a stable economy growth and not the contrary as is assumed today by the federal and regional elites. When optimizing the social policy the development of its parameters will decidedly have to refuse to acknowledge a widely spread opinion that expenditures for social purposes are always a deduction from the national wealth and an obstacle for economy growth.

Experience of the West and successful post-socialist countries quite certainly confirms the truth of this thesis: correctly built priorities and the institutes of social policy do not interfere with economic activity at all and, on the contrary, do stimulate it simultaneously providing the necessary political support for the reforms. So, banal as it might sound, the main requirement of today is this: stop destroying the human potential and create the conditions for its revival and full development meaning the qualification-educational characteristics of man, his/her cultural level, real access to efficient healthcare and well-deserved social security.

### Science has its significance

As far as I know, nowhere in the world do liberals or interventionists doubt the above noted and lasting during the whole 20th century tendency of advancing enlargement of the State’s participation in economy of any social medium. Of course, there are differences from one country to another: somewhere the state quota, i.e. national budget against gross domestic product ratio, is greater, somewhere it is less. But the fact of its growth during the most part of the last century is unarguable in the world scientific community. The arguments start when interpreting the fact itself of the ‘effuse’ State. Some believe that it is bad, others think it is good, the third parties – and I rank myself among them – urge to regard the systematic State activity as some objective regularity, meaning that here its certain ebbs and flows are also regular.

Here I would like to consider in more detail the issue of the role of economy science in social-economic development in general, and the theoretical knowledge against practical policy ratio, in particular. It is only at the first and superficial glance that the academic arguments seem to be unrelated to concrete economy policy. Whereas in fact the practicing politicians, their advisors and consultants in their activity and recommendations always follow willy-nilly a more or less integral theoretical construction. It exerts a powerful effect upon the made decisions that, depending on their content and perception, can be benevolent or not quite so.

Today it has become particularly evident that a keenness on incorrectly understood concept of economic freedom may give rise to effects absolutely opposite to the expected those and, in this way, to seriously interfere in invigoration of the situation in the country.

Now if, say, to proceed from correctness of assumption that ‘the less of the State the better for the economy’ or, as Mises wrote, ‘any state activity is an evil imposed by some people on ‘the right’ or ‘not right’ state interventions.’ In other words, once they are all harmful in principle, one should simply get rid of them. I think that it is not by chance that in Russia there are great problems with more or less consolidated influential force capable of revealing and implementing the society’s interests.

The category ‘social interest’ itself turned out to be rather discredited which is, of course, quite understandable. It is difficult to expect something else after so long an oppression of the individual by the state under the conditions of the communist dictatorship. But to understand does not mean to accept. It was quite unnecessary to splash out a child along with dirty water. And it happened just so. And in the result, the place of hypocritical ‘do first think of the fatherland and only then of yourself’ has become occupied by no less hypocritical ‘the egoism of each one is a good for everybody’.

And it is quite unknown, at that, what precisely prevails in this latter formula: striving for unbridled freedom in compliance with purely world outlook motives or forced devotion to it by reason of seemingly regular weakness of regime under conditions of the radical system transformation.

In general, it seems to me that unproportionally great influence of the radical liberalism in 'servicing' a concrete economic policy of Russia today is primarily associated with obsolete and therefore obviously inadequate understanding of modern mainstream in the economic theory. Considering the whole thing, the phase of simplified liberalism is either completed or draws to exhaustion. The newest theoretical views of macroeconomics character in the West and in the East unequivocally admit the presence of some specific social interest that is far from always considering only the interests of private economic subjects. In this connection, participation of the state in modern economy is subject to a new interpretation. It does not any longer interfere with the social medium economic life but acts there as an equal in rights market player striving to realize this social interest. And once the state becomes a market player, its activity should be subject to the rules of rational behaviour. In other words, at every given moment maximization of one or another social interest is reached with strictly limited resources. Hence a new and broader view of the market balance formation implying inclusion of the state into the group of independent market subjects, the state striving to maximize its own function of social usefulness. All this composes a certain integrated concept, which we (together with Professor A.Ya. Rubinstein) are presenting in a recently published book *The Economic Sociodynamics*.

Be as it might, if the social interest is perceived just as a sum total of personal interests and in no other way, the state with its various economy activity must unavoidably be pushed aside of the social structure. But the devil is known to hide in details. And some of them particularly brightly light the difference between the liberal-pragmatic and liberal-ideological approaches to the economic policy. I will try to indicate briefly what I mean.

#### **Damnation or grace?**

During these last years, a golden rain of oil dollars poured all over Russia, which evoked among the influential 'pure' liberals if not panic then, at least, something like it. What a lot has been heard of this! The impetuous increase of the export income seems to lead to the conservation of the existing structure of the management and to the acceleration of inflation, to the paralysis of people's creative energy, and so on, and so forth. An impression occurred that, with these high oil and other fuel and raw material prices, it would be better to import all this rather than to export. In general, a thought was inculcated that 'money is evil', or something quite surrealistic like 'the income will soon stop because it is too large now'. From the standpoint of common sense, such 'unluckiness' is difficult to understand. It seems certain that there are so many unsolved problems and spheres in the country that it could be not too difficult to spend usefully the 'windfall profit' as the Anglo-Saxons say. Take just the reduction of an immense foreign debt, the renovation of the worn down to the limit city infrastructure, the construction of the borders with new independent states, let alone the governmental expenditures for some investment needs or for restoration of the social sector of the economy.

But no such luck. For the doctrinaire liberalism all this has no sense. And the matter is not that its adherents wrongly assess the consequences of the sudden improvement of balance of payment: inflation and the growth of real national currency exchange rate fraught with increase of the import and decrease of the export. Maybe even some grounds could

be found (true, I do not see them) for discussing a danger of the notorious 'Dutch' disease. But we, however, endure such problems not for the first time. The world has long since encountered them and now uses a certain very reliable set of instruments for their solution. In all that, I somehow do not remember that anyone anywhere endured as strongly as we do the powerful inflow of freely convertible currency. In the rational and not ideological approach to the business, they rather enjoy it without forgetting to seize the super-income from economic subjects and direct them to various social needs. I will only refer here to the experience of Great Britain and Norway well-known to me. Whereas we, to all appearances, miss such an opportunity, and quite knowingly, too. Because the doctrinaire liberalism proceeds a priori from the statement that individuals will always spend money more effectively than the 'bureaucratic' state.

#### **What is ahead?**

To all appearances, both the President and the Government are aware that in fact Russia has encountered a dilemma: whether it will remain mainly the exporter of fuel and raw materials, or it will be able to occupy a worthy place in the post-industrial global economy. From high places, they constantly speak of that in the last years when the country's dependence on the energy carriers and raw materials export has reached the critical level, and has now become a threat to its national security. It is also being stated that, while not decreasing the volume of the raw material supply, it is necessary to change the structure of Russian industrial production and export constantly, year after year, towards complete product and, in the first place, the science-intensive product. But what means are supposed to be used for realizing this purpose?

Within the group of persons responsible for the economic bloc in the Government, it is still assumed that modernizing the Russian economy will occur by itself, as a result of the activation of some market self-regulation forces. And in order not to hinder these forces the Government will focus its attention at completion of forming the law adequate to a civilized market economy, and take steps for the suppression of the so called informal, illegal economic relations and, consequently, for the creation of conditions for equal application of legal standards to all physical and juridical persons. In this connection, they quite justly speak of increasing the efficacy of the antimonopoly regulation, of loyalty in respect to private property and the contract rights, and of a considerable limitation of the 'economy of advantages and privileges' formed in the 1990s. Finally, it is envisaged to make a special emphasis on the measures for reducing the tax burden of investors combined with a course towards successive individualization and privatization of the social sphere (the so called structural reforms).

If the concrete policy will limit itself to just these tasks, and they are quite sensible except the antisocial tendency of the 'social' policy, and if one believes that, apart from dramatic increase of the oil world prices, the factors independent of these unexpected stimuli will contribute to the long-awaited economic growth of the country, it is hardly expectable to change radically the social-economic situation in the country. The Russian economy will henceforth be structured in a purely spontaneous way, too; first, because of the interests of transnational corporations, and second, if, of course, the openness of the economy unexampled by its degree holds out.

The spontaneity of the formation of the economic structure in Russia in principle has no restraints as, contrary to the Central-East European countries, there is no threat of accepting the institutional standards of the European Union even because, if nothing else, it will not be the Union member even in a long-term prospect. One should understand that Russian economy just as economy of other states of the post-

soviet territory becomes an object of other, more powerful economic players with no chances whatsoever of the EC institutional-legal skeleton here. The tendency of losing the subjectness and, consequently, a primitivization of the Russian economy under such conditions becomes irreversible irrespective of whether the breakthrough in following laws and in stabilization of conditions for business management succeeds or not. Even if the positive economic dynamics holds on, the principal contribution to the dynamics will be made by the energy-raw material branches of industry possessing the export potential, while a considerable portion of the manufacturing industry will lose every prospect for a development.

There is still an alternative to the above variant of the event development, the alternative involving the activation of existing scientific-industrial potential for achieving and support of acceptable international level of competitiveness for selected branches and sectors of the Russian economics. But this alternative cannot be implemented spontaneously, without respective rational behaviour of the State. And this implies development and conduction of respective structural and innovation policy on behalf of the State. Incidentally, then only a chance will appear for deliberate structuring of the post-soviet territory or, at the least, its major portion. And only then will here our own competitive transnational corporations start to arise, the corporations capable of taking part in the globalization of the world economy as the subjects and not the objects of the process.

#### **Avoiding the other extreme!**

Under today's Russian conditions, one has to take the other extreme into consideration: a very probable growth of the state expansionism threatening to replace the boundless liberalism of the 1990s.

And there really exists such a danger, as in the Russian social medium an idea to initiate implementation of some majestic mobilization programme is ripening, the programme seemingly able to bring back the status of great power to the country. I must note that I rather doubt the wish of our people to start implementation of this majestic mobilization programme, noble as might be the goal of this programme. So the next attempt of 'coercion of the people to happiness' will most likely fail.

Of course, in today's Russian society nostalgic feelings are widely spread as well as total irritation associated with the deplorable results of the reforms and the disintegration of the great power. But this is a revenge rather for our own illusions and euphoria of the end of the 1980s to the beginning of the 1990s. Then 'the people and the party were united', as has already been noted. The country wanted first of all not the bread but freedom, while the bread was to be added automatically, kind of by itself. They thought that the advantages of the socialist conduct would be added up with amenities of market and democracy, and we all of us will quickly accommodate ourselves at the sunny side of life where the so called 'golden billion' is already dwelling.

The occurring today disappointment in the ideals of market and democracy (let us hope, a temporary one) does not necessarily mean that the society experiences a yearning for revenge or a collective willingness to get involved in the construction of something majestic. Rather one should agree with those sociologists who state that mastering individualist values by the Russians has already taken place. True, it is not related to the development of the awareness in the spirit of the Protestant ethics but, rather, to so to say atomization of the social medium or, to say simpler, to the disconnection of the people mostly busy with plain survival.

As far as I know, implementation of all great 'teleological' state-oriented projects in Russia, irrespective of whether they

were utopian or realizable, were accompanied as a rule by the horrifying suppression of personal freedom. And on the contrary, as soon as a personal initiative got free and man obtained the right of choice, the state started to lose headily its majesty and sometimes even its sovereignty. It is far from necessary that even today we encounter the same fatal dilemma. History does not have the subjunctive mood but there always are some alternatives. Practical conclusion from the above said is obvious for Russia: to strengthen the state without sacrificing democratic values. It sounds almost as banality. But, as Friedrich Nietzsche aptly said, 'we pay most dearly for neglecting the banalities'. I will only add that we pay as dearly for the unlearned lessons.

#### **Through the prism of culture**

The future of Russia is associated with the innovation economy, with the necessity of the soonest transition to the 'innovation socially-oriented type of development' (in terms of the Conception-2020). Close attention, at that, is attracted to the exclusively foreground development of science and education. However, the quality of human potential as a driving force of the innovation economy depends not only on the level of education, experience and professionalism, but also on spirituality and mentality of man, his or her psychological and behavioural characteristics which was always the responsibility of culture. Culture forms the spiritual-moral orientation of the personality development, and in the innovation economy not only the personal but also the social responsibility of man dramatically increases, the man being a generator of new knowledge. The principle 'do not harm' must be laid in the basis of the processes of production and translation of new knowledge and information, as well as implementation of innovations in the reproductive sphere.

The reality, however, demonstrates absence of demand for culture including that within the system of social life management. Culture did not get into the list of the foreground national projects. The first mentioning of culture only appeared in the Russian President's Message to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation in 2007. On the one hand, in words, culture occupies the position of the most important resource of the development, on the other hand, expenses for culture are still an unprotected budget article, while under conditions of taking the anti-crisis measures just this particular part of the budget expenses got one of the first into the category of those subject to sequestering.

Meanwhile, settlement of many problems of social life management solution of which with the traditional techniques reached a deadlock is in principle possible only in the cultural aspect. So that, in the light of culture, there appears another principal algorithm of solving the problem of national security as well as that of bureaucracy and corruption with which the whole authority vertical is filled.

Traditionally the *solution of the national security problem* is associated with the military presence, the strength of the armament units, the force control, etc. The reality, however, is such that external and internal threats go beyond the limits of purely economic or political confrontations oftener occurring because of the value contradictions, which directly concerns the human socio-cultural medium. Xenophobia, nationalism, chauvinism, religious separatism – they all are the links of a single chain the overcoming of which requires 're-forging the swords into ploughshares' as violence only gives rise to violence. People are separated with just external formalism, whereas culture in its true sense contains the largest possibilities of uniting people brought up in different cultural milieu, of smoothing up contradictions among the people on the basis of consistent values of life, aspiration towards the future, and healthy optimism.

At present in Russia the most dangerous internal threats which undermine the State system foundations internally are bureaucracy and corruption. Solving the problem of the bureaucratization of the whole administration system through a prism of culture rests upon a spiritual basis of labour. This is not an employment status and getting a job at any price for wages, not an occupation of a 'yield position', this is a creative realization of an individual, a profession chosen by the dictates of heart in compliance with one's possibilities and abilities.

Labour as a value, but not as a doom. This approach to the concept of labour will allow avoiding any illusion of activity, repeated duplication of functions and documents circulation difficulties, as well as the process of approval procedures in all areas of social life.

Solution of the bureaucratization problem will logically entail a solution of the corruption problem. In the light of culture an *elimination of corruption* needs not for a punishment and other coercive actions or prohibitive measures, but rather for such a value as confidence having been lost in the society at present. After all, opinion polls register terrible evidence: to the question whether 'it is possible to trust people on the whole or one should be on the alert dealing with other people' only one quarter of the interviewed answered positively.<sup>1</sup> To the question 'during last year what kind of feelings have become apparent and grown stronger in folks surrounding you' 25 percent of the interviewed noted tiredness and indifference, 5 percent fear, 10 percent perplexity, and 14 percent exasperation and aggressiveness.<sup>2</sup> Is it possible 'to transit to an innovative and social-orientated type of development' having such an attitude to life, to ourselves and to other people? Extirpation of the corruption will only be possible when socio-cultural mechanisms eliminating causes of its occurrence are applied.

Among internal threats it is appropriate to mention here a high mortality rate which leaves a birth rate far behind. In addition, deaths from cardiovascular diseases, suicide, alcoholism, drug addiction, aggravation of mental disorders and as a result of increase in crime are an essential part of the present Russian reality. Medical approach or enforcement measures as the ways for solution of these problems are just a top of an iceberg, a fight with the results, but not with the causes. The reason is the same: ignoring a crucial role of culture as a moving force of personal and social self-regulation, and spiritual ill-being of the Russian society.

In what manner should one apply socio-cultural mechanisms able to resist destructive processes in the society? The only right solution to the problem lies in the *vital necessity of cultural enlightenment* not only to keep broad layers of population informed with cultural values (that is, undoubtedly, of independent significance), but rather to prevent the dehumanization of the society and the neutralization of spirituality in people's life. Here one cannot do without the *development of a supra-national idea* (being a multinational and multi-confessional state Russia cannot afford a development of a national idea on the basis of cultural values of a title nation). There is no doubt that during the Soviet period the notion of ideology has discredited itself by its close connection with Marxist-Leninist propaganda. But, for example, in the 1960s of the 20th century in Japan within the realization of the cultural state concept this process was called 'a production of values'. It is obvious that the consistent values of life such as a family and childhood should be assumed as a basis for supranational idea. *The main reference point of the cultural enlightenment should be children, rising generation* because the country future in many respects depends upon

the system of values, which is accepted as a basis of their upbringing and education. It is possible and necessary to create this future just now (not to say yesterday) by means of cultural enlightenment of children and adolescents.

A great responsibility for the actualization and intensification of cultural enlightenment is lied upon the intelligentsia. Unfortunately, in present Russia the concept of elite is discredited by its associations with the world of luxury, money, glamour and etc. In an undistorted reality a consistent attribute of elite is an orientation toward high standards of human behaviour and his/her style of life.

Therefore, the strengthening of the prestige and influence of scientists, educators, cultural workers (creators in the real sense of the word), significance of an intellectual labour in the society, including the revival of the public lectures system, made with the help of the whole Internet arsenal available and new IT will make it possible to trigger the cultural enlightenment mechanisms.

It should be noted that the present Russian society is divided into two parts, the line of demarcation being established in the ideological sphere. On one side of the scales there are millions of people deeply rooted in the Soviet past with its anti-personality social attitude, when a collective had suppressed an individual and the state had suppressed the society, on the other, millions of people of middle age and the young, brought up by the bold time of the 1990s, when individualism as a moving force of the market economy ran the show. The matter concerns not a contradiction in a world vision attitude of fathers and children (which is an absolutely normal and natural process, by the way) but a gap in an intergenerational continuity. Solidarity of the society, overcoming its drastic polarization in the direction of synthesis, a reasonable combination of personal and social features in a human being is only possible through cultural enlightenment.

Moreover, an ideological gap of intergenerational continuity has given birth to a collapse of information transfer system itself, as a 'teacher-pupil' connection has been mostly destroyed; this relates not only to the fields of education and science but to the whole system of experience transfer from one generation to another. This is fraught with attempts to 'reinvent a bicycle' instead of inserting new knowledge into the structure of spiritual and mental accumulations aiming to accelerate a process of introduction of innovations into the reproductive sphere and to modify a human potential of the society as a whole.

In the light of culture a *problem of gender relations* towards a greater inclusion of women in the system of important state decisions-making is seen differently. While in the countries with an advanced market economy there is a trend towards an empowerment of women in all fields of social life<sup>3</sup> which is observed during the last decades, in Russia there is still an unofficial prohibition of participation of women in an administration power vertical. The theme of empowerment of women does not cover such extremes as the emancipation and feminism when a woman opposes herself to a man and takes upon herself unusual functions, but it concerns only an expediency of lawmaking initiatives passing through a prism of a mother consciousness as a keystone of a successful realization of the police of rational existence.

<sup>1</sup> Press-Release of Yuri Levada Analytical Centre (Levada-Centre), 11.06.2008.

<sup>2</sup> Public opinion. 2007. P. 6.

<sup>3</sup> "For example, in the USA, over 50 percent of money funds circulating in the country, belong to women; 65 percent of bank accounts are made in their names; they possess 57 percent of securities, 74 percent of houses; 88 percent of total buying capacity belongs to them. (...) In Central and Eastern European countries more commensurable with Russia, women possess more than 30 percent of business, they employ 25 percent of working force, and represent 55 percent of students, nearly 25 percent of women earn more than their husbands in families with two employed persons. The share of women at the ministry positions doubled just during the last decade: from 3.4 to 6.8 percent." — From the article by T.P. Khokhlova "Identification of gender aspects of management is the factor of management efficacy improvement" in *Management in Russia and Abroad*, 2001, No. 2.

While at the turn of the 20th–21st cc. there was a necessity of a social imperative of a socioeconomic development, at the end of the first decade of the 21st c. one should think about a cultural imperative which constitutes a core of the policy

of a rational existence. As A. S. Pushkin through one of his characters said: ‘...the best and the strongest changes are those which originate from improving of morals without any enforcement shocks’.

**Guangcheng Xing<sup>1</sup>**

## THE IMPORTANCE OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND CROSS-CULTURAL DIALOGUE

First of all, I would like to say how grateful I am for the invitation to participate as an expert on Russia at such a prominent conference. I have a tremendous respect for the well-known thinker academician Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov. I have been profoundly influenced by his ideas. It is great emphasis that Academician Likhachov puts on the issues of culture and civilization. His research, devoted to the issues of the origin and the development of Russia's culture, is highly important. It is the dialogue among diverse cultures that we are talking about today. Let me express my point of view on the problem in question:

### **The links between globalization of economy and cultural diversity**

The world has greatly changed since the beginning of the 21st century. One of the major changes is the on-going globalization of economy which has become the reality of the modern world. Globalization of the economy gives chances to both the development and to the conflicts and contradictions that threaten the present and the future world. Another change is that the world's cultures are being transformed with regard to their mutual influence.

There are some questions to ask: Are there any independent space and chance in the framework of the globalized economic structures for the existence and the evolution of diverse world cultures? Will those diverse cultures be dying out in a mutual clash, or will they coexist and modify through a mutual exchange and dialogue?

The new millennium has a new issue to pay attention to, the issue of the global culture. Within this approach a gradual loss of cultural diversity is believed to be one of the major side effects of the globalized economy. There is a tendency towards homogeneity. Eventually, diverse cultures will be replaced by the global culture. It should be noted that the globalization of economy doesn't irreversibly change the nature of diverse cultures. It's not in a vacuum where a culture is born. Its birth and evolution is stipulated by a certain environment, with its geographical and climatic characteristics and different organic species that add to the picture of the cultural diversity. It should also be noted that the development of a culture is a historical issue. Each culture has its unique cultural orbit to define its cultural diversity. Diversity is a precondition of the existence of human cultures and a mandatory result of the evolution of the human race. Cultures created by the human race are born and developed in certain geographical and historical environments that specify their unique identity. Academician Likhachov made an apt generalization of the characteristics of the Russian culture as opposed to other cultures: striving for individuality, an easy accommodation of foreign cultures and a pursuit of freedom.

A cultural society is made up of economic, political and cultural components. The Chinese scientists refer to material, political (institutional) cultures and cultural values respectively. The first two elements are dynamic while a culture is a constant element. For the first place the globalization of economy has influenced the material culture and the political regime which are linked to the political steps. And that is a sure sign of homoplasia. Though the superstructure, politics and culture, depends on the economic basis, it has the individual rules to follow. Moreover, through the long run of history the basic elements of cultural values have developed the profound cultural traditions, the core of the culture. We should confess that the economic globalization allows for some common elements between different cultures, but does not totally destroy their differences. Each of the world's cultures has its own unique features. Within the framework of the economic globalization the diverse cultures should be respected, protected and developed. Cultural diversity is the reality, the basic feature of the present and an important incentive of the human progress.

### **Cross-cultural dialogue reinforcement, conflict prevention**

As far as diversity is a characteristic feature of the world's cultures, a cross-cultural dialogue should be a naturally determined tendency and a natural choice. On the one hand, different cultures decrease narrow-mindedness, they improve, their sense and heritage merge, getting closer, exchanging ideas and experience, and that is how cultural progress is made. On the other hand, it should also be borne in mind that a competition or even a clash of cultures may promote a further cultural progress.

There is no denying the fact that cultural differences may lead to a clash, but again, not necessarily. Considering historical realities, the factors of a cultural conflict are quite numerous, but most of the time, they are of economic and political nature. At the same time it is observed that imposing of convergence on different cultures and the emphasis on homogeneity sometimes intensify contradictions, deepen misunderstanding and initiate a cultural conflict.

An equal cross-cultural dialogue should be reinforced. First, an equal dialogue can improve understanding and cultivate trust between cultures.

Second, it is an equal dialogue that can put an end to misunderstanding and disagreement.

Third, it can promote the collaboration and the further development of human culture; it can reasonably make up the fissures, prevent violence and wars and protect the overall interests of the mankind.

What are the ways to implement a cross-cultural dialogue and exchange? First, to develop relevant concepts and to take the world as a unity. It is the common Earth that we share, and thus, we have common problems and interests. This is a new objective condition for a cross-cultural dialogue.

Second, to treat different cultures equally. There is no such notion as the world's major culture. We cannot develop a friendly and a sound cross-cultural dialogue being prejudiced

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about a different culture, taking our own culture as the world's only and best one. All cultures, regardless of their level or quality, being a part of the human culture, have equal rights to participate in a cross-cultural dialogue.

Third, to be tolerant to cultural diversities. To look for common features and to preserve differences is the best strategy within a cross-cultural dialogue. No disagreements will be highlighted and no conflicts will break out owing to mutual recognition and tolerance.

### **Cultural Diversity and Polyphyletic of the International Cultural Setup**

Diversity of the world's cultures is required for the polyphyletic of a new international cultural setup. It is the diversity of the human culture that the polyphyletic and the variety of a new human political and economic setup depend on. In other words, a new political and economic setup in the new century should be multilateral but not unilateral. That is the reason why, regardless of the times, the unilateral policy, or the policy of hegemonism, does not correlate with the development of the human culture. Not once have the PRC's Government and the Government of the Russian Federation come up with resolute statements against strong-arm policies, unilateralism and hegemonism, highlighting the necessity of establishing a new just and legitimate political and economic setup, the necessity of establishing a multilateral world.

Within the framework of the economic globalization we should strongly object to the attempts that are being made to present a certain culture as universal and to impose it onto the rest of the world as a substitute of one culture for another. To consider the values of a domestic culture as universal values in fact means the attempted domination, oppression or even absorbing of other cultures. For the last few years the academic circles of the West tend to overrate the prospective fissures among different cultures. This means to recognize the existence of diverse cultures, but, at the same time, to

emphasize the fact that the differences will undoubtedly lead to large-scale confrontations and conflicts all round the globe. The essence of Samuel Huntington's theory is the rejection of the strategic meaning of a cross-cultural dialogue and exchange.

In the light of the history the habitus and the major tendency are peaceful co-existence, cross-cultural dialogue and intercultural exchange. This should not change in the environment of the economic globalization. According to Academician Likhachov's precise notice, Russia's culture was established in the multinational environment. Russia served as a tremendous link between nations. A cultural link, for the first place. Frequent conflicts and fissures happened, for material reasons mainly, in the course of the world's culture development. The world's history has a lot of examples of the claims laid on the material interests in terms of the clash of civilizations theory. With the on-going global financial crisis, all countries worldwide should join their efforts against it through cooperation and mutual assistance, overcome the difficulties and strive for prosperity and progress.

If we have respect for the cultural diversity and cultural differences, we should have equal respect for the coexistence of cultures and the cross-cultural dialogue. Only this way can a harmonious world be built up. The harmonious world initiative is getting support worldwide. The priority here is the appreciation of cultural diversity, the expansion of equal dialogue and exchange, the tendency towards settling up of intercultural conflicts and achieving of a lasting peace on the planet. The harmonious world making is linked to the preservation of cultural diversity, which is its fundamental principle. A prosperous and secure world, that embraces the diversity of cultures, responds to the common concerns of the humanity.

In conclusion, let me refer to Academician Likhachov's words once again: each culture and each cultural nation has its unique historical mission and its unique message.

**René Guerra<sup>1</sup>**

## **DIALOGUE OR MONOLOGUE: RUSSIAN ÉMIGRÉ CULTURE IN FRANCE**

The Russian culture of the Silver Age was doomed to be outcast of Russia and after 1924 Paris became the capital of 'another Russian culture' (as Dmitry S. Likhachov aptly remarked). Two great cultures, Russian and French, came into co-existence and created a lot of problems, which are still to be studied and comprehended in research scientific works. In my opinion, the principal question to answer is whether these two cultures have been equal in their dialogue since they have had so much in common from times immemorial. And if not, what could have hindered their dialogue, so natural, as it would seem? The dialogue itself, one won't deny it, is only possible if its parties are equal both in influence and in power. The dialogue of cultures implies that the participants engaged in it are united by certain mutual approaches, shared values and goals. It turned out that the latter has not been there: the Russian party was represented by the outcasts who seemed to have been defeated historically, and for the French leftist elite

(and leftist it was) they were outlaws and apostates who had not accepted 'the Great October revolution.'

Were they willing to start the dialogue? Were they ready for it? A dialogue like that could be appropriate in the 19th century, Tyutchev and Turgenev being perfect examples of that. In fact, in the period between the wars in the '20-30s, a true dialogue was not possible in the context of ideological realities of that complicated epoch, in the first place, because of the lack of tolerance on the French part, and probably on the Russian one as well: it was Russian emigrants, not the French 'leftists', who suffered the pleasures of the 'Great October'...

What could émigré Russia abroad announce at that time? Primarily and naturally, the threat to the Western civilization and to the civilized world as a whole. But how willing were the French intellectuals to hear that at the time? Zinaida Gippius wrote foreseeing it: 'We are not in exile, we are on a mission' laying down in a condensed form the mission of the 'White émigré': to preserve and increase Russian cultural tradition.'

That was on the agenda of the meeting (on February 16, 1924) in Paris where A. V. Kartashov, I. S. Shmelyov, D. S. Merezhkovsky, I. A. Bunin made their speeches and Bunin said, 'What happened? Russia's great collapse followed by human collapse. (...) People of the world, have a look at this great Exodus and get its message. Here is a million of

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René Guerra is a collector and analyst of Russia's cultural heritage abroad.

best Russian souls who testify that not all Russia accepts the authority, the mean and evil acts of her conquerors...<sup>1</sup>

Today we are very well aware of what caused the conflict of cultures, for the White émigrés assumed the mission of the Russian national idea and actually took charge of sustaining and keeping the centuries-old historical and cultural heritage of Russia. The obstacles, with which the dialogue between the cultures is confronted, are obvious. First of all, the Western world was blinded by revolutionary ideas and the 'great enlightenment from the East', the one that Jules Romain used to speak about. He was not alone in his belief that 'the sun of the bright future rises in the East' and 'the new world is to be born in the USSR'.

One should give credit to Georges Nivat, professor of Slavic languages and literatures, who has come through the period of the same delusions. In the outspoken introduction to his book *Russie–Europe. La fin du schisme. Études littéraires et politiques* [Russia–Europe, the End of the Schism] (Lausanne, 1993) he writes about the frustrated craving of French intellectuals for the renovation of the 'old world' and the birth of a 'new man.' Hence, it is quite clear that this kind of dialogue was difficult if possible at all. Nevertheless, the contacts between the two countries are an issue of great interest to literature and art historians, as well as to the public of both countries at large.

Attempts to start the dialogue were taken by the both sides. In 1928, young Russian writer Vsevolod Focht initiated publishing such Russian émigrés in *France et Monde* quarterly, ed. 'Humanités contemporaines' ('France and the World') as Tsvetayeva, Teffi, Zaitsev, Kuznetsova and others in order to make them known to the French reading public. An anthology was also planned. At the same time *Studio franco-russe* [the French-Russian Studio] was set up to establish closer relations, and it ran poetic recitals, literary evenings and discussions. French elite was represented by Paul Valéry, André Malraux, André Maurois, Georges Bernanos, Jacques Maritain, Gabriel Marcel, Stanislav Fumé, René Laloux, René Ghil and such Russian authors as N. Berdyayev, P. Muratov, M. Tsvetayeva, B. Zaitsev, M. Aldanov, G. Adamovich, G. Gazdanov, B. Poplavsky, M. Slonim, V. Veidle, etc.<sup>2</sup>

The first public meeting held on October 29, 1929 was devoted to the 'Anxiety in Literature', the second, held on November 26, to the influence of the French literature on Russian writers beginning from 1900. The third literary session was devoted to the 'Dostoyevsky Problem' and the fourth on January 30, 1930 to 'Spiritual Drama of Leo Tolstoy'. Unfortunately, 'French-Russian' recitals ceased to exist... An active participant of the evenings, V. V. Veidle bitterly states in his reminiscences: 'Frenchmen didn't show great and profound interest in Russian writers of the First Wave of the Emigration in Paris... How far was our literature, be it in Paris, from French literature! I would dream of them to get closer. But they didn't. Though some steps were taken in that direction.'<sup>3</sup>

There were a few exceptions, though: Remizov, Mezhkovsky, Berdyayev, Shestov and Veidle himself who was writing in French. They got help, they were published by Charles du Bos, Gabriel Marcel, Jacques Maritain, Marcel Arland. Still, the involvement of Russian writers, critics, philosophers into the cultural life of France between the wars was more than modest. Alliance with the French culture failed. The Canadian researcher, Leonid Livak, made an attempt to prove that there were closer intellectual contacts.<sup>4</sup> But, alas, his

argument is hard to agree with. No doubt, the emigrants were isolated mainly due to the ideological leftism of the French elite. That's what V. Veidle, G. Adamovich, N. Berberova, G. Struve attested to unequivocally.

'All around there was the West, in particular, Paris, splendid and indifferent..., but even those striving to penetrate into French 'circles' managed only to enter through their persistence and not without flattery. Neither invitations were offered, nor interest developed, nor least curiosity shown,' G. Adamovich wrote at the end of 1954.<sup>5</sup>

Nina Berberova writes the same in her memoirs: 'Frightful, terrible time, the '20–30s of our century... At that time not a single famous writer dared to support 'us' and to voice aversion to the persecution of intelligentsia in the USSR, to oppose to repression, the Soviet censorship, arrests, trials, closure of magazines, iron law of social realism, disobedience to which could result in elimination of Russian writers. The older generation – Wells, Show, Rolland, Mann – supported the 'new Russia', an 'interesting experience' that terminated 'horrors of tsarism', Stalin against Trotsky, the way Lenin used to be supported against other leaders of Russian political parties. The older generation, including Theodore Dreiser, Sinclair Louis, Upton Sinclair, Andre Gide (up to 1936), Stefan Zweig, were in favour of the communist party against opposition...'<sup>6</sup>

In his well-known book *Russian Literature in Exile*, G. Struve writes: 'Foreign readers' attitude to émigré writers was strongly influenced by 'parlour bolshevism' widely spread among the intellectuals in Europe and America, a tendency to sympathize with the revolution of the Bolsheviks and to scorn its victims.'<sup>7</sup>

B.K. Zaitsev grieved over the isolation and indifference of the West during our numerous meetings in the late '60s. The fact that in his lifetime only two of all his books published in the emigration were in French – *Anna* and *Zolotoy Uzor* [The Golden Pattern] – is a notable example. The latter came out in as early as 1933 at that, almost 40 years before he death in Paris. The third book was my translation of his masterpiece *Golubaya Zvezda* [The Blue Star] ... in 2000.

In connection with it I can mention an incident with Ivan Shmelyov: during 30 years of his exile, only three of his books in French were published in France. *Okayannye Dni* [The Cursed Days] by I. Bunin came out in French<sup>8</sup> only in the late years of perestroika, after its publication in Moscow!

Quite notable is the scandal that broke out in 1927, which was caused by an anonymous letter 'To the Writers of the World' written on behalf of 'a group of Russian writers from Russia', which found its way to the West: 'We address you, writers of the world. How can one explain that you, prophets, penetrating the depths of a human soul, a soul of the epoch and peoples, pass by us, Russians, doomed to grind the shackles of the dreadful prison erected to the word? Why do you, nurtured on best creations of our literary geniuses as well, keep silent when great literature is being stifled in the great country? Aren't you aware of the communist censorship? <...> Writers! Ears, eyes and conscience of the world, take up the call! Our only weapon, the pen has been snatched from our hands, air we are breathing has been taken away from us, we ourselves have been imprisoned. <...> We are perishing. We are sending this letter from what we may call a prison cell. We are taking great risks writing it, greater risks are to send it abroad. We don't know whether it will reach you and get to the pages of the free press. But if it does, if you hear our voice

<sup>5</sup> Solitude and Freedom. New York : Publishing House named after Chekhov, 1955. P. 35.

<sup>6</sup> The Italics are Min. New York : Russica Publishers, INC, 1983. Vol. 1. P. 265.

<sup>7</sup> Russian Literature in Exile. New York : Publishing House named after Chekhov, 1956. P. 239.

<sup>8</sup> Bounine I. Jours maudits, L'Age d'Homme. Lausanne, 1988.

<sup>1</sup> Bunin I. A. Essay Collection. 1918–1953. Moscow, 1998. P. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Le Studio franco-russe 1929–1931. Textes réunis et présentés par L. Livak, Toronto, 2005.

<sup>3</sup> Russian Almanac, Paris, 1981. P. 397.

<sup>4</sup> Russian Writers in Paris. Glimpses of French Literature of 1920–1940. Moscow, 2007. P. 200–214.



from the graveyard, we plead you to listen attentively, read thoroughly, think profoundly!<sup>1</sup>

Balmont, Bunin and Shmelyov tried to draw attention of the West to this document. Bunin was the first to speak and wrote in the newspaper 'Vozrozhdeniye' [Revival]: 'I am also among those who appeal to all writers of the world: yes, listen, think, respond to that staggering outcry! For seven years that I've been living in Europe, for seven years I've been wondering with unspeakable astonishment and horror: where are you, 'the conscience of the world, the prophets', why are you silent on what is being done next to you in civilized Europe, in the Christian world? We, writers in exile, have not once tried by our howl of despair to make the European world wake up...'<sup>2</sup>

Balmont also responded to the call. In October 1927 he wrote an open letter to Knut Hamsun, then another to Romain Rolland. A few months later, Russian émigré writers made an attempt to publish their appeals in the French press. Only in January did they succeed, and their address came out in a small periodical 'Avenir'. It went unnoticed, the only exception being R. Rolland who replied in *L'Europe*, the monthly magazine, referring to the evidence of the Potemkin villages of Stalinism in the Soviet Union: 'Balmont, Bunin, and I understand everything: your world has collapsed, you are in a ruthless exile. For you the bell of the gone past tolls'. Later R. Rolland addressed Gorky with a question: is it true that writers in the Soviet Union are being oppressed? Gorky's reply was published in the March issue of *L'Europe*, too. It surely stated that writers were much happier in the Soviet Union than in other foreign countries... But Balmont refused to rest content with that and wrote in another letter to Romain Rolland: 'The Bolshevism is despotism thousand times worse than the despotism of tsarism was.'

Nina Berberova recalls that Khodasevich was also going to object to Gorky in French papers to tell about the poets and writers who got lost without a trace in the USSR, about suicides, about notorious 'party policy', about censorship, about dreadful years to come for the writers in Russia...

Rolland's greeting (December 4, 1927) 'on the greatest anniversary in human history', October Revolution, triggered a new wave of debates. Bunin burst out with another letter:

'I am much obliged to *L'Avenir* for giving me a chance to add these lines to a strong and noble letter by Balmont, to a bitter rebuke he is sending to the famous French writer Romain Rolland who is considered to be one of the most ardent supporters of freedom and humanity, but in fact is playing a friend of a band of robbers and villains who have been ravaging and draining Russia and humiliating man's dignity for ten years now as never before since the world was created. Could he be really thinking of us, Russian emigrant writers as of just dumb reactionaries... How mistaken he is!'

It would be appropriate to remind that besides R. Rolland such 'progressive men of letters' favoured the Soviet regime as H. Barbusse, L. Aragon, A. Breton, L. Durtain, A. Malraux, G. Duhamel, N. Sarraute, A. Robbe-Grillet and others. It was not until André Gide visited the USSR that he stopped praising advantages of 'great Stalin's' regime, only then were his eyes opened...

Luckily, émigré artists made creative contacts with less effort. They managed not only to get involved in the Western artistic milieu but develop new trends in painting. Suffice it to mention V. Kandinsky, O. Tsadkin, N. de Stahl, Sonia Delaunay. The contacts were also promoted by those who had arrived in Paris long before the revolution and had perfectly fit in the artistic scenery of pre-war Paris. Among them were M. Chagall, S. Yastrebtsov, L. Survage, M. Vasilyeva, S. Sharshun, N. Goncharova, M. Larionov. And an integral part of 'Paris school' were A. Lansky, S. Polyakov, M. M. Andreyenko, L. Zak, K. Tereshkovich, D. Bushen, M. Marevna, I. Puni, etc.

Glorious S. Diaghilev's *Saisons Russe* [the Russian Seasons, 1909–1929] in Paris are worth mentioning, but it is another story with a happier end than that of the story of the 'unrequited love' between Russian and French literary worlds.

It's regrettable that even after the downfall of the Soviet totalitarian regime circumstances on the 'French part' didn't undergo any significant change, all the more so that the parties of the dialogue either perished or are far off... But still it is essential to apprehend the dramatic past objectively and fairly. It is never late to admit having made a mistake. They will be given their due and paid the tribute, who served worthy their mission in exile on the French land: they can, they must. Hopefully, they will.

A. V. Gultsev<sup>3</sup>

## THE DIALOGUE AND CONFLICT OF CULTURES THROUGH THE PRISM OF THE FRENCH REALITY

It is an honour to take part in the Conference again. At the moment I am the Head of the Administrative Board of the Russian Community in France. I would like to speak about the cross-cultural dialogue and conflict as seen from the perspective of France, or, of Paris, to be more exact.

Paris is one of the most multinational territories in Europe. In France it is illegal to ask about one's ethnicity or religion in census questionnaire, but the question about the country of birth is still there. And as the last census shows one fifth

<sup>1</sup> *Poslednie Novosti* (The Latest News). Paris. 1927. July 10. No. 2300; *Vozrozhdeniye* (Revival). Paris. 1927. July 10. No. 768.

<sup>2</sup> *Vozrozhdeniye* (Revival), Paris. 1927. July 7. No. 775.

<sup>3</sup> General Director of the European Centre of the International Association of Writers and Publicists (Paris), President of the Confederation of Russian Communities in Europe, writer, journalist.

Silver Laureate of the national award in literature "Golden Pen of Russia" 2007 for the best essay, Golden Laureate of the same award in 2008 for the best interview. He is decorated with the big golden medal of L. Tolstoy for his merits in preserving the Russian language.

of Parisians were born outside France. The world's cultural capital (as Paris is sometimes called) has always attracted emigrants. The Germans, Jews, Italians, Poles, Spaniards, Portuguese, Russians, Chinese, and of course, the Arabs from the former colonies, were intensively immigrating into France through the 19th–20th centuries. Currently, at the beginning of the 21st century, with the extension of the European Union, Paris is experiencing a new wave of immigrants from Central and East Asia.

Multiethnicity implies an intercourse of cultures. Nowadays it's a usual practice to talk about the 'Arabic face' of Paris and about the conflicts totally ascribed to Muslims, who make up about 15 per cent of the city's population. Indeed, it can easily be explained – there was a worldwide response in 2005 when TV channels showed hundreds of burning cars in the suburbs of Paris. In fact, the situation was oversimplified when 'the reluctant to integrate' Muslims were totally blamed

for the clash of cultures. Nowadays the populist nationalist slogan is a byword: 'Don't like it here? Go home!' But where is 'home'? In Islamia? Is there such a country? Those who use such slogans don't even remember that the majority of the young Muslims who took part in the upheaval were French-born. Some time ago, when the economy was flourishing, their fathers were brought here by charter flights to work at France's plants. Right now, in some suburbs of Paris the unemployment rate of Arabic French young people is as high as 60 percent. Politicians and journalists are very eloquent telling them: 'You must get integrated'. But what is behind these words? Is eating pork really necessary to get a job and to abandon the ghettos, which most of the suburbs look like? 40 years ago it was not them, but the French authorities who densely settled the foreign workers, but forgot to bring them together with the local population of France.

In his essay 'Kultura kak tselostnaya sreda' [Culture as an Integrated Environment], Dmitry Likhachov compares a country's culture to a glacier: 'A nation's culture can be compared to a mountain glacier that is slow but extremely powerful'. There is nothing to add. The juxtaposition of cultures in Paris is like the motion of glaciers – towards one another. And to prevent the catastrophe there is work to be done. In fact, even without open conflicts (as those mentioned above) the representatives of different nations live an isolated life, full of fears and misunderstanding, if they are not culturally educated.

To become a French citizen a foreigner must take a test in French and a test in basic values of the Republic of France – such as equal rights of man and woman, secular society and freedom. This test is officially meant to find out a 'new-born' Frenchman's potential to integrate. Besides, the test also makes it clear to the applicant that he or she will have to abandon some aspects of his or her native culture to accept the French culture. On the one hand, the requirements set by the French government are only natural and good. Sometimes they accelerate the evolution of views and morals. On the other hand, we cannot say there is nothing positive in preserving the 'new coming' cultures. Each nation has something to offer. I believe that native Frenchmen should start to integrate themselves. To integrate into a new French society based on the partnership of diversities – the partnership of cultures.

Many native residents are concerned that their own culture might lose its importance with the influx of foreigners. These fears are only natural. But such intrusion is not just a harmless, but also a crucial element in the balanced development of the society. As D. Likhachov put it, 'Culture has no boundaries. It profits by developing its peculiar features and by getting in touch with other cultures. National close-up leads to its scarcity and extinction, to the end of its individuality.'

The upheavals near Paris demonstrated that the reluctance to understand a culture of the new fellow countrymen and the reluctance to establish a cross-cultural dialogue inevitably result in an open confrontation. The attempts to use force offer just a temporary solution. The upheavals are over, but the tension remains. Here and there the cars get blazed up and the police are thrown stones at. There are suburbs, where not just

taxi drivers hardly ever go, but the ambulance as well! Such things cannot happen in a law-governed state. That is why the top priority for the politicians is not suppressing and sending people to gaol, but explaining and getting people closer with each other and with diverse cultures. All the more so because France has such experience.

Each new President of France traditionally establishes a new museum. It's amazing that the museum set up by the latest French President, Jacques Chirac, is the Musée du quai Branly (known in English as the Quai Branly Museum). It is often referred to as the museum of primitive art, because it displays the original background of cultures and art of people all over the world. The museum's slogan is also noteworthy: 'Where cultures meet in dialogue'.

Some other government initiatives to bring the diverse cultures closer are also worth mentioning. It has been a regular practice for some years now to decorate the Asian quarter in Paris (the biggest Chinatown in Europe) with traditional lanterns during the Chinese New Year. People parade through the streets, and the colourful dragons are very nice to look at. Yet another example: nowadays the musical town of Paris hosts 'Creole parties'. These parties are meant to introduce the culture of the former French colonies through traditional music, theatre and dancing. One cannot help admiring these performances. The rest of the process is simple, and this is how human mentality works: the love of a culture is followed by the liking of the culture's representatives. A conclusion inevitably follows: joint choral singing results in mutual understanding. The most important thing is not to appoint a soloist by an order. The soloists will find the way themselves.

At the end of my speech I would like to say some words about how Russian immigrants feel about preserving our own culture. We believe that to integrate does not mean to vanish in the crowd and forget our roots. A lot of activities are being organized within the framework of our community. They are targeted, on the one hand, at the introduction of the Russian culture to the French, and on the other hand, at the preservation of the Russian language. From that perspective the work with the younger generation is very important. Within the framework of our community there are four Russian week-end schools, which are expanding. One of our latest large-scale activities was a friendly match between children and youth Clubs for the Cheerful and Quick-Witted of Western Europe, Russia and Kazakhstan.

Paris is just an example. Any European capital and Europe itself are going through the 'fitting-in' phase between the so-called indigenous population and immigrants. Cultural clashes are not an abnormality, but a natural situation. There is no sense in the fear of a culture shock. We should remember that according to a popular theory, the very life on the Earth started after a clash with a comet. But for the clash not to be fatal for our planet, our priority today is to master understanding skills and tolerance.

Here I would like to bring my speech to a conclusion. There is the saying of Yehudi Menuhin engraved on one of the buildings of the European Parliament in Brussels: It's either Europe of cultures, or no Europe. Thank you.

## TOLERANCE AND DIALOGUE OF CULTURES

The principal idea of the article is as follows: tolerance is linked to the dialogue of cultures both genetically and inherently; its peculiar ethical and psychological quality and corresponding behaviour ensure co-existence and cooperation of peoples belonging to different cultures.

1. In everyday speech and non-scientific discourse tolerance is viewed as friendly, mild, tactful relations; it is regarded as ability to communicate with others; as a person's attitude and interpersonal relations, which promote the understanding of other people and the acceptance of their selves, vision of things through their eyes rather than imposing oneself on other fellow humans.<sup>2</sup> It is correlated with one's ability to compromise, to behave thoughtfully and with disposition to choosing the deliberate averaged way of behaviour. A tolerant person is regarded as somebody who follows the Golden Rule of ethics 'Do to others what you would have them do to you'.

This definition of tolerance as a universal human quality is true in itself, but it lacks its specific content and its peculiar meaning in the life of a modern person and society. Tolerance surely involves some always appropriate moral moderation and respectfulness, and rests upon humanistic mildness in consideration of morals and manners. Popular egoistic and pragmatic reasons can also argue in favour of tolerance, e.g., peace is better than war, mutual understanding is a key to success, etc. All these important statements testify to the fact that tolerance is neither an isolated quality of a personality nor a behavioural norm, but none of them answers the question of what the essence of this notion is, whether it is opposed or added to neighbouring and overlapping qualities and norms.

As I see it, it is more appropriate to interpret tolerance as people's patience to differences which they themselves disapprove of. Specifying the notion, one should define what forbearing attitude is coupled with tolerance, and what the nature of the differences requiring such attitude is.

2. In a very broad sense, tolerance of differences manifests itself by the absence of a correcting influence, i.e. by the absence of motivation to overcome them. This kind of tolerance, however, can be determined by various reasons and, accordingly, can have different meaning. Tolerance, in Michael Walzer's opinion,<sup>3</sup> embraces a continuum of attitudes: (a) humility to differences for the sake of peace; (b) indifference to differences, which can be illustrated by the phrase: let all flowers, without exception, blossom; (c) stoic acceptance of the inevitable; (d) form of interest towards human diversity resulting from respect toward alternative

models, from curiosity and desire to learn something new etc.; (e) approval of the differences because of the beauty of multiplicity, because of the richness of opportunities being a condition of the prosperity of the human society. It is easy to see that different forms of tolerance are placed between two opposite poles: at one of them, these differences are viewed as inevitable or more or less preferred evil. At the other pole, they are considered to be good. In the first case, differences have to be tolerated, in the second, they are consciously cultivated.

Tolerance in the context of the cultural dialogue is linked to the latter. This is brought about and determined by the type of differences which generate tolerance as some personal feature and a behavioural strategy.

3. Differences between people can manifest themselves in the tastes, habits and stereotypes of behaviour. No matter how significant they can be for each individual, they are not so important as to be identified by he/she with their moral self. But they can also be related to such things as principles, beliefs and concepts which are of primary and unquestionable importance for the person's moral outlooks. For instance, people's attitude to fashion is one thing and those determined by their religious tradition and national culture is another. Tolerance is required in both cases, but tolerance of absolutely different kind. In the former case, we can do with tolerance in its general sense, which manifests itself as clemency, acceptance and practical prudence, the one which a parent demonstrates toward naughty children, or a wife toward her husband who overstepped his family obligations and allowed himself a little too much, as a connoisseur of music who avoids being too critical of the partiers' singing etc. In the latter case, another kind of tolerance is required, the tolerance proper, in substance - the only one that can be called so. This is the quality that allows a Liberal and a Communist to sit in the same parliament, a Muslim and a Hebrew to live next door to each other, a Chinese and a Frenchman to work at one laboratory, which allows to do that without losing self-respect. The object of tolerance is profound differences between people which are related to their visions of the world, beliefs and principles. This is a way to reconcile, to join together something that originally seems irreconcilable and incompatible.

4. Tolerance as a product of historical evolution.

Antiquity developed, grounded theoretically and tested practically the canon of the principal human virtues including temperance, fortitude, justice and prudence. Philosophers of antiquity formulated the moral standards with regard to an individual's relation with his own self and his fellow citizens. Even though some of the philosophers tended to think in the lines of cosmopolitan views, in general their vision of morals is somewhere bordering that of the barbarians. They are absolutely alien to what we call tolerance. Among the Greek sages there was Anacharsis, a Scythian, who, as the legend has it, was put to death on his coming to his native land for betraying his Scythian customs. In Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* we find an episode telling about Themistocles who had the Persian tsar's bilingual envoy executed. The reason was that the envoy took the liberty of speaking the Hellenic language to translate a message from the barbarian. This decision of Themistocles, as Plutarch puts it, was lauded, while in fact it was as barbaric as those of the Scythians who executed Anacharsis. Ancient Greeks had no moral resources to surpass their differences from the barbarians.

The Middle Ages supplemented the moral code of antiquity with theologically interpreted values of faith, hope and love which broke through the ethnic and cultural limitations of the moral outlook by expanding it to the borders of the Christian

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Academician Guseynov is the author of more than 400 publications including "Social Nature of Ethics" (1974), "The Golden Rule of Ethics" (1988), "The Great Moralists" (1995), "Language and Conscience" (1996), "Philosophy, Ethics, and Politics" (2002), "The Ethics of Antiquity" (2003).

Vice-President of the Russian Philosophical Society, managing editor of the yearly "Ethical Thought," editor of a series "The Library of Ethical Thought," editor of the journal "Social Sciences" (English edition), member of the editorial board of the journals "Philosophical Sciences" and "Philosophical Issues". He was awarded with the UNESCO diploma in 1996 and the medal of Mahatma Gandhi "For the outstanding contribution to the promotion of tolerance and non-violence."

<sup>2</sup> One of linguistic dictionaries defines tolerance as "toleration, lenience to smth., smb." (Illustrated Dictionary of Foreign Words. M.: Russian Dictionaries. Astrel. Ast, 2002. P. 788). Dictionary on Ethics defines it as "a quality describing attitude of one man to another as an equal personality which is expressed in a conscious suppression of disapproval of the otherness (appearance, manner to speak, tastes, lifestyle, beliefs, etc.)." (Ethics. Encyclopedia. Moscow, Gardariki, 2001. P. 493).

<sup>3</sup> See: Walzer M. On Tolerance. Moscow, 2000. P. 24–25.

faith. But Christian faith itself, however, became the limit of tolerance contained in the Christian ethics. Tolerance did not encompass religious beliefs, which is evidenced by the utterly negative attitude toward pagans, Muslims and Hebrews typical of that time.

Religious schism in the 16th century and the obvious need in the society to come from class delineation to national unity became a serious historical challenge for the Western culture. New forms of social interaction were on the agenda, the ones which might enable the co-existence of people of different religions in a single political and state environment. The answer to this challenge was religious tolerance, the first and principal form of tolerance in existence until present day. The road to it lay through long and bloody religious wars. Religious tolerance was virtually obtained by Europe through suffering. The first legal document introducing the practice of religious tolerance was *The Edict of Nantes* on a religious peace adopted in 1598. It proclaimed the equal right of the members of the Reformed church and Catholics to education, medical treatment and state welfare, declaring that they not be oppressed or moved to renunciation from their belief.<sup>1</sup>

History witnessed long, multifaceted and laborious, often bloody processes of expansion, in the course of which tolerance that originated like religious toleration transformed into peaceful and respectful coexistence of people belonging to different races, cultures, civilizations, with pluralism of world views and lifestyles. It was comprehended and recapitulated by philosophers and finally took the form of modern humanism and ethical behaviour. Tolerance got included into the developing canon of ethical virtues and behavioural norms. It added another quality to the canon. Actually, tolerance can be regarded as an essential moral achievement and contribution of neo-European culture to the human ethics.

5. Interaction of different cultures in the modern stage of human existence called globalization became systematic, everyday and universal. By and large, it proves adequacy and vitality of tolerance as moral and spiritual attitude. At the same time, the conflict between traditional absolutist approach to ethics and its tolerant image cause a number of peculiar deformations. Let us refer to a well-known example. True Muslims asserting their piety to Muhammad are unable to understand European intellectuals who caricature their Prophet, thereby enjoying their right, as it may seem to them, to have freedom of opinion.

It seems relevant to develop further and give a more specific definition of tolerance in terms of objectives and practices of the dialogue between cultures. The most urgent and difficult are the three questions: (a) whether tolerance means conciliation with moral destructions; (b) how tolerance goes with the pathos of truth inherent in universal principles of the world view? (c) whether tolerance should be tolerant and what moral position should be accepted to those denying tolerance.

6. The existing definitions of tolerance, as a rule, stipulate that it does not refer to reactionary or criminal ideas. On the face of it, this stipulation seems quite natural and reasonable, but it contradicts the idea of tolerance itself. In fact, tolerance is in demand when individuals adhere to different beliefs, to different value systems, when they disagree on what is evil and what is good. Tolerance as a human quality and a behavioural strategy is required to reduce tension, not to let the situation degrade into violent confrontation, which is a usual outcome to follow, should each party insist on its being right. It offers individuals to refrain from adopting a role of a judge in the matter of the bad and the good, focusing on respectful and loyal attitude to other fellow humans whose ideas and values they disapprove of. Tolerance would be of no use if we could

know for certain what ideas are reactionary and what are not, what behaviour is vicious and what is not. The statement that tolerance is only relevant to progressive ideas is as good as using a compass when you know where the North is.

In one of the contemporary theological texts, I came across a phrase 'Love your enemies, hate the enemies of God, and fight the enemies of your fatherland.' In that context, a question arises: How and who can identify the enemies of God and the enemies of the fatherland? Do we lack examples when wrong people were called enemies of God or of a fatherland? Let us assume that I may have my own grounded opinion on that. What if somebody else is as sure as to call my very self an enemy of God and my country? Another relevant question is: differentiating between enemies of oneself and enemies of Fatherland, advocating love to the former and hate and fight against the latter; don't we forget the fact (the fact obvious for a person of deep and profound ethics) that enemies of God and Fatherland are at the same time one's personal enemies?! How should people then behave in such situations: to love enemies or to hate and fight them?! We have to accept that Jesus Christ's commandment of love and forgiveness for enemies without distinguishing personal and common ones not only manifests a lofty moral, but makes it consistent.

It does not follow from what I said above that behavioural norms and behaviour itself cannot be classified by ethical criteria, in the context of good and evil. The underlying idea is that there are no people, however wise, holy or impeccable they are, who can do that. The tolerance strategy does aim at treating people, not their principles, and those principles, whether you approve or disapprove of them, especially when you disapprove of them, should not hinder mutual understanding and cooperation.

It should be mentioned separately that tolerance does not mean connivance to moral vice. Needless to say, it does not blur out distinctions between virtue and sin, the good and the evil. As stressed above, it only forbids humans to adopt a public role of a judge in these issues. Besides, tolerance means ethical neutrality pertaining only to philosophical, religious and political beliefs. But it should not be regarded neutral in respect to destructive behaviour.

7. Pathos of truth is inherent in man; it primarily correlates with his world outlook, views and beliefs. To believe in authenticity of one's own convictions is a significant feature of the latter. A question arises whether a tolerant attitude to diverse life values, viewpoints and ideas is a kind of epistemological surrender and a betrayal of oneself. A body of modern philosophical writings shows attempts to prove that objectivity and absoluteness logically bound with it are not characteristics of truth. On the face of the things, the attempts to prove the relativity of the notion of truth can be viewed as a determination to bring it to compliance with a tolerant view of the world. Without touching upon epistemological aspects of the problem, it must be mentioned that theoretical grounds for tolerance do not imply the abandonment of the idea of the absolute truth. Rather on the contrary.

The absolute truth is the sum of relative truths. It means that none of its particular embodiments can be absolute. The same may refer to the absolute truth viewed as the highest truth of life. The highest truth is absolute and highest in that it is beyond the powers of a mortal. To say that I stand by absolute justice and to say that my understanding of justice is absolutely just is not the same. Similarly, to say that I believe in God and to say that I tell and do what God wills is not the same. Those who are serious and responsible about the first statement will never do the latter. That's why human co-existence and cooperation aimed at highest truths and values are preconditioned by tolerance.

It is essential to understand that the absolute truth when comprehended and taken strictly as absolute (as far as man

<sup>1</sup> See: Anthology of the World Political Thought. Vol. 2. Moscow: Mysl [Thought], 1999. P. 785.

is able to apprehend it) means that no statement, however truthful it might seem or really be, is absolute. Any particular understanding of the absolute truth is relative just because it is the understanding of the *absolute truth*.<sup>1</sup> Tolerance results in critical awareness of that, and tolerance is the moral sanction of multiplicity of forms of existence and diversity of ways which lead humanity to the absolute truth. We must be tolerant since we are not perfect and can make mistakes. That is exactly why we need each other. Tolerance does not mean or require an approval or an agreement with somebody else's views, it is independent in acknowledging a man's right to move along his own way to the truth. To be tolerant means to realize that neither you are destined for or your fellow human is deprived of the truth.

Tolerance as mutual forbearance of people with different views and values does not imply that it disavows diversity of views and values reducing their importance in a person's life. It only concedes, admits feasibility, allowability, validity of these differences, establishes such a situation that they don't block the road to cooperation, cooperation that may be caused by these differences, in a way, but in fact, may be possible in spite of them.

8. A separate issue is how tolerance that cultivates pluralism of the world views can be in accord with the concept of human rights, which is introduced as a universal, international, intercultural humanitarian project. A certain strain is felt if not an opposition, as long as human rights are viewed as a dogmatic set of abstract values of Western origin. In fact, 'bare' values do not exist anywhere, including the West. The way people's rights are understood and enjoyed differs in different cultures, countries, epochs. Human rights, as they are, exist only in philosophic writings and declarations. In reality, multiple practices of their realization can be found. Tolerance means that none of these practices should be absolutized.

In the context of human rights, one can say that tolerance, in a way of speaking, is a key to understand their universal nature.

9. Applying general principles which determine a behavioural strategy to themselves is to test of them. A well-known trap is described in Ivan Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons*, when a character denied all principles and got trapped himself giving a positive answer when asked if the denial itself was his principle, and with that he discredited his own initial postulate. In terms of tolerance, the difficulty arises whether it concerns the world views that deny tolerance. Or in other, more exact words, whether tolerance denies itself as

a universal principle; whether the moral status of tolerance is doubted considering that universality is a peculiar feature of ethical basic foundations?

To answer these two questions we have to specify the following.

First, tolerance deals with such differences, which, viewed as moral choices of an individual, are hard to classify by strict objectively verifying criteria (truth vs. fallacy, progressive vs. reactionary, etc.). That is what distinguishes them from other differences between people. For instance, tastes can be conservative and up-to-date; manners can be loose or restrained; health can be good or weak; education can be higher, secondary, or primary bordering on illiteracy; self-esteem can be high, low, adequate; upbringing can be paternalistic or anti-authoritarian, etc. However, it would be a mistake to say which belief, be it Christian or Muslim, or which world outlook, be it Marxist or liberalistic, is more preferable on the basis of some logically argued criterion. Every person belonging to a particular denomination or *Weltanschauung* can be genuinely assured in the righteousness of his belief, its genuine, truthful, progressive character etc. and has equal grounds to be sure of this.

Secondly, tolerance as individually responsible moral position is a self-demand of an individual towards himself. Viewed as an impersonal norm, to follow which it is proclaimed as everybody's responsibility, it is included into political and legal system as its element. Actually, moral principles are peculiar in that they are regarded by an individual as universal and, hence, – in this quality – absolutely obligatory and imperative for themselves. All said about tolerance is a general moral requirement *per se*. This is a requirement which a man cannot apply to, and has no right to do so, to others, but himself.

With the notion of tolerance being specified, it is obvious that tolerance is of practical use as a conscious prohibition of imposing one's beliefs and views of the world on others. To be tolerant means not to peddle views and ideas to others. Tolerance viewed in this way possesses moral universality. Thus, it encourages people of different world outlooks, religions, cultures to cooperate in the spheres and forms for which they are prepared.

To sum it up, tolerance interpreted in its specific, historically determined content, is a moral and psychological background of the dialogue of cultures. At the same time, the dialogue of cultures constitutes such a reality of contemporary life which enables one to understand the essence and spirit of tolerance.

P. N. Gussev<sup>2</sup>

### THREE QUESTIONS PRIOR TO SCHEDULE GATHERING

27 years of work in mass media enable me to choose a few issues that, in my opinion, are urgent not only for Editor-in-Chief and publisher like myself but also for the whole mass media community. I have given these issues the character of questions. The questions that I put every day to myself, the questions that we should put to the authorities, the questions

<sup>1</sup> Another interesting idea on the problem has been expressed by Russian scholar V. Vasyukov. He argues that the choice of a general principle is a mere volitional act which cannot be proved. Since the decision on universal principles is irrational "the only paradoxical possibility of common acts is tolerance to others' choice" (Vasukov V. L. Tolerance and Universalism // *Filosofski Zhurnal*. 2008. No. 1. P. 155).

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that, as I hope, will be interesting for the participants of the Likhachov Scientific Conference.

The 3rd of May is a Universal Day of the Freedom of Press that is timed to the Windhoek Declaration of 1991 calling upon to freedom, independence and pluralism of the media all over the World. The Declaration states that the free Press is a necessary condition for existence of democracy and the fundamental ultimate aim of the mankind.

Hence, *Question 1 is quite urgent. Is there the free press in Russia?*

In Russia there is no statistics as to how many really independent mass media are there among the total number of registered those. But there are data that the founders of most regional and up to 80% of municipal newspapers of the country still consist of the governmental and municipal

authorities, which tells on the editing policy of these issues as well as on their economic independence, because in one way or another they are all financed by the regional or local budgets. For the mass media community it is no secret that governmentalization of the mass information sphere goes on, as well as grasping of the mass media by large State-oriented business. The independent mass media are practically washed out of information resources.

The coalescence of capital and the authorities aggravates dependence of the information enterprises on their owners. The press is losing its autonomy and turns into a controllable information lobbyist.

Assessments of international organizations are explicit: such organizations as 'The Reporters without Borders' publish reports 'On the Freedom of Press in the World' where Russia occupies places at the very end of the list. They indicate that in Russian mass media, and in television in particular, different points of view are absent, the State carries on a total control of the media space, and lives of journalists are endangered.

As the twist of fate will have it, I am already for the second time Chairman of the Commission on Communications, Information Policy and Freedom of Speech in the second convocation of the Social Chamber. Therefore, with all due responsibility, I would like to note that the information sources for such ratings often look rather unconvincing, while some parameters are not corroborated with actual information. The Mass Media Commission of the Social Chamber of the RF together with the All-Russia Centre of Public Opinion Studies, and Fund of Publicity Protection have developed a system for defining the freedom of speech level in Russian regions and in the whole country. Research has been made in Voronezh and Novosibirsk Regions. The Russian monitoring can and must show the reality: what is the Freedom of Press in Russia.

The common and, alas, objective answer to the first question is that the Press in Russia is not yet free. The mass media constitute the most important institute of the civic society. Therefore, the situation with the press, radio, and television, the attitude toward mass media show how the society feels, whether the country lives normal life.

There are, however, some signals that inspire certain optimism. Citing President of Russia D. A. Medvedev ('freedom is better than non-freedom' and '...of course, a modern and thriving society can only exist today in free information flow the integral part of which are influential and independent mass media – both the federal and the regional those where there are very many problems, as well as published and so called electronic mass information means').

But should the mass media set all their hopes upon a wise and liberal sovereign and his or her words? One can wait in vain, can't one?

In this connection *Question 2 is quite appropriate. Who will help the Russian press to become free?*

The answer seems to be quite obvious: the society. Or, to be more exact, the civic society.

The same society that represents a totality of social institutes not included directly into the State structures and allowing citizens or their associations to implement their interests and initiatives. But one should understand that the civic society couldn't be boiled down to an aggregate of registered organizations alone. It is necessary to defend legal interests of all self-organizing civic structures acting within the frame of the country's Constitution. This refers both to political parties as a separate civic institute, and to the private sector corporations, etc. In Russia, the civic society occurred before today, its institutes were not 'imported', its beginnings proceeded from so very long ago (the village and city self-government, the estate representation, etc.). This development was interrupted by the 'Great October'. Total State control

was established over the civil life. At the time, the idea of the 'civic society' was only associated with dissident movement.

Information will be given on how the RF Social Chamber, whose member I am, proceeds with its work for supporting the civic society; on the fact that it is not a simple task as the work goes on not in the vacuum. Both the civic society and the mass media exist today in real political coordinates of the modern Russia. It is necessary to talk of serious changes in the country's political constructions, of the prevalence (if not rebirth) of the administrative-party system, of helplessness and, for all practical aspects, going away of the right-liberal forces from the political activity.

While being President of Russia, Vladimir Putin – as an efficient President – set the task to build and then to rely upon the vertical power. And he thoroughly worked upon it. But he never set the task of relying upon the civic society, upon mass media that are one of the pillars of the civic society. That is why the vertical looks far from stable.

And the civic society in the world, in other countries with well-developed democracy as we call it, predetermines a lot in the formation of the course of both governments and party programmes. Presidents of those countries watch quite attentively the opinions, positions of non-governmental, non-commercial organizations, and the civic society's reactions.

When reading my paper at the Civic Forum in Moscow on January 22, 2008, in fact on the eve of the Presidential election, I expressed one important, as it seems to me even now, idea: one should not say that our civic society is somewhat underdeveloped, somewhat weak. One should rather proceed from another concept: to provide the society with a possibility of free self-organisation and realization its Constitutional rights. And to render all possible support in this not easy work.

Incidentally, today the State, even if experiencing some difficulties in solution of many challenges under the conditions of the crisis, can and must rely upon the trained, the skilled, and other resources of the community. The civic society demonstrates both the capacity and the readiness for voluntary concentration of its resources: 'the intellectual mobilisation' for realizing the common national tasks.

Well, while we were discussing the possibilities of the Russian democracy and the civic society, the economy crisis has turned up out of the blue. Which puts ahead not the simplest question.

*Question 3. What is there in the nearest future for the Russian mass media?* Recently the Social Chamber of Russia has urgently conducted a Session on this topic. We talked in a rather worried way. We proceeded from the information that had come to us from some places – I will cite: '...The independent social-political newspapers become extinct as a class. They become replaced by budget issues spread free of charge. These mass media are fully controlled by the regional authorities and therefore the authorities do not grudge money for them'. Or: '...In general, the situation in the country is such that in the nearest future, considering the crisis, there might remain no independent social-political issues; everything printed and, excuse me, unprintable will become a single whole with the State vertical of authorities'.

We were saying that the reports of the largest world journal brands in respect to losses in the result of the global economic crisis make the mass media tremble all over the world. The European Federation of Journalism has appealed to the European Parliament asking it to retain the mass media from falling down. In its appeal the Federation called upon the fractions in the European Parliament to render an immediate support to journalists, having warned that if the EC does nothing for saving journalism, the sector will be doomed.

It is important in principle what was said about the mass media in the crisis conditions by the French President Nicolas

Sarkozy: 'Democracy cannot function normally under the conditions when the press is constantly balancing on the verge of economic abyss'. Proceeding from this statement the French authorities have developed a programme for leading the printed mass media out of the crisis, the programme having been published a while ago. It is planned for three years and will cost the budget €600 million.

Estimations by the Russian authorities, however, are frighteningly optimistic against this background. This optimism seems to be connected with the fact that, according to the estimations by experts, the turnover from selling periodic issue to the population of Russia during 2008 was 64,2 billion roubles, including that through subscription – 17,8 billion roubles. The printed mass media's advertisement income has amounted up to over 57,6 billion roubles. Production and free-of-charge distribution of the press is estimated as 17,0 billion roubles, i.e. the printed press market finished 2008 at a considerable plus in Russia. But this is just the PAST year.

And today our Russian native market of the printed press, in fact practically the only one in the country, turned out to be overboard as concerns the measures of anti-crisis State support.

And the State support of the mass media must exist. Plus, some changes of its forms are necessary. In my opinion, for instance, the grant support should not be divided in the regions into one or other particular issue in compliance with the principle 'if you write well of the Governor, receive the grant', 'if you write well of the leading party, receive the grant'. This gigantic blunder should be corrected. These State means must be redistributed and allocated directly for the development of all the mass media: not by name but exactly all of them.

President D.A. Medvedev made a perfectly unique decision a few months ago: to render support to subscription. Not to Russian Gazette, nor to Moskovsky Komsomolets, nor to Izvestia, but to all newspapers at once.

And one more problem. If the State is interested in development of the institute of free and independent mass

media it must, at last, initiate the process of the mass media de-governmentalisation. There are proposals how to do this; in particular, to create a Social Fund of financing activity of the local mass media as an economic guarantee of such independence, the Fund depending on no current situation with the existing Power.

Under these conditions, the media community can and must more actively become aware of itself as part of the civic society. And to manifest a new level of abilities for ethical self-regulation as an important way of development of independent mass media. The point involves implementation of ethical standards in the mass media, creation of the Journalists' Charter in Russia. If we accept it then we will make the mass media safe in many aspects from interference and influence of the authority structures. We will then raise the level of the freedom of speech; we will then arise to a new level of work in the mass media.

#### *Conclusion*

In our editorship office of Moskovsky Komsomolets, on the walls in halls, an enormous number of various newspapers hang: those from different years and even different countries. 'Why?' I often ask myself. I answer in this way: just so that the maximum number of journalists and even guests of the office could see and, consequently, think how the world has been changing and how the mass media have been changing.

Indeed, we have a lot to think about. We are armed with the great experience of the Russian history and culture, both heroic and bitter, so as to make our aspirations and expectations come true, turning them into noble deeds.

I would like to express my particular gratitude to the organizers of the Likhachov Conference – this honourable tribune for discussions and for development of consolidated moral opinions.

I would like to bow low in memory of Academician Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov who was and still remains a symbol of the highest culture, respect for a personality and his or her rights.

**Nils G. Holm<sup>1</sup>**

## **MYSTICISM AND SPIRITUALITY**

### **Research on Pentecostalism**

My early research in the beginning of the 1970s aimed at exploring Pentecostalism from as comprehensive a perspective as possible. I was particularly interested in the individual experiences, primarily the speaking in tongues and baptism in the Holy Spirit. My licentiate thesis 1973 (published 1974) was a linguistic study of the actual production of sound in glossolalia. I recorded an extensive amount of field material and then started the laborious work of analysing the speaking of tongues on the tapes. Counting sounds in the glossolalia, comparing these to phenomena in ordinary languages and drawing conclusions on sound qualities in tongue-speaking was a very demanding task. My results showed that the glossolalia mainly consisted of sound forms from the speaker's mother tongue, but these were expressed in simplified patterns. Sometimes, however, more exotic sounds found in foreign languages were added. (Holm 1974 and 1975)

My subsequent project was my doctoral thesis (1976), with the objective to explain the actual experiences of spiritual baptism among the Pentecostalists. On the basis of a large empirical material, I could draw the conclusion that baptism in the Holy Spirit was a kind of role-play, where the participants took on models from actual examples in the congregations, but, above, all, from the holy tradition, that is, from the

Mysticism and spirituality are notions that are very difficult to define. Traditionally mysticism has been regarded as a way to reach the inner dimensions of human life, dimensions where man even achieves unity with the Divine Being. Such traditions have been found in all the major religions, and since the times of William James a hundred years ago, the features of mysticism in various religions have been analysed.

Spirituality is a concept that can hold various meanings. It has often been associated with religious traditions where inner life and its growth are emphasized. These include, in particular, various schools, orders and movements that aim at cultivating a deeper spiritual life. In its more recent use, the term spirituality has, to a fairly large extent, been dissociated from religion and has become a notion that seeks to grasp the searching of modern man for ethics and norms in a globalised world, where pollution is accelerating and where stress and entertainment disrupt the inner harmony of people. I will return to these issues later on in my paper.

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Bible. After a transition period when a person is waiting to be spiritually baptized, he or she takes on a role as "the one that God has given an abundant measure of the Holy Spirit". The rite of passage usually began with the person starting to speak in tongues, in preparation for taking on the entire role (Holm 1978).

Thus, my research has shown that speaking in tongues can be regarded as a common human skill, which we all are able of, if the social and psychological obstacles to speaking mumbo jumbo are removed. Such obstacles are removed within Pentecostalism when glossolalia is connected to the role of spiritual baptism, and people often, during prayer in the congregation or when going to bed at home, reach a stage where the ability to speak in tongues emerges. This greatly excites the person.

### Research on Mysticism

The glossolalia research took me further to questions on ecstasy and mysticism. At the end of the 1970s I therefore started an extensive empirical project together with a number of psychology students. We explored strong personal experiences among ordinary people in Swedish Finland. In this, I made great use of the research carried out by Ralph W. Hood in the USA. Having gained permission, I translated his test into Swedish, and the psychology students distributed it together with an interview and a questionnaire. The material was partly analysed by the participants in the course, but above all, by myself. This work resulted in the book *Mystik och intensiva upplevelser* (Mysticism and Intensive Experiences, 1979). The main results were also published elsewhere, for example in *Journal for Scientific Study of Religion* nr 21, 1982.

In the book, I first give an extensive presentation of research on mysticism in the 20th century. I noted that there were various approaches to the research and that much was based on the main representative of American psychology or religion from a hundred years back, William James. There was also an emerging line of research on yoga and meditation, and the use of drugs. However, much remained to be done. The empirical research, then represented by Hood, was something entirely new and interesting in this context. For me, it was of great advantage to be able to continue his research contributions. Our results also matched each other well. Above all, we could note that ordinary people have strong experiences with qualities that to a fair extent also correspond to those described in the so-called great mystics within the world religions. The criteria we used to narrow down mysticism were based on W. T. Stace's categorization of reports and descriptions given by the great mystics over several centuries.

As it happened, the Donner Institute organised a conference in Åbo in August 1981 on the topic of Religious Ecstasy. I then got the opportunity to present my glossolalia research and also give a survey of the research on ecstasy. This survey is the introduction of the volume published after the conference, number XI in the series *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis*, 1982.

At the end of that article, I emphasized that there were some important research tasks that rapidly needed some input. These were, for example, "continued research into the nature, origin and properties of the mental state itself, particularly in relation to hypnosis" and "studies of culture-bound models of altered states of consciousness". In addition, I pointed to sociological and psychological questions pertaining to the issue.

I concluded the article by underlining the need for research into human neurological structures in order to gain greater insights into ecstasy and mysticism. I also wrote the following: "... man has a basic capacity to condense his needs, desires and religions of various kinds into symbolic form" (Holm 1982, 24)

What I then wrote, on the need for research pertaining to ecstasy and mysticism, can be summarised in the following points. Firstly, I called for studies on the mental states as such, apart from research directly concerned with the cultural expressions of mysticism and ecstasy. Here, hypnosis research was an obvious gateway at that time. It is important to explore the neurological structures on a basic, biological level. Secondly, mysticism should be placed in a cultural context, and the interaction between biology and social psychology explored. And thirdly, I postulate that human beings have a capacity to translate their needs and wishes into a symbolic form of the kind represented by religion. In the following, I will give a few glimpses of studies pertaining to mysticism and intensive experiences.

### Later Research on Mysticism

Research into mysticism has developed during the last decades. I myself have not had the opportunity to pursue these issues to any greater extent. Looking at the field, we find studies using approaches from the philosophy of religion and studies focussing on the psychology of religion. Naturally, there are also descriptions of the intensive mystic experiences of individuals within various religions. Accounts of meditation, yoga and the dimensions of inner life are always interesting to us.

The point of departure for the interest in the philosophy of religion has, to a very large extent, been William James and his classic presentations in the famous lectures *The Varieties of Religious Experience*. In this context, I only want to refer to Eugene Taylor's, William James on Exceptional Mental States (1993), Richard H. Jones', *Mysticism Examined. Philosophical Inquiries into Mysticism* (1993) and G. William Barnard's, *Exploring Unseen Worlds. William James and the Philosophy of Mysticism* (1997). Research on mysticism with a philosophical approach is also carried out at the Lund University in Sweden. I am primarily thinking of Catharina Stenqvist (1984 and 1994) and Christina Runqvist (2002). There are much more work that could be mentioned, but I am letting this suffice here.

Within Nordic research on the psychology of religion, Antoon Geels in Lund can be particularly emphasized. Using approaches from the psychology of religion, he has presented extensive descriptions of mysticism, in the main religions. His work has given those of us within the Swedish language area a comprehensive and deepened understanding of mysticism. Geels has also focused on persons with mystic experiences in modern times.

The experimental psychological research has been continued particularly by Ralph W. Hood in the USA. As has already been mentioned, he is interested in contemporary strong human experiences. In this context, I wish to refer to his article "The Common Core Thesis in the Study of Mysticism" (2006, 125–135), where he argues that mysticism exists as an element within religions, but also in individuals without a strong religious profile.

### Cognitive Research

Since I wrote about neurological structures, research pertaining to basic biological functions has been strongly accentuated. Personally, I have not actively participated in this line of research, but it has been interesting to follow what has been written within the field.

One area of research on religion has, in a strange way, slid over to trying to discover the biological bases for linguistic communication and thus also for religion (Andresen 2001, 7–16) Leading figures in this field of research include D. Sperber, P. Boyer, H. Whitehouse, R. P. McCauley, E. T. Lawson and I. Pyysiäinen (see Whitehouse & McCauley 2005). In several extensive studies these scholars argue



for the biological foundation, that is, the human cognitive developmental basis, for communication of a religious kind. Here, I cannot refer to studies done in this field, since it would simply take too long. However, I wish to point out that there has occurred, in this area, an interesting repetition of the thoughts and attitudes held about one hundred years ago. The theory of evolution was then high fashion, and religions and cultures were also included in the models. In the middle of the last century, and particularly after the horrors of the Second World War, cultural evolutionism was strongly criticized. Instead, issues of social constructivism were emphasized within research. The behaviour of individuals were thus to be understood exclusively on the basis of culture and environment.

I welcome the renewed interest in the cognitive basis in many respects. It is important that we get research aiming at exploring the fundamental biological functions that govern our behaviour, emotions and thoughts. However, when scholars of religion with a background in the humanities, venture into fields designed by the natural sciences, there is a risk of over-interpretation and even of misunderstanding the results of neuro-psychologists. I am not at all saying that this would pertain to every form of cognitive research on religion, but I seem to have noted a somewhat vague basis for some of the cognitively oriented conclusions. Much of it is close to what could be called speculation.

Too narrow a cognitive interpretation of religious phenomena is perhaps a disappearing trend in more recent studies of this kind. As an example I would here like to mention Ilkka Pyysiäinen's article "Amazing Grace: Religion and the Evolution of the Human Mind" (2006). In his conclusion, Pyysiäinen writes the following: "Religion is a specific kind of human activity canalized by cognitive process with an evolutionary background" (221). This sounds perfectly self-evident, and he continues: "Although not an adaptation in itself, religion yet is a cultural institution that has transformed the evolutionary process. We have had to adapt to a cultural environment shaped by religion because our ancestors have imitated learned patterns of behavior ---. The spread of religion is due to gene-culture coevolution rather than to straightforward biological adaptation" (221). In other words, Pyysiäinen here clearly calls for research on religion that takes both biology and culture into consideration. There must, thus, be a balance in research, and, at the same time, space must be allowed for studies within limited special areas, too. Socio-psychological approaches and a focus on the psyche and the body can, together, provide a fuller picture of certain phenomena. Nevertheless, the mental and neurological foundations have not yet been entirely described. Much remains to be done pertaining to neuro-biology. But this is perhaps, after all, a task primarily for neuro-psychologists and not for scholars of religion with only a humanist or theological education. In order to understand the whole phenomenon of religion, forms of culture also hold an essential meaning, and this field is better suited for scholars of culture and religion.

### Spirituality

Another important line of research that has developed since I wrote my summary in the beginning of the 1980s, is research pertaining to spirituality. There are several approaches to this field, but I choose to emphasize here the studies and influence of H. Gardner. His point of departure is intelligence research, and in his theory he identifies seven different forms of intelligence. He also postulates an intelligence that can be called spiritual. In other words, individuals can display a form of spirituality in the same way as they can show intelligence.

On the basis of this theoretical framework, research within education has been developed. Here, Finnish education researchers are at the forefront. In Helsinki, Kirsi Tirri (2004,

132–142) leads a project aiming at exploring the connections between intelligence and spirituality. The universe and conditions of life are issues that attract some young people to formulate a kind of general spirituality. Humans are thus disposed to experience and see the world in a way that can be called spiritual. In the educational context in schools, the teaching of religion should therefore associate to such basic spiritual needs of the pupils in order for the teaching to be successful (Ubani 2007).

The concept of spirituality has, during recent years, been introduced as a term for all the interest in meditation, yoga, tranquillity and personal growth that has emerged on the general cultural level. This began a few decades ago with what was usually called New Age and was a loose combination of interests in human spiritual dimensions. The term New Age has now been abandoned and we are left with spirituality. We have thus, in our Scandinavian languages, got a new meaning and use for this word. It aims at capturing the interest in personality developing psychological mechanisms beyond what is traditionally called religion. Religion is regarded as something more or less rigid and static, something antiquated and unnecessary. On the other hand, the individual need for spiritual development is seen as something positive, and answers to this are sought in movements originating in China and India. I am thinking of, for example, Feng Shui and various forms of meditation with roots in Hinduism or Buddhism. A good portion of imaginative thoughts and notions tend to be associated with this interest. Studies focussing on esotericism and occultism seek to capture some of all this.

So, research on religion today does not only comprise studying what we traditionally understand as religions, but must also consider all spirituality besides the religions. It is therefore interesting to note that what I, in my mysticism research in the 1970s, could formulate as general mysticism, something found in ordinary people, is very close to what is today called spirituality. Ralph W. Hood draws more or less the same conclusion in his article "The Common Core Thesis in the Study of Mysticism" from 2006, which I referred to above. In other words, there is a field of experience in people that is inclined towards mysticism and intensive experiences, and which is brought to the fore in many tangible ways in our culture today. People "see the light" but not in the same manner as before. The issue for research is to explore this with regard to biological as well as cultural models. The interaction of nature and culture on a personal level is also an important topic to be studied.

### Understanding of Symbols

The third point in my summary of research tasks from more than 25 years ago pertains to symbols. About 15 years later, in a commissioned article on the role theory for American readers (Holm 1997) and in my text book *Människans symboliska verklighetsbygge* (People's Symbolic Construction of Reality, 1997, 2006), I could take the human symbolic capacity as my starting point and describe expressions and forms of religion as symbols located both in the inner existence space of people as well as in their outer existence space, in culture in general. I could then formulate a theoretical approach called integrated role theory, which is a further development of H. Sundén's role theory. I called his way of analysing experiences a perceptual theory, and combined it with certain deep psychological insights, which mean that we must also consider processes in the human psyche where memories and experiences are treated on an individual level. A combination of socially provided symbolic forms as well as of those that individuals develop within themselves, create the prerequisites for religious and spiritual experiences (See also Illman 2004, 134–142).

By symbols I mean not only the concrete forms of expression in sounds and images, but, above all, the great thought-constructions such as god – devil, heaven – hell, angels – demons, and other phenomena in the world of religion. I also include the ritual forms in relation to rites of passage such as birth, puberty, marriage and burial, and others connected to celebrations, devotions and services. These great symbols are primarily conveyed in churches and societies, by established religions and sects; in other words by the socially provided structures. What I find important, however, is that as persons grow up, and also later in life, they learn to share these structures, but they also add their own experiences, which they gather in their memory and in their whole mental apparatus. At each repeated experiential event, the participants attach their own cognitive and emotional memories from their inner existential space to the thought-constructions and rituals, which, in many cases, make these alive and meaningful for the individuals. In other cases, however, they might be encumbering and negative. This entire process is, of course, dependent on the way in which the individual has learnt the thought-constructions and the rituals connected to them. If the learning process is positive, the symbolic language of religion gains an ability to emphasize and interpret the inner nature of life in a rewarding and signifying way. If, on the other hand, something goes wrong, the religious symbols gain a negative meaning and are experienced as an obstacle for spiritual development. The same is naturally true of symbols expressed in general forms of culture, in literature, art and music, which modern humans have by no means lost the ability to appreciate.

#### Concluding Remarks

We can see that research, in which I, too, to a certain extent have participated, has developed our use of concepts, so that mysticism today covers large experiential areas. These can be intensive experiences of religious masters in various religions, or also qualities of the experiences of ordinary people today. Research on religion has also pointed to the fact that there is a kind of spirituality apart from that which the traditional religions have provided. This rather imprecise spirituality is something that comes close to general mysticism. The concepts of mysticism and spirituality have thus gained a much more extensive use during the last few years, and they now capture spiritual experience on a popular level. Spirituality provides forms of expression, for example, for the worry about the destruction of our planet, for needs and opportunities created by globalization, for issues of peace and intercultural understanding, for experiences of art and music, and so on. What all this will entail for the fields of education and philosophy of life remains to be seen. But interesting perspectives on the teaching of religion do open up on the basis of research on modern spirituality.

On the theoretical level, a re-emergence of the biological and cognitive theories has taken place, which sometimes has led to very narrow interpretations. Nevertheless, a sobering up seems to have happened among representatives of cognitivism, so that socio-psychological and cultural perspectives are also again taken into consideration. In my view, various theoretical perspectives should always be balanced, in order for us to gain as complete an understanding as possible of humans as religious and spiritual beings.

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## Jagdish Chandra Kapur<sup>1</sup>

### TOWARDS A HUMAN CIVILIZATION

The twenty-first century world inherited a civilization built on blood, tears, and hunger. At its portal stood two gate-keepers—Destiny and Death. Destiny for those who controlled the levers of power and wealth and domination and death for others. If this century has to escape the consequences of differential destinies, there has to be an understanding of the cosmic reality of the interconnectedness of all phenomenon. And that the creation of two separate paths and modes of existence for the benefit of a few, under threats of weapons of mass bankruptcy and acts of terrorism for others; will boomerang by many orders of magnitude. The consequential aggregating economic crisis, the rapid increases in unemployment, increasing threats of terrorism and threats of larger conflicts will have much greater political consequences.

Civilizations advance through the centuries by a process of continuity, creativity and harmonization. The fundamental truths and the laws of nature cannot be altered and that the destiny of nations and peoples can only be realized through the multifaceted aggregation of the highest human potential. Therefore the human dignity and the beauty of nature and its self-regenerating capacity must be restored. Borderline between the self and cosmos must be abolished and cosmic connection be re-established.

There are no unalterable certainties in science. Time to time there are great revelations in science, and metaphysics which present new images of the cosmic reality. With the expansion of our vision and levels of our realization, new revelations often begin to alter the old and create new idioms and visions of reality.

Such advances and expansion is only possible, if the human realization is not constrained by the dogmas of frozen time and unchangeable and permanent forever valid revelations. Every age brings about its own religious transformation in terms of their validity- eternal or historical.

Nothing can be interpreted by any one set of rules. Each new revelation has to be explained in terms of its certainties or uncertainties and time. Even environment has much to contribute to the development of human attitude and behaviour, through psychic pressures. There are increasing number of barriers in the expanding urban civilizations. People living in enclosed spaces get more and more conditioned by divide and rule, mental conditioning of separation and suspicion of what is beyond.

Indian civilization took birth in the vast expanses of biodiversity, with minimum struggle for existence. With constant interaction with nature, reflection on its bounty, multiplicity change and secrecy creating pathways for enlarging consciousness, and horizons not dominions, and frontiers. They realized the truth of interconnectedness of all phenomenon and harmony between the larger human spirit and that everything had a spiritual meaning. The material civilization has created around us blinding dust-storms, walls of fear and hatred, shutting out the horizons, spirit comprehension and pathways to the future. And our unity with all pervasive infinite cosmic reality. All the aesthetic sensitivities, scientific, religious and philosophical feelings extend the scope of our consciousness to higher levels of realization.

Our minds are imprisoned by a constant struggle for survival. Through a process of cultivated moronization our

lives are made overly dependent on means of survival. Our psyche becomes the power which constantly enlarges the circle of human servility, and snaps its deeper connection with humans and nature.

The fullest realization of the soul is greater than the material acquisitions, physical and intellectual accomplishments. But the 'Soul's onward course' is never checked by death or dissolution' in this search for the infinite. Most of the institutions that we are surrounded with are instruments and pathways to the human decimation. These need to be restructured so that revelations can get a new spiritual context for a humanism that will liberate humans from all obstacles for the realization of highest human potential. And this within the cosmic reality, "ungraspable to the senses, unknowable, but realizable directly without mediation". This 'reality is not a single timeless entity, its consists of multiple realities that exist and occur for a moment and change to others in the next moment. In this concept of dynamic state of flux, the cosmic streams of events is eternal with any individual entity or event'. This has similarity with that of quantum physics that there is no absolute truth in theories which are limited and approximate.

Infinite is the ultimate human realization and is also the realization of the ultimate truth. The exaggerations and falsification of truth by the media breaks the harmony of our life makes us the victims of the false claims of contending interests. Harmonization thus cannot take place at the material or interest level but only at the spiritual level where all becomes one.

Bio-diversity is one of the supreme laws of nature. There are millions of flora and fauna around us, so also a wide diversity of animal and bird life. Every human as an individual has a psychic frame, all his own. Theo-diversity cannot be separated from the supreme law of nature. There can be no revelation, no dogmas, no scientific discovery, no thought process, which can escape the compulsions of change, to sustain the harmony within the cosmic system. Even in divine forces, there is a plurality like the one in life and nature, and the multiplicity of perceptions at highest levels of spiritual perfection. In the words of poet Rabindranath Tagore, "Humans have begun to understand the great paradox that what is limited is shedding its finitude every moment. In fact, imperfection is not a negation of perfection, finitude is not contradicting infinity. These are completeness, manifested in parts. Infinity revealed within bounds. The progressive ascertainment of truth is an important thing in the science and not its innumerable mistakes."

Over specialization in evocations means losing hold of truth, scientific or metaphysical. We can see the present truth by relating to the wholeness of events, interests and intentions of all players. But the ultimate truth can be seen only when we set our mind towards the infinite and by not losing awareness of the moral nature. Realization of the infinite is not through our material acquisitions, and continued aggregation of belongings. In reality it is the final escape from the incessant and needless pursuit and aggregation of articles of consumption and self-decoration.

Nothing impermanent can have significance in the realization of the infinite, our possession can only have significance, if they can relate to the process of realization and can become the rings of ladder to the infinite. But human soul goes beyond our possession. Thus renunciation is the deepest reality of the human soul. We are much greater than the things that we possess because, acquisition belong to our finite self.

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The fundamental difference between the Western and the Eastern thought – ‘where the twain shall never meet’, is that Western condemns as blasphemy of humans aiming to be God. In the Eastern thought the humans can achieve the images of God. Rivers can become the sea, but never make the sea a part and parcel of itself’. In the Buddhist thought humans can proclaim ‘I am the dew drop, I am the Ocean.’

In terms of the larger reality and human imperfections in attaining the final sea of tranquility, there should be potential pathways for the realization of an ‘Integral Humanism’, guided by ecological constraints and pathways for the realization of the highest human potential- material, mental, supramental and spiritual. Different religious traditions can provide their own

context for creating these pathways. This process will have inbuilt constraints to keep the various parameters in balance towards an orderly human civilization. But the vision of the infinite should be clear, where space and time cease to rule. Our history will be that of social life, and attainment of spiritual ideal. We cannot allow the culture of consumerism assume its own divine images. ‘Nations get organized for a mechanized purpose into an organized self-interest of an entire people. But our view of society should be the spontaneous self-expression of man as a social being not eliminated to a phantom’.

We have to save the human future from a perpetual helplessness of emasculation. Reconcile and let man be the measure, and let nations assume moral responsibility.

**S. L. Katanandov<sup>1</sup>**

### **RESTORING HUMAN SOULS**

I would like to start our talk about the most important theme for our country, for the whole Russian society: the moral revival, with the words of His Holiness Alexis II Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia: ‘Our goal is not only to restore temples, the main goal is to restore the distorted human souls’. These words coming from the very heart must become a moral guideline for each of us.

His Holiness Patriarch was born in Tallinn, as is well known, but spiritually he was strengthened in the Valaam monastery that is located on the austere Karelian land. The Valaam Preobrazhensky monastery had been visited by the future Patriarch and his parents in his youth, and more than 10 times he had visited it when being the Patriarch. I was quite lucky to meet and talk to him several times, and these talks strengthened me in the idea of necessity to unite efforts of the State and of the Church, efforts of the whole society for protection and upbringing of the morals.

His Holiness Alexis II Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia was not only the Head of the Russian Orthodox Church but also a distinguished thinker and public figure, religious publicist, selfless Orthodox devotee, he was a *Honoris Causa* Doctor of numerous home and foreign ecclesiastical and secular academies and universities including our Petrozavodsk State University. He is the author of numerous papers and works on spiritual revival of the people, on the role of the Church in the life of the society.

This 21st century has made the Russians face urgent and eternal existential questions: the problem of good and evil, of freedom and predetermination, of the relations between personal and social. ‘The Millennium boundary,’ emphasized the Head of the Russian Orthodox Church, ‘makes people in the whole world think of their destiny, of the meaning of a human being and of various human societies. At the same time, many events of these last years intensified old moral problems and gave rise to new ones’.

The morals, education and culture are the main spheres of the Church influence upon the society, as His Holiness the Patriarch repeatedly said in his appearances. ‘Russia will not revive,’ he emphasized, ‘if the spiritual-moral values are not put in the lead. Without addressing to the traditional bases of life that in former times made us a great power, further development of the country as well as its coming out of the protracted crisis is impossible’.

Representatives of federal and regional authorities, political figures, culture promoters and artists should listen to

the voice of the Church and its Primate in respect to modern education and upbringing of youth.

He addressed the society with these words: ‘Pedagogues called upon to bring up a moral individual loving his or her people, will find it very useful to remember the immense spiritual experience that was solicitously retained by the Russian Orthodox Church. It is desirable that statesmen, cultural workers, journalists pay great attention to the Orthodox richest spiritual experience. Actually we do so much need to restore a genuine connection with the great Russian culture, the culture so chaste, sublime and philanthropic, full of cordial warmth, so radiant and sincere’.

To my mind, we must respond to this appeal of His Holiness Patriarch with our precise proposals and practical deeds. Problems of Russian education are quite familiar to me. Seven years ago, according to President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin’s errand, I headed an operative Group of the State Council comprising specialists, scientists, pedagogues from different regions of the country to prepare proposals in the sphere of the educational reform. The output of our Group’s more than three-month work was in the form of a basic document ‘The Educational Policy of the Russian State’. The strategy of the education development involves solution of three key tasks: accessibility, quality, and efficacy. All these must serve formation of a socially active highly moral individual, a patriot and a citizen.

Today, it is necessary to pay much greater attention to spiritual-moral upbringing of the growing generation, which is consistently talked of by the state-political circles, the Church, and the society.

In Karelia, a treaty has been signed between the Ministry of Education, Petrozavodsk State University, and the Karelian eparchy of the Russian Orthodox Church. A joint work is going on in the sphere of upbringing the growing generation, the practical experience is analyzed and generalized in the sphere of spiritual and moral development of youth. The Coordination Council has been founded. It comprises the Ministry officials, professors and teachers of higher and secondary educational institutions, clergymen.

Scientific-practical conferences, seminars, and ‘round tables’ are jointly held. This results in active counteraction to spreading of drug addiction and alcoholism in children’s and adolescent’s milieu, in aid to organization in teaching children the elements of the Orthodox culture. The elective teaching of this course has been organized in many schools of the Republic. Of course, there are many problems here, particularly those of the juridical character.

We need precise and clear standard-judicial acts corroborating possibilities of cooperation of schools, the Russian

<sup>1</sup> Governor of the Republic of Karelia. He started his career as head of a section, then was promoted to chief engineer of the construction and mounting organization and then to mayor of Petrozavodsk, Governor of the Republic of Karelia. Distinguished worker of economy of the Republic of Karelia.

educational system as whole, and religious organizations including the Russian Orthodox Church.

To my mind, it is necessary to continue practical realization of accessibility of the subject, 'The elements of the Orthodox culture', for Russian schoolchildren.

Today in a number of regions, this subject is successfully taught. On the voluntary optional basis, the Orthodox, Islamic, Judaic dogmas are studied. It seems to me that such an approach aimed at peace and harmony in the society, the international and inter-confessional mutual understanding and interaction should be supported and developed. For multinational Russia (and for Karelia in particular) it is extremely important. Some representatives of various structures of federal and regional authorities and education, when referring to the secular character of education, exclude any participation of the Church and other religious organizations in the life of higher education institutions, State and municipal schools.

However, some positive changes do occur. Last year, the Russian Ministry of Education initiated amendments to the law 'On Education' that allow theological academies and seminaries to obtain the State accreditation and to grant diplomas of the State standard in specialities of 'Theology' and 'Religion Studies'. This will provide Russian schoolchildren and students aided by specialists with the possibility to make good acquaintance with the treasure-house of the religious thought.

Quite recently, in March 2009, appearing before the students of Emmanuel Kant University in Kaliningrad, His Holiness Cyril Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia urged to introduce theological disciplines in all secular higher education institutions of the country. As the Primate of the Russian Orthodox Church said, it is important to acquaint children and youth with the basic culture of their own people because it is there that the system of values is laid for strategic development of Russia. He is convinced that only then 'the personality, society and the State will be strong'.

I would like to refer to the opinion of a scholar of authority, the distinguished scientist and thinker Academician Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov. In his opinion, religion is a cultural phenomenon. For thousands of years, the history of mankind developed within the frames of different religions. This concerns morals, customs, rites as well as music, architecture, fine arts and applied arts. Therefore the study of religions, as the scientist emphasized, constitutes a necessary part of every person's erudition. Without knowledge of the main events of the Old and New Testaments, hagiography, as well as without knowledge of historical events and historical personalities, visiting of any museum of fine arts is impossible. Knowledge of religions, and particularly the religion of one's own people, is necessary for self-knowledge of an individual albeit not necessarily associated with faith.

Teachers must foster respect and tolerance to faith and convictions of a person, the atheistic too, of course. Emotional (associated primarily with negative emotions) attitude towards faith and convictions may entail negative consequences up to national enmity.

We should all of us, I think, oftener refer to advice by such a prominent scientist as D. S. Likhachov in respect to the problems of the role of religion in the process of upbringing the student and school youth. Without the basic values of the national spiritual culture — meaning here the Orthodox values — the education and upbringing of youth cannot be considered as qualitative.

The spiritual revival depends on education and upbringing in the family, at children's preschool institutions, at school; it depends on the attitude of the society and the State towards the moral value issues.

The issue of strengthening the basic morals in Karelia has been especially actively discussed during the last few years.

Women have headed the movement for revival of traditional morals in our Republic. In 2000, at the century's and millennium's boundaries, in response to the initiative by the women's organizations, the first Forum of Karelian Women was held. To be precise, the proposal was made by a women's social organization 'Nadezhda' ('Hope') from Sortavala whose Head Valentina Artemyevna Novikova applied to the Head of the Republic with a letter where she substantiated the necessity of holding women's forums in Karelia.

In the letter, she bravely and convincingly said that women's social organizations were the only sensible and constructive social force that was capable to solve jointly with the Authorities the tasks that Republic had encountered. The first Forum was held at the initiative place and had the motto 'For dignified life and self-identification'. The women's forums sequence is this: Segezha, Kostomuksha, Kondopoga, Olonets, Petrozavodsk, Pitkaranta and Kondopoga again.

In Segezha, the family policy was the main topic of the Forum. A Project of the Republic Programme 'The Karelian Family' was accepted. It was the women's organizations that made the authorities to think seriously of the ways out of the growing demographic and spiritual crisis, out of the family value crisis.

A year later, in Kostomuksha at the next women's Forum, the Project of Republic Programme 'Healthy Lifestyle' was discussed, the idea of the Programme having been actively prompted by the women's organizations. Our Karelian women dished it out to local lovers of drinks, having united against this evil in villages and settlements. In the Kaalamo village of the Sortavala Region, the activists summoned the traders of 'fake vodka' to the square in order to talk to them seriously. Around the village of Sofporog of the Loukh Region, the local women organized a 'No Alcohol Ring', and this measure yielded its results: in the village, hard drinking declined and... the birth rate increased. Having united their efforts with the local authorities, management of enterprises, women achieved success in their fight for healthy lifestyle in the villages of Megrega and Tolvuya.

In an old village of Tolvuya near Onega Lake, a social council for alcoholism prophylactics has been organized comprising a school social pedagogue, a physician, a beat officer, management of the Sovkhoz 'Tolvuisky', other initiative people. The Director of the Sovkhoz, Ivan Tkachuk, is the 'motor' of recovery of the moral milieu in the village. The community started controlling all fellow-villagers making excessive use of alcohol, and particular attention was paid to the families where there were children. At the expense of the local budget and the Sovkhoz means, parents from 37 families were treated from alcoholism, the majority of them being then employed by the Sovkhoz.

In 2002, for the first time in the Russian Federation, the Republic of Karelia with support of the general community developed and accepted the Republic Specified Programme 'Healthy Life Style' aimed at strengthening physical and moral health, development of gymnastics and sports and useful leisure, struggle with drunkenness and drug addiction. In addition, there was elaborated the project titled 'To Karelia Looking for Health' and with the help of it we have attracted a lot of tourists and sportsmen to our republic.

We perfectly understand that the formation of healthy life style means the formation of Weltanschauung and proper principles of social behaviour.

The fundamental stimuli to healthy lifestyle involve spirituality, morality and all-sufficiency. The further improvement of population's health needs an approach to health understood in a wide sense of the word, with taking into account all factor determining health, such as mode of life, social well-being, psychological climate and physicochemical factors of environment.

During last seven years, the number of social organizations involved in the process of formation of healthy life style significantly increased.

According to the data of sociological studies conducted in Karelia within the 'Healthy Life Style' Programme, 82% of young people know about pernicious influence of smoking, and 42.2% gave up smoking. 90% of examined persons are ready to change their attitude to health for the purpose of its improvement.

In recent years in the Republic we have actively developed such sport disciplines as soccer, rhythmic gymnastics, wrestling, orienteering, skiing, hockey and fitness.

The Zaitsev brothers, the businessmen, have built at their own expense the stadium in Pryazha village recognized now as the best one in Karelia. Development of sports and health life style were invested by aluminium plant 'Nadvoitsky', mining-dresser industrial complex in Kostomuksha, and pulp-and-paper mill 'Pitkäranta'. Pulp and paper mill in Kondopoga at its own expense built a swimming-pool, an ice-dome, a skiing-roller way and other objects in this city of cellulose industry specialists.

I should note that it is Kondopoga where started the Olympic ski-track of Larissa Lazutina (Ptitsyna) and Eugenia Medvedeva (Arbuzova).

In spite of the world financial-economic crisis, the building of sports and recreational objects will be continued in Karelia. In Kostomuksha the modern swimming-pool is built, in Olonets the stadium is being reconstructed, in Petrozavodsk the erection of skiing complex 'Kurgan' is near to completion, and in Spasskaya Guba village of Kondopoga area the building of the modern Alpine skiing tourist complex has started.

In 2007, supported by general community we organized a special working Group to prepare proposals in the field of protection and teaching of morality. That year was announced as the Year of the Russian Language, but everyday TV showed scenes of violence and dissipation; one could hear obscene language and in Internet a 'pseudo-Russian' language adopted now by youth, appeared. The working Group included specialists of the Republic Government, representatives of cultural institutions, scientific, educational, social and religious organizations, creative unions, youth associations and mass media.

I appealed to inhabitants of Karelia on TV and in newspapers asking them to take part in preparing proposals for the working Group.

In the appeal I said that the whole generation of children and youth proved to be under a real threat of moral decay and spiritual degeneration. And that our civic and parental duty was to help our children, to limit the streams of violence and obscenity which filled TV, air, magazines, newspapers and books.

It is an extremely serious problem. As early as at the close of the 20th century scientists could prove the connection between films and broadcasts watched by children and the manifestation of criminal pursuits in mature age. Moreover, in most countries of the world the crime rate is increased in parallel with TV-spreading and with the rise of social role of other mass media. Propaganda of dissipation leads to disintegration of families and is one of the causes of demographic recession.

I assigned the working Group to analyze the legislation of the Russian Federation and Russian regions concerning moral issues and to prepare appropriate proposals for national laws or own initiatives, as well as a programme aimed at propagation of traditional moral values among children and youth, prevention of negative occurrences among young people, moral teaching.

We began to think about the ways to protect our children against the pernicious tendency to imitate dubious main

characters of mass culture, to revive benevolence, mutual trust and mutual aid in the society, to stop the growth of juvenile delinquency, drug addiction and alcoholism.

Before I made an appeal to the public I had met with the Archbishop Manuil of Petrozavodsk and Karelia. I told him about numerous messages sent to me by Karelians full of requests to stop a flow of violence and immorality pouring out from TV screens and newspaper pages. The Archbishop and I were talking about false spirituality of the majority of TV programmes destructively affecting particularly children and youth. It is children and youth with yet not formed psyches who blindly imitate main characters of movies and serials, interpret violence and indecency on screens as an ordinary behaviour and translate it into everyday life.

Freedom and democracy should not cost Russia the whole generation of our children, the weakening of family relations, the loss of trust and benevolence in the society.

The Archbishop reminded of the Biblical Commandments which have been preserved by mankind over millennia, and which are now consigned to oblivion by numerous mass media, the fact that possibly would lead to hard consequences for the whole society.

The Archbishop Manuil emphasized that the Orthodox Church works to protect moral foundations, however it is the state power which should legislatively and clearly determine the limits of what is permitted on TV and in newspapers, develop the state policy in the field of morality.

We came to an agreement to incorporate clergymen into the working Group. I have got support from other religious confessions, as well as a lot of non-governmental organizations, because the initiative was aimed primarily at protecting family, children and basic foundations of Russian society.

We have elaborated a questionnaire and published it in all mass media asking inhabitants of Karelia to answer a few questions:

1. Do you support the initiative by S.L. Katanandov, Head of the Republic of Karelia, concerning necessity of protection and strengthening of moral foundations of the society?

2. If the Moral Code of the Russian Society was designed today, what traditional moral values would you incorporate into it?

3. What makes you especially worried in today's Russian society? What questions of social morality should be solved primarily by the State?

4. What, in your opinion, is the role of the society in protection and reinforcement of social morality?

5. How do you rate prohibitive measures (e.g., ban on pornography and violence in TV programs) and educational ones? To what extent are both of those effective?

We have received hundreds of responses to this questionnaire with wishes to implement the initiative.

Inhabitants of the Republic proposed to lay a special emphasis on the patriotic education, revival of the traditional moral values, pedagogical work with youth.

People suggested relying more actively on social organizations, primarily on veteran organizations, wider use of classic works in the theatre and other cultural and educational institutions' repertoire, introduction of 'Foundation of the Orthodox Culture' subject into schools, and aggravating the responsibility for administration infringements.

Many people expressed their concern about the lack of good educational books and movies for children. In their letters, they wrote that authorities had to serve as an example of morality.

The opinion of the majority is as follows: there is a need to eliminate programmes and publications popularizing violence, outrage and licentiousness from TV screens and pages of print media.

Incidentally, Boris Polozhy, Head of the Social and Legal Psychiatry Department of the Serbsky State Scientific Centre, has calculated that 30–60% of TV subjects proclaim cruelty and aggression. This has a negative impact on mental health of people, especially children. According to Polozhy, a number of child and juvenile mental disorders increase in the country.

He found Russian TV *inter alia* guilty of this situation.

As for adults, they develop magical thinking after watching TV programmes about sorcerers, witches and extrasensory individuals. This unhealthy disorder requires a psychiatric treatment. A person with magical thinking starts to think with magical categories and exists in the world far beyond the real one.

According to the physician-scientist, TV influence upon Russians results in their dependent behaviour. They abandon a real world for other reality taking chemical substances or with the help of other methods and become dependent on them. Some Russians become addicted to drugs and alcohol, others turn into persons dependent on the Internet and gambling games.

It is known that Russia's death rate is 1.5 as high as worldwide, twice as high as that of Europe and the USA. At the same time, there are practically no programmes on TV devoted to a healthy lifestyle; however 'Health' television channel is unavailable for the majority of Russians as it is a commercial cable one. On the other hand, main characters (rather, anti-heroes) of movies and TV serials smoke and drink alcohol constantly, commit infringements, inflict violence.

In this connection, once again I would like to quote the words of Patriarch Cyril of Moscow and All Russia which he addressed to Kaliningrad students: 'I suggest to you that instead of watching endless serials on TV you should read, work, think, pray, go in for sports, form your own personality. Serials form nothing, it is just a low level amusement'. Patriarch urged young Russian people (and all of us join this appeal) to have a critical attitude towards today's mass culture, which exploits instincts so destructive for the moral basis of a human being.

Elena Rusalkina, the Deputy Director of the Psychotechnology Research Institute, said that the West wages an informational war against Russia. 'The aim of the informational war is the destruction of national mentality. If mentality is destroyed nation perishes. A human being expresses his or her thoughts with the help of words. At present, our language is a very poor one. In the presence of scanty language, what kind of thoughts will people have? Modern young people think in the same language they speak', Rusalkina states. What did our working group manage to do in the field of morality protection and teaching? Jointly with the Ministry of Internal Affairs and with the Republic Office of Public Prosecutor we displaced announcements of pornographic character from newspaper pages, as well as indecent photos. For today, all hints at brothel services have disappeared from our newspapers.

I would like to adduce the following figures: at the end of 2005 there functioned 50 agencies for sexual services in Petrozavodsk. By 2008 more than a half of them stopped to exist. Law enforcement authorities established some kind of a vice squad, which struggled against infringements of public morality and precluded such facts in the frame of legislation. And porn services via Internet are among them. In Karelia criminal prosecution is provided for everyone who tries to make porn business with the help of the global web.

We discussed moral issues at 'Moral Choice' Republic Civil Forum. The talks concerned eternal values, education of

traditional moral values in a family, patriotic spirit teaching, role of the society and civil education in morality teaching and protection, and healthy lifestyle.

Journalists took active part in the Forum activity. The debate upon moral debt and responsibility of mass media was held within 'Mass Media and Morality' workshop.

The society contributed a lot to the development and realization of 'Main Guidelines of the Spiritual and Moral Education of Population up to 2020 State Policy in the Republic of Karelia' (this document was upheld by the participants of the Civil Forum) and 'Harmonization of National Confessional Relationship and Formation of Civil Concord in the Republic of Karelia (Karelia is the Territory of Concordance)' regional target programme.

For the talk of the morals not to end with just accepting some documents, we have created an operative Group in the sphere of spiritual-moral upbringing of the population and harmonization of international relations within the Council under the Head of the Republic of Karelia for prompting development of the civil society institutions and human rights. The Group carries out a social control of implementing the 'Main trends of the State policy in the sphere of morals', attracts communities into participation in implementing this document, organizes 'round tables', discussions, publications in the mass media, on TV.

At present, in the State Duma of the Russian Federation, a package of bills for protection of morals by the State is under development. It has been publicized that, in the new statutory acts, responsibilities of the State in respect to morals protection will be precisely indicated, the information harmful for citizens' health, primarily for children, will be defined, the responsibility for infringement of established standards will be indicated.

The State Duma, at that, rejected the idea of creating Higher Council on Morals Protection for television and the radio.

One cannot deny the rightfulness of the State Duma deputies in that the moral health of the population must be protected, and any kind of violence, excessive cruelty, and hyper-eroticism in commonly accessible TV channels are inadmissible, but the means of the control must be legal. However, to my mind, one should not reject the idea of creation of the Higher Council on Morals Protection. The idea was that representatives of social, cultural, religious organizations, people authoritative in the country would become members of the Council; and these people would carry out the social control for the moral component of the TV programmes.

I quite understand that creation of the Higher Council on Morals Protection, introduction of the social control of morals are rather the forced measures. It is important that in each and every one of us a moral law should work, that the moral and not the material values should be main for an individual. So that nobody could call the Russian youth a 'Pepsi generation'. Simple and precise initiatives should come from the ordinary strata. For instance, 'A family of no smoking', 'A village of no obscene language', 'A discotheque of no beer'. And perhaps, we will even lift our arm against the 'sacred' thing and declare a Day without TV or declare a boycott to some channels notorious by their immoral telecasts?!

We are long and consistently looking for a national idea that would unite all of us. This is particularly important right now, in this period so difficult for the country. But the national idea is quite simple: preservation of the people by means of revival of the traditional Russian moral values.

A. A. Kokoshin<sup>1</sup>

## ON RUSSIA'S 'BRAND' IN 'CROSS-CULTURAL DIALOGUE' IN THE POSTMODERN ERA

At one of the previous Likhachov Conferences the author had an opportunity to deliver a speech on the topic of 'Culture and national-civilizational identity of a modern great power'. Since then, sticking to the basic logic of such an approach, I have tried to develop this topic into a special research which has resulted in the monograph *Culture and Issues of Civilization Identity of Russia as a Modern Great Power*. I hope the monograph will be published this year.

I would like to point out once more that nowadays it is almost impossible to be a great power without a cultural civilizational identity. Aggressive attacks of highly commercialized 'mass culture' in the environment of globalization, the development of a postmodern phenomenon creates an obvious threat to cultural civilizational identity of many countries, including Russia.

It is necessary to understand that impressive force of mass culture in many respects consists of what is for hundreds of millions, if not billions of people, associated with the comfort of a modern life, with the various benefits of a post-industrial civilization. And this fact should not be ignored, when reflecting on its role in a modern society, about a correlation of mass culture and high culture. The many-sided personality and the bright spokesman of the latter was D.S. Likhachov.

The high culture has always been accessible (in true perception) to a rather limited part of the society with a due level of erudition and good breeding, with a developed aesthetic sense. But we should reflect on the issue of how to make high culture accessible to a considerably vaster population in this country, as well as in many other countries. With the massive development of higher education there is a chance to expand an area of high culture significantly.

In the Soviet Union enormous efforts were taken to introduce the high culture to the public — classical literature, painting, music... All was carried out, of course, within the limits of certain ideological restrictions, very rigid at times. Simultaneously in the USSR considerable efforts were made to develop literacy, secondary and higher education, music education, aesthetic education. Much of this experience seems to be quite applicable in modern Russian conditions for the sake of preservation, upholding our cultural civilizational 'brand'.

I should notice that the disappearance of Soviet Union, one of the two superpowers in the system of the world politics, from the political map of the world had not only numerous geopolitical consequences. It has rendered already and will continue to exercise a dramatic negative cultural civilizational impact, having ceased to represent the alternative to a mass distribution of such things as glamour, which is a component of postmodernism.

In the conditions of postmodern culture Likhachov's suggestion of 'progressive conservatism' of cultures is especially important.

Likhachov also wrote that 'a tradition is then a tradition when it moves in time'. Dmitry Sergeevich's formula

still requires the most serious judgement and development. Considering a postmodern style as a substantial social and cultural phenomenon, it is necessary to notice what we mean by the modernist style, or the historical period of Modernism.

The Modernism is usually understood as a state of a society during the period between the Age of Enlightenment of the 17th century and the middle of the 20th century for which the rational approach to social issues and an urge to build 'social frames' is characteristic, in accordance with the laws of logic based on scientific knowledge.<sup>2</sup>

In art it is defined as a certain style — the modernist style, or art nouveau (Jugendstil in Germany), which appeared on the boundary of the 19th and 20th centuries. With all distinctions of poetics and creative installations, modernist currents in the art that appeared from the end of 19th to beginning of the 20th centuries shared one common world outlook and had many common features. In painting among its distinctive features there is the emphasis on more natural, 'nature' lines, rather than on the use of angles; interest in new technologies (particularly in architecture), astounding growth of applied arts, a combination of art and utilitarian functions of created works.

The Russian 'silver age' is closely connected with the modernist style in culture. N. Berdyaev named this phenomenon a 'Russian cultural Renaissance' (or a 'Russian spiritual Renaissance'). Berdyaev wrote: Never before had the Russian culture reached such refinement as at that time.<sup>3</sup>

Many authors point out with a good reason that it is characteristic of a postmodern style to decrease moral thresholds considerably, to deform moral foundations on which the public relations throughout centuries and longer periods of history had been based.

Taken aesthetically, the postmodern style is characterized by the explicitly expressed eclecticism.<sup>4</sup>

If we speak about a postmodernism as an approach in sociology, it stands out among the majority of other sociological theories because it rejects a postulate on possibility of comprehension and evolution of societies through rational thinking, referring thus to the fact that societies are subject to constant changes.<sup>5</sup>

The postmodern style expresses very strong doubts of the validity of scientific knowledge of nature and society. The advocates of postmodern ideas and practices might be considered actually 'institutional opponents' to the neo-technocracy that plays a considerable part in many developed and developing societies. Neo-technocracy is an integral part of a modern 'information society' and 'a knowledge-based society'. The characteristic feature of the modern highly skilled neo-technocracy is the combination of scientific, engineering and ecological knowledge, on the one hand, and understanding of the laws of society development, on the other. This, in turn, implies the non-ideological approach to social studies, especially to political science and sociology, application of the general logic of science to the construction of scientific social theory. The neo-technocrat can and should commensurate any decisions connected with development of those or other high technology production, with their potential ecological, climatic, medical and biologic consequences because of, at least, vast dimensions and excessive complexity

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<sup>2</sup> Lawson T., *Rarrod G.* Sociologia: Slovar-spravochnik (Sociology: A Reference Book). M.: GRAND, 2000. P. 231.

<sup>3</sup> *Brazhnikova Y., Brazhnikov I.* Pravoslaviye i postmodern: illuzii i perspektivy (Orthodoxy and Post-Modernism: Illusions and Perspectives). Pravaya. ru. 22.06.2006.

<sup>4</sup> *Epshtein M. N.* Postmodern v russkoy literature (Postmodern Style in Russian Literature). M.: Vysshaya Shkola, 2005. P. 83-84.

<sup>5</sup> Lawson T., *Rarrod G.* Op cit. P. 334.



of the technosphere created by the humans. The understanding of laws of the techno-evolution, especially techno-evolution of information-communication systems and means, the development of various 'information fields' in economic, social sphere, in world politics and in strategic relations is peculiar to such neo-technocracy, too.

It is possible to consider as a postmodern social component such a phenomenon as glamour lifestyle, which has been widely adopted in certain layers of our society and is widely covered in mass media or, rather, even cherished by the latter. The glamour is a lifestyle. As V. T. Tretyakov, Dean of the Higher School for TV at Moscow State University, points out, 'glamour' is a characteristic feature of modern journalism, it is a symptomatic tendency to demonstrate the increasing domination of a 'brand' system of values of the modern reader and the deification of the consumerist society.

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Explicitly expressed national identity is becoming more and more rare, and, thereby, more valuable in the globalized and unified world. Both average-size states and small countries strive for their cultural-civilizational identity, however, it very often comes to them with great difficulty.

To speak about our national culture, it is necessary to re-examine once again our meaning of the concept of 'the Russian nation'.

The overwhelming majority of the modern nations are multiethnic systems with the leading role of a single ethnos, as a rule. In modern state of affairs Russia can be considered a multiethnic nation with the leading, basic role of the proper Great Russian ethnos having at least a thousand-year history. Thus, it is necessary to define a role of Great Russian culture in an appropriate way, which among cultures of other ethnos of Russia is a unique world culture.

Since the end of the 18th century the interpretation of the concept of nation has been getting more and more politically and socially oriented, rather than ethnically characterized. In an up-to-date approach the nation is, first of all, a civil society generated within certain borders and a political community (the civil nation), with common history, traditions, a high degree of cultural compatibility of ethnos that constitute the nation.

As a rule, modern nations have a certain linguistic and cultural dominant. Weakening of such a dominant is considered a threat of a national-cultural identity loss.

For us such a dominant is the Russian language, especially the Russian literary language, the language of 'elevated style' formed essentially by the middle of the 19th century. Language in turn, as Likhachov puts it, is one of the main manifestations of culture, it is not just a communication medium, but, first of all, the creator, the demiurge; there is no need to speak at length about the importance of richness of language, its abilities to reflect a multi-dimensional picture of the world and to form a more and more diverse world, following, at the same time, certain moral and ethical standards that have been formed throughout the history of a human civilization. And today there emerged a pressing need to approach the Russian language as a major constituent of our Russian nation, as a major backbone factor of our culture connecting the whole lot of other factors.

It is possible, I assume, to agree with Yu. M. Lotman who called art the highest embodiment of culture. Olzhas Sulejmenov ascribed intellectual art only to the culture of a highly civilized society (thus he considers culture as synthesis of such art, and also science, religion, dominating morals).

In maintenance of a national identity a sufficient role is played by an external relation to the nation, the perception of its art, and an internal perception – by individuals, layers of society. The difference between internal and

external perceptions can be quite considerable, but the external perception of culture of any country almost always returns, also deformed, back to the country. In 1920s one of characteristic features of our cultural-national identity was an avant-garde style in painting (in a slightly smaller extent at theatre), and also in literature, which became most explicit in V.V. Mayakovsky's poetry.

The author of this article has distinguished seven constituent parts of art and culture to define the cultural-civilizational identity of Russia that can be considered the 'brand' of Russia.

It is immediately necessary to notice that particular names, teams, groups, communities are indispensable elements of cultural identity.

1. *The great Russian literature* of the 19th century which was developed at silver age, and later in the Soviet literature.

The high literature preserves and develops the language; its value, the value of literary texts in this respect does not diminish its significance with the development of cinema, theatre, TV, the Internet. A person most substantially gets, as it seems to me, moral and aesthetic ideas through literature, through the language of art.

2. *Classical music* — In Russian cultural 'brand', in its musical dimension as the most tangible top in world culture reigns Tchaikovsky, near him Glinka, Rimsky-Korsakov, Mussorgsky, Borodin, then Scriabin, Stravinsky, Rachmaninov, Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Denisov, Schnittke, etc.; music performers — Ojstrakh, Gilels, Rostropovich, Gergiev, Spivakov, Bashmet, etc.

3. *Classical ballet* — starting from Petipa through Pavlova, Diaghilev, Ulanova, Nureyev, Plisetskaya; it is the Bolshoi Theatre, the Mariinsky Theatre, Perm' Opera House, etc. I should recollect D.S. Likhachov's reflections on Russian classical modern ballet which are full of charm and refinement.

4. *Painting and sculpture* — here 'peredvizhniki', 'mir-iskusniki', constructivists, supremacists, 'akhrov school', 'ostov school', etc. are starring.

Artists have done huge work aimed at the formation of our historical consciousness. These are Ivanov's canvases, as well as Surikov's, Repine's, Vasnetsov's, etc. Artistic interpretation of the landscapes of the Russian empire, then of the Soviet Union — Savrasov, Levitan, Ayvazovsky, Kuindgy, Polenov, etc.

Objects of art that explicitly expressed the national-identification character appeared in sculpture a little later than in painting in this country. The first place, certainly, belongs to Sergey Timofeyevich Kononov, commensurable with Repin in painting, Leo Tolstoy in literature, Pyotr Tchaikovsky in music. Then follow Golubkina, Erzja, Shadr... Speaking about our contemporaries, one cannot omit such an outstanding sculptor as Rukavishnikov.

The Soviet period in painting, sculpture, graphic art produced a whole constellation of schools, names: Nissky, Deyneka, Labas, Pimenov, Kravchenko, Platov, Stozharov, Konchalovsky, Yuon, Samokhvalov, Grekov, Kugachis (the father and the son), Britov, Neprintsev, Salakhov, etc. What today is called, for example, 'the Soviet impressionism' is more and more considered abroad to be one of cultural-civilizational features of our country.

5. *Architecture and city architectural landscapes*, including small cities or great small cities, as based on D. Likhachov. He has included here Great Novgorod. I prefer to speak about much smaller cities — Rostov the Great, Tarusa, Borovsk, Tobolsk, Pereslavl-Zalessky, also about Torzhok, Suzdal, which Dmitry Sergeevich mentions as well.

A clearly distinctive Russian style in architecture developed by the second half of the 17th century, for the first place in church architecture. To me personally one of the vivid

examples of such clearly identified Russian architecture is a small church of Michael the Archangel in Arkhangelskoye in Krasnogorsk area of Moscow Region.

6. *Russian theatrical drama art* — this part of the Russian cultural 'brand' is connected with Chekhov Academic Moscow Art Theatre, with Stanislavsky, in 1960–90s with Taganka Theatre, Sovremennik Theatre, Lenin Komsomol Theatre, Tovstonogov's Theatre, with the names of Nemirovich-Danchenko, Meyerhold, Okhlopkov, and then Tovstonogov, Lavrov, Yefremov, Tabakov, Dodin, Fomenko.

7. *Cinema*. — Among the great, emblematic Russian figures there is Pudovkin, Eisenstein, Romm, Chuhray, Gerassimov, Tarkovsky, Bondarchuk, Konchalovsky, Shakhnazarov, Govorukhin, Mikhalkov, Bondarchuk Jr., Herman, etc.

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Getting back to the role of glamour, it might be observed that its power and influence cannot be considered exclusively through a prism of its vast purely commercial importance, but the latter plays almost the leading part in the glorious journey of glamour, which for last 30–35 years has passed triumphantly through practically all regions of the world, getting insignificant resistance in various cultural-civilizational communities. It is obvious that the power of glamour (including such its part as hypersexuality) is rooted in many components of 'human nature', in human psyche. Sources of glamour and glamour behaviour can be found even in primitive societies. We can see more 'proto glamour' (and 'proto postmodern style') in a number of advanced civilizations of the previous epochs — and not only in the late Roman empire in its decline which was followed by its fall, but also, for example, in China at the Tan Dynasty times (618–907). But then there were no those mass media that we have today, there was no such terrible multiplicative and enslaving force as an overwhelming part of television to which the Internet has contributed also.

Some authors even before the present global financial and economic crisis began to notice that 'the end of glamour civilizations is coming'<sup>1</sup>. Is it so? An unambiguous answer would be a little bit premature, especially referring to Russia where glamour by the time of the crisis had only started to gain its strength, including the political one. For the vast number of girls in the Russian Federation the strongest desire 'to marry a rich guy' (multimillionaire, preferably) and to indulge in a life of glamour has become almost a 'national idea', having extremely deformed all moral and ethical ideas about relations between man and woman that have been formed throughout centuries, if not millennia.

Glamour, being, of course, the off-spring of the European-Atlantic civilization, first of all born and developed mainly in the West during the postmodern period, has quite considerably intruded into the most ancient of existing civilizations of today, the Chinese. There is no doubt that ideology of glamour and its huge 'operational opportunities' have transformed (and deformed) cultural-civilizational 'brand' of almost any country, any nation (the concept of nation I have already covered above).

In many countries including Russia glamour and the postmodern style are often almost completely identified with a modern American culture and, to tell the truth, with its 'mass culture'. Glamour is present at all strata, at all levels of the American society (and has its price for each of these strata) with distinctions in prices, shops, actions for the lower middle class, middle class and upper middle class, etc. In Russia, where 'middle class' (and its 'subclasses') is still insignificant, it looks a little different — one might say, it is less structured and more deformed.

Inside the USA glamour and the postmodern style as a whole are taken negatively by a very considerable part of the society, and very often even negatively as the phenomena destroying traditional American values with the most dangerous consequences for the USA as a multiethnic nation, a civilization of a single superpower that has remained in the world politics after the collapse of the USSR in 1991.

And considering today the postmodern style and glamour as a global phenomenon in relation to Russia, to our cultural-civilizational 'brand', we should not fail to take into consideration everything that is taking place in the USA and in other western countries which gave rise to the postmodern style and glamour. It is also necessary to watch how these phenomena 'behave' in China, and also in India, without forgetting the multilateral Muslim world. The search for the identity, for the cultural individuality in the environment of globalisation, for the postmodern style and glamour is still going on in many countries.

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We need today Likhachov's 'progressive conservatism' of cultures more than ever, now that it is necessary for the development of compensation mechanisms in reaction to the destructive influence of glamour and the postmodern style... It is extremely important for the synthesis of the art and culture of the past which has been approved of by the time, by many generations, and also for the valuable new trends that might be found even in objects of art in the postmodern era. Otherwise, more 'unpleasant scenarios' can be expected in future.

I. S. Kon<sup>2</sup>

## BANISHMENT OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT: A GLOBAL PROBLEM OF MODERN CIVILIZATION

Modern civilization has a number of mutual global problems. One of them at the beginning of the 21st century

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is corporal punishment. The Council of Europe as well as the United Nations Organization stand up for its complete banishment regarding it not as a form of education but as a violation of children's rights and their physical abuse: 'Any corporal punishment of children is a violation of their basic rights for human dignity and physical immunity. The fact

Culture in Russia), *Vkus zapretnogo ploda. Seksologiya dlia vsekh* (Sexology for everyone), *Sotsiologicheskaya psikhologiya* (Sociological psychology. Selected works), *Muzhskoye telo v istoriyi kultury* (Male body in the History of Culture) and others. He is an executive editor of a number of selected works and serial publications: *Slovar po etike* (Dictionary of Ethics), *Etnografiya detstva* (Ethnography of Childhood), and others.

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that corporal punishments are still legalized in a number of countries, violates the fundamental right of children for legal protection as adults enjoy. In European societies, it is against law to abuse human beings physically, but children are human beings. This public and legal acceptance of corporal punishment of children must be stopped.'

This task is extremely hard to tackle. All ancient civilizations regarded stringent punishments, including physical ones, as a necessary and useful tool. Plato said: 'To keep a child in hands is harder than any other living being. For the less his mind is turned to the right direction, the naughtier and friskier he becomes, and surpasses in his impudence all other creatures. That is why he must be harnessed in every possible way...' [Laws, 808 d]. 'He that spareth his rod hateth his son: but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes', 'Withhold not correction from the child: for if thou beatest him with the rod, he shall not die', 'The rod and reproof give wisdom: but a child left to himself bringeth his mother to shame' [Proverbs 13:24, 23:13, 29:15]. These guidelines are broadly represented in Russian folk pedagogy.

The task of restrained use of corporal punishment or, ultimately, of a total refusal from it, first at school and later in the family environment, was first posed by the humanists and then by the philosophers of the Enlightenment in the 17th and 18th centuries. In Montaigne's opinion, rods bring but harm to children and breed hatred in them. Boys are particularly vulnerable in this respect, since Nature has made them 'predestined to a certain independence.' 'Education must be a combination of stick and carrot. It must not be conducted the way it is usually done, when children are not lured to studies but are disgusted by it as something terrible and brutal. Refuse from violence and coercion...'

'Children should not get used to spanking... The body gradually becomes as intolerant to smacks as spirit to reproaches... Let us insist, let us repeat and reiterate! That is the stick we must crush children's ribs with!' (Erasmus Desiderius). In the words of Jan Amos Komenský, children must be educated by 'good examples, kind words and always by sincere and favourable disposition.' 'I am firm in my belief that rods and sticks are tools of slavery, totally unfit for free people, they can not belong in schools, they must be exiled from them.' Exceptions are possible when a pupil commits blasphemy or demonstrates obstinacy.

John Locke did not defy corporal punishment in general but required that it should be used in moderation because discipline of slaves breeds a character of a slave. Flogging as a means of persuasion 'breeds in a child disgust to what his master is obliged to make him love', turning his pupil, little by little, into a reticent, spiteful and insincere creature, whose spirit, in the long run, will be out of bounds for a kind word and positive example. 'He who wishes his son to treat him and his orders respectfully, should treat his son with due respect.' In the 18th century, these ideas became popular with parents and educators. Jonathan Swift wrote that flogging broke the will of noble youths, in which he was supported by William Sheridan. Sir Philip Francis entrusting his only son in 1774 to the tutor, wrote the following: 'Since my purpose is to make him a gentleman, which envisages a free character and free feelings, I believe it incompatible with this purpose to bring him up in the enslaving discipline of the rod... I absolutely forbid flogging.' Similar instructions were given by Lord Henry Holland: 'Do not do anything which might break his spirit and will. The world will do it soon enough.'

It took, however, a few long centuries to carry out these ideas. Apart from theoretical difficulties (for that, one must overcome some authoritarian traditions in philosophical education and come to see the difference between punishment and violence), it involves social and structural transformations and democratization of the society. An authoritarian society

can not support an educational system based on a dialogue, while democratic education inevitably destroys authoritarian power.

In Russia until 1861, the situation was aggravated by the existing serfdom which made flogging legal and even legalized flogging to death of both criminals and children and adults. Neither executors nor their victims saw anything unnatural or humiliating in this. The only debated questions were (a) a permissible level of cruelty understood as stringency, and (b) class privileges: whether it is possible to flog gentry and clerics. The law in old Russia had not differentiated classes. Neither higher clerics nor secular people of rank had been exempt from 'trade executions' (whipping in public, usually on trade squares) or flogging with rods. The time of Peter the Great was particularly indicative of this 'equal rights' to be flogged. It is only by the end of the 18th century that some privileged social groups emerged which could not be whipped or flogged. The charter granted to the gentry on 21 April 1785, decreed that 'no noble will be subject to corporal punishment.' This same year, this exemption was extended to the merchants of the two first guilds, respectable townspeople, and in 1796 to clerics.

Children, irrespective of their origin and social background, were not eligible for this exemption. Their powerless and repeatedly flogged teachers found a peculiar pleasure in wreaking their anger on the defenceless pupils. Discussion of the benefits and harm of corporal punishment in the middle of the 19th century, mostly focused on schools while parental abuse of their children was rarely condemned. More so, to restrict parents' right by law was impossible. Corporal punishment in schools was debated but 'moderately'. In his famous article 'Should children be flogged?' (1858), Nikolai Pirogov argued that using rods was anti-pedagogical, that corporal punishment led to the loss of shame in children, that they demoralized them and thus must be abolished. This view was, however, too radical for the Russian society. In the circular addressed to the Kiev pedagogical community 'The main rules regarding misconduct and punishment of pupils in the Kiev educational district' (1859), Pirogov rejected the rod in principle. He, however, did not consider it possible to do without it completely; he just advised to use it in gymnasiums occasionally, only on the decision of the teaching council.

Nikolai Dobrolyubov ridiculed this document in his bilious poem 'A Wistful Thought of a Student of Lutheran Denomination Not Belonging to the Kiev District' (1860) which, in its turn, provoked a lively debate.

Later, especially in the 20th century, corporal punishment in schools was abolished and banned in most Western countries. In homes, however, the situation was changing not so fast at all. Opinion polls conducted worldwide showed that many parents in all countries of the world considered corporal punishment to be lawful and inevitable. For instance, ninety percent of American parents 'believe' in the merits of flogging; only seventeen percent of middle-class families which are far more liberal than workers and farmers families, don't 'believe' in it. Indicative of these figures is the practice of corporal punishment.

It has been proved that the spread and cruelty of corporal punishment correlate with the general index of 'machismo', with the culture of violence, including abuse by the police, and the level of political authoritarianism and conservatism. The most ardent proponents of corporal punishment in the USA are Christian fundamentalists and ultra rightists. Some Orthodox fundamentalists advise parents to flog their offspring as often and cruelly as possible; they add that 'girls should be flogged more often and more cruelly than boys without being afraid of going overboard.' Especially useful is unfair punishment: 'Punishment which a child regards as fair, is harmful for him, for it strengthens his pride.' (Solovyev, Shishmarev 1996).

The data on who is punished more often, boys or girls, are contradictory (Gershoff 2002). Some researchers argue that boys have always been punished physically more frequently than girls because the former are prone to a more serious misconduct which brings about the use of force toward them, or because parents believe that boys should be 'strengthened up'. Other researchers, including those who deal with meta-analysis, do not support this opinion stating that boys and girls are punished in equal proportion, the latter being dependent on the cultural guidelines. It looks, however, that all other conditions being equal, boys are punished more often and more severely.

Most sources suggest that mothers tend to punish children more frequently than fathers. It can probably be explained by the fact that they spend more time with their children, especially small ones, and they are directly responsible for them. Other findings, however, do not demonstrate this difference. Much depends on the gender and age of a child. Mothers often fail to cope physically with their adolescent sons, that is why a 'good' flogging remains the domain of fathers.

The most important conclusion of contemporary research is that 'educational' effect of corporal punishment is but seeming and more often than not negative (Bugental and Grusec 2006). The meta-analysis which summarized eighty-eight investigations performed during sixty-two years (Gershoff 2002), demonstrates that corporal punishment can bring the desired short-term educational effect, but its long-term consequences in children prompt aggression and hostility. One more meta-analysis (seventy investigations including 47 751 respondents and published between 1961 and 2000) showed that corporal punishment did not significantly influence the academic performance of children but had an adverse effect on their emotional state and led to negative behaviour (Paolucci and Violato 2004).

Severe corporal punishment in childhood correlates with adults' violence directed at animals or partners, but the direction of causal relation is not established. A Cambridge longitudinal investigation of delinquency in 411 London boys showed that severe disciplinary practices at the age of eight, was an important predictor of an early onset of unruly behaviour. In this respect, cruel fathers are responsible for a more serious impact on their children. On the other hand, it is not punishment itself that is so negative as a lack of emotional warmth and parental care. If these two are present, flogging can not destroy the relations of the boy with his parents: it will be regarded as a sign of their care (Farrington, 2000, 2004).

Punishment as well as reactions to it can vary. Psychologists, who are in favour of a complete ban on corporal punishment, point out that no equation mark can be put between flogging and spanking with a palm, the latter does not do any harm to a child's health and is considered fair by children themselves (Baumrind et al. 2002).

The cultural context is very important: to which extent is corporal punishment allowed in the given environment? Out-of-the-norm corporal punishment which a child does not accept, leads to his protest and aggression. If they are accepted, they do not result in the negative long-term consequences. Probably it is not the punishment itself which accounts for the long-term consequences, but the way the child interprets it, the lesson the child draws from this punishment. For instance, in the families of white Americans where traditionally there is no rigorous discipline, corporal punishment is regarded by children as parental dislike. Conversely, in Afro-American families where corporal punishment is considered to be a sign of good parentage, they do not insult children, nor they lead to a feeling of being an outcast (Lansford et al, 2005).

Regardless of the severity of long-term negative psychological consequences of corporal punishment, public opinion

in the 21st century considers it morally unacceptable. A similar evolution takes place in Russia, though this is a difficult and lengthy process. The Soviet authorities banished corporal punishment from schools, but they could not control family practices while public opinion looked on harassment in families complacently.

Though there were no professional public polls in the Soviet time to this subject, N. Filippov, a journalist, conducted an anonymous survey of 7.5 thousand children aged 9 to 15 in fifteen cities of the country which showed that sixty percent of parents resorted to corporal punishment (1988). Eighty-six percent of these practices was taken by flogging, nine percent by standing in the corner (genueffect on peas, salt, bricks), five percent by blows on the face and head.

Sometimes punishment for misconduct can hardly be distinguished from beating and sexual harassment (stripping naked for humiliation, hitting on the genitals, etc). Many children, both beaten and not beaten, thought that this style of upbringing was nothing out of the ordinary, and they were going to beat their own children in their turn. 'How can you punish without a belt?' a 10-year-old boy asks. 'Children must be brought up stringently, there's no horsing around with them like with toddlers.' Ann, a nine-year-old girl smiled mischievously and chirped: 'Of course, I'll beat my kids like my Mom does. Why, are they any better than me?' Eleven-year-old Vova says: 'They flog me with a belt every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, just as a preventive measure. I'll flog my own child every day.' Fourteen-year-old Roman prudently says: 'They beat me very rarely, but if they do, it's in earnest, aiming at kidneys. I will certainly beat my son or daughter, but you have to do it with a belt so as not to break the backbone.' Isn't it a nice relay race of generations?

After the fall of the Soviet power, there were a few extensive and representative surveys: the all-union survey of Central Institute for Public Opinion in 1992, national surveys conducted by the Levada Centre in 2000 and 2004, a survey by the Foundation of the Public Opinion in 2004 and 2008, a national survey conducted by SuperJob.ru in 2008 and a number of polls conducted locally. Their selective answers are not fully compatible with the questions posed. In some cases, there are questions about 'children' in general, in others – about school children, in yet others about adolescents over 13 or 14 years old. 'To punish physically' and 'to flog' is seen as not the same thing. Some questionnaires probe into families, others into schools. They do not differentiate between forms of corporal punishment and its social and educational context, they do not elucidate the question who has the right to punish and who is to execute it. Some questionnaires are after the goals of the respondents, others are after their personal experience. This way or another, they give us food for thought.

Asked by the all-union survey of Central Institute for Public Opinion (April, 1992) if children can be punished physically, only sixteen percent of Russian citizens answered in the positive; 58 percent were against corporal punishment. Russians have turned out to be much more humane compared to the other peoples constituting the former USSR: 24 percent of Estonians, 29 percent of Lithuanians, and 39 percent of Uzbeks consider corporal punishment normal and acceptable.

The survey by the Foundation of the Public Opinion (2004) showed that over half of Russians (54 percent) considered corporal punishment of children permissible, 47 percent were against it. The most liberal in this respect were Muscovites (48 percent), young people aged 18–24 (50 percent) as well as those who avoided corporal punishment in their childhood (52 percent) (Presniakova, 2004). 67 percent agreed on corporal punishment of schoolchildren saying it is 'necessary from time to time' when interviewed by the Foundation of the Public Opinion (2008).

To the question of the Levada Centre (2004) if parents of a 13–14-year-old adolescent can punish him or her physically, 37 percent of respondents gave a positive answer (in 2000, there were 27 percent), 61 percent responded negatively (Zorkaya, Leonova 2004).

The poll conducted by the research centre SuperJob.ru (March, 2008) showed that only 9 percent of Russian people considered corporal punishment to be a necessary method of education. Some people think that this measure is applicable to boys only. Others recall their own experience: 'Our parents spanked us, so what? We grew up to be normal people.' Or 'We have come through this ourselves, it's useful.' Sixty-one percent of Russian people believe that corporal punishment of children in educational purposes is not advisable, and only permissible in exceptional situations. However, only 30 percent say that corporal punishment of children must be completely ruled out and that the use of the belt or spanking breeds 'negative reactions, fright, suppresses striving for independent acts, and prompts different complexes in children'.

Men who look at corporal punishment as an inalienable part of education are twice as many as women (12 percent versus 6); 34 percent of women and 25 percent of men decry it. The category of people who speak approvingly about smacking or spanking are mostly those over 50 years of age, while most of its opponents are youngsters under twenty. Ardent opponents of corporal punishment are 25 percent of Russians with children and every third among the childless. Personal experience of respondents is linked to their age. Among the respondents surveyed by the Foundation of the Public Opinion, 27 percent have not experienced corporal punishment, while 40 percent have (2004). 'They were beating with anything which was at hand', 'with a cord, with a stick', 'with a stinging nettle or a twig', 'with an army belt'. Age indicators are clearly demonstrative of the softening of morals: among people aged 18–24, there are 33 percent that were not flogged, while among those aged 55–64, only 18 percent were not flogged.

The 2008 survey conducted by the Foundation of the Public Opinion showed that every other respondent had been physically abused, including 16 percent of those who had been abused often and 33 percent rarely. Boys were punished much more frequently than girls; 40 percent of men and 55 percent of women were not punished at all, 20 percent and 12 percent respectively were punished often, and 37 and 29 percent rarely. Fifty-five percent of men and 32 percent of women think that they were flogged rightly. Only 2 percent assumed that in contemporary Russia there were no parents who physically abused their children. Comparing present-day situation with the one of their school years, 26 percent of respondents suggested that children were physically punished less often, 17 percent said that children were punished more often, the same number of respondents thought that little had changed in this respect, while others could not formulate their opinion.

Some people think (5 percent) that 'years back, parents were more stringent', while now 'they are complacent with their children and spoil them'. Others say that 'something has changed in the approaches to upbringing', 'people frown on

beating children somehow', 'uncivilized methods – this is a common view', 'the tendency is to persuade'. Some people see in it a sign of raised pedagogical and general culture of parents ('more cultured parents', 'more pedagogically literate', 'people have become more civilized', 'raised cultural level' (3 percent), others – a proof of parental inattention and neglect of children ('parents have become indifferent: they do not care a damn what their kid is doing', 'adults do not have time to spend with their children, they have work to do', 'they don't look after children at all', 'they do not bring up children, children are bumming on the streets, scavenging garbage dumps', 'they don't give a damn about their children' (3 percent).

Some respondents believe that the reason why the methods of upbringing have changed are children themselves rather than parents: 'children do not let treat them that way'; 'children are aware of their rights'; 'kids are smarter, they won't let you touch them'; 'children are sensitive, very clever, they can talk and fight back' (2 percent). 25 percent of those interviewed (about one third of those who have experience in raising children) punished physically their own children of children they were in charge with, 10 percent of them regret it and 14 percent do not.

Of those high school students (forms 7–11) who were interviewed in the poll, 3,1 percent of the boys and 2.8 percent of the girls confessed that parents used physical force as punishment (Sobkin 2003, p. 168). Though one should bear in mind that a) the poll was conducted in Moscow; b) respondents were high school students.

In estimation of some Russian authors the frequency of corporal punishment in Russian families varies from 50 to 95 percent, no less than 5 percent of children suffer physical abuse constantly: slaps, spanking, smacking (Grigoriev 2006). According to a professional survey of 600 parents in Vladivostok, 46 percent punished their kids physically; the level somewhat lower than that of other ways of correction, still rather considerable and close to the American data (Lysova and Istomina 2008).

What makes the problem more complicated is the fact that violence to children is disguised as 'punishment'. The data of the State Duma Committee on Women, Children and Youth, which ordered a wide-scale study in 2001, about 2 million children aged 14 are beaten in their homes. Over 50 thousand of such kids run away. Boys are beaten three times as often as girls. Two thirds of those flogged are preschoolers. 10 percent of those beaten violently and then taken to hospital die. A number of abused children is growing from year to year. According to the polls of law enforcement agencies, some 60 percent of children suffer violence in their families, 30 percent in schools. Criminal statistics reflects only 5–10 percent of actual beatings (Getmansky, Konygina 2004).

Thus, we are facing a complicated civilizational problem and its philosophical and humanitarian aspects dealing with the essence of upbringing interweave with psychological and pedagogical ones (correlation between punishment and inducement, efficiency of each) as well as with social and legal aspects (means to harness punishment and aggression). All this requires wide interdisciplinary cooperation of scientists in various fields.

S. V. Lavrov<sup>1</sup>

## VIA ACTIVATION OF MULTI-ASPECT EFFORTS TOWARDS CREATION OF HARMONIOUS BASIS FOR INTER-CIVILIZATIONAL RELATIONS

The contemporary world faces global challenges. One of the most serious among them is danger of emerging of new cultural and civilization dividing lines, not ideological. In the globalization era the competition among ideologies made way for rivalry between value systems and models of development. And here categories like co-existence and synthesis could be appropriate instead of dominance and assimilation. Growing role of religiousness in the international life is becoming one of the specific features of the contemporary world. Avoiding the confrontation of the civilizations arranging a constructive dialogue of representatives of different cultural and religious traditions becomes a prior task today.

The continuous global financial crisis makes obvious the fact that has been pointed to by different experts for years. The western model of secular liberalism advocating unrestrained consumerism is unable to give a realistic answer to the key problem of the world development: how to secure harmonious development of mankind in the future on the understanding that natural resources are exhaustible and environment is getting degraded. In our opinion this demands some alternative models based on time-verified traditional moral values. The global financial and economic crisis raises reasonable questions about the necessity of the renovation of the western model including balance between action of market forces and governmental involvement in economic life. Maybe we are talking about a new paradigm of economic growth. In any case, the globalization makes the imperative necessity of integrating measures for solving the common world problems into national development strategies.

The attempts to present western civilization as the only one 'authentic' in the world only provoke occurrence of intolerance and xenophobia, making modern societies unstable. It is important to understand that gasoline has been added to the flame of contradictions between civilizations not by various marginal extremists alone but also by those who follow the ideological approaches to international affairs in the West as well as in the East.

Russia never imposed its position on anyone. But our understanding of the direction to be taken to develop international life is based on substantiated analysis verified by further developments, and on our deep conviction of the necessity of conjugating approaches to actual foreign policy problems with the values of the main world religions composing, in our opinion, the spiritual and moral basis for all mankind common solidarity. It will be difficult to solve urgent problems of the world development based on really collective and legal views, to create atmosphere of mutual understanding in the interstate relations without recognizing these universal principles. Support by the common moral denominator helps to strengthen the agreement between civilizations, to build the criteria of civic rights and freedom within the personal responsibility to the society. Without all this we will not be able to provide any predictability or confidence in the international affairs whose contemporary state is characterized by the 'crisis of confidence' in the most comprehensive sense of this idea.

The most important task in our activity is to create favorable both political and diplomatic conditions for fence-mending and bridging in the wide inter-confessional dialogue that would prompt neutralization of the efforts to politicize religious radicalism, would prompt our finding of the optimal ways for adjustment of conflicts having an underlying inter-confessional reason.

Russia is a country with the many centuries experience in peaceful coexistence with numerous peoples and ethnos, cultural and religious traditions. Russia supports all initiatives directed on strengthening the inter-civilization harmony started by the approval of the UN General Assembly resolution on announcing 2001 a year of 'Dialogue among civilizations under the UN aegis' in 1998. We are actively working in various dialogue grounds together with traditional Russian confessions and Russian nongovernmental organizations and are striving to draw the international community's attention on the necessity of building partnership of civilizations with due consideration of religious factors in the world policy.

The World summit of religious leaders in July 2006 in Moscow by the initiative of the Russian Orthodox Church became a landmark in this work. It was quite significant for a better understanding of moods in the world religious community and played an important role in putting Russia to one of leading positions in developing the dialogue among civilizations, especially in its interreligious dimension. The participants of the Summit shared understanding of the fact that it was a high time to start to perform concrete actions for strengthening harmony between civilizations, including the one on the UN 'playground'. We do hope that the next summit of religious leaders this autumn in Baku will become a successful continuation of the Moscow meeting.

Russia advanced an initiative of creating under the UN aegis a Consultative Council of Religions during the 62nd General Assembly of the UN in September 2007: a dialogue forum anticipating regular meetings of representatives of the most important world confessions for discussing some international problems including the faith and value components. Its competence sphere would include expert work on problems of interreligious dialogue and the dialogue with non-religious world views, fight against religion defamation, against manifestations of intolerance and xenophobia, protection of the religious holy places and relics, prompting resolution of regional conflicts involving a religious component. Our initiative aims at no substitution of the mechanisms already acting in the inter-civilization field, it does not encroach upon whoever's prerogatives, does not aim at dominating the interreligious dialogue.

As the first step in realization of this idea it was agreed with the UNESCO Director-General K. Matsuura to create a high level group for interreligious dialogue under the UNESCO aegis that would be dedicated to becoming a 'ground' for consultations of religious leaders in inter-civilization issues. The Group will be prompting intercultural dialogue through education, science, culture and mass media in compliance with the UNESCO Medium-term strategy for the years 2008–2013.

The initiative by King Abdullah of the Saudi Arabia about arranging constant direct interaction among the hierarchs of leading world confessions including workup of recommendations that could become an issue for discussion in the UN is quite corresponding with these Russian ideas.

Russian delegations in the UN take active part in work of such constant mechanisms as the Three-power Forum

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on International Cooperation for the world welfare (it includes representatives of States, UN institutions and non-governmental organizations) and the Ministerial Meetings on interreligious cooperation for the world welfare. During the 62nd Session of the UN General Assembly in September 2007, Russia was included in co-sponsors of the resolution 'The high-level dialogue for interreligious and intercultural cooperation for the world welfare' confirming the urgency of activation of an interreligious dialogue, the demand for contribution by the world religions in solving the global problems. Our representatives took part in the International Forum on the interreligious dialogue in Madrid in June 2008. During the High Level session on inter-civilization topic that took place in November 2008 within the frames of the UN General Assembly we acted as co-sponsors of the resolution 'Prompting the interreligious and intercultural dialogue, understanding, and cooperation for the sake of the peace' where by our initiative a statement was announced that has recommended the UN Member-States to consider the ideas advanced within the frames of the High-level dialogue including our proposals concerning institutionalization of the interreligious dialogue within the format of the World Organization on the whole and forming a Consultative Council of Religions in particular.

Russia also supports multilateral interaction within the frames of the Alliance of Civilizations created under the aegis of the UN Secretary-General in 2005. We consider the Alliance to have a potential of mobilizing the collective efforts of the States and civil society for overcoming the intercultural, interreligious and interethnic contradictions. As a member of the Group of Friends of Alliance Russia takes part in its actions including the two forums (Madrid, 15-16 January 2008 and Istanbul, 6-7 April 2009). A National plan has been developed by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for supporting relations with the Alliance, and a special representative has been designated for interaction with the Alliance.

Russia maintains efforts made by UNESCO in the area of intercultural dialogue including the initiative to create regional coalitions of cities against racism. A Session of the Head Committee of the European coalitions of cities against racism (ECCAR) will be held in St. Petersburg in May 2009, the Coalition comprising over 80 cities from 17 countries. An interest in joining the ECCAR was manifested by many Russian cities (Rostov-on-Don, Orenburg and others).

In addition, in line with the UNESCO, Russia welcomes organizing 'related' departments for intercultural dialogue in higher education institutions of the whole world, pronouncing 2010 a year of 'culture rapprochement', a series of actions on the topic of 'Philosophy in the dialogue of cultures' organized in Russia in November this year by the Institute of Philosophy under the Russian Academy of Sciences. Together with the Commission of the Russian Federation for UNESCO, revival of the international Delphic movement prompting preservation and popularization of cultural diversity in the sphere of music, dance, painting and other arts. The Second World Delphic Games were conducted with delegations from 61 countries under the aegis of UNESCO in last September in Saratov.

In prompting the priorities in the civilization dialogue, we attract the capacities of the UN Council on Human Rights (CHR). Russian Orthodox Church's approach was elucidated in detail concerning interpretation and implementation of human rights through the prism of general human morals in the report by the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Department of the Moscow Patriarchy Metropolitan of Smolensk and Kaliningrad Kirill at the Discussion on the topic of 'Intercultural dialogue on human rights' held by us within the frames of the 7th CHR in Geneva on 18 March 2008. There is no doubt that with the election of Metropolitan Kirill to the post of the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia,

this important issue will be further actively involved into inter-civilization discussions.

Another most important direction of efforts by Russian diplomacy in the issues of strengthening the inter-civilization accord involves extension of interaction with Islamic world both within the frames of bilateral relations with Muslim states and along the line of the 'Organization of the Islamic Conference' (OIC) including the Islamic organization in education, science and culture (IOESC). It is important that Russia and our partners in Muslim world act as partners in many urgent problems of the modern world. This was confirmed during the OIC summit in March 2008 in Dakar. Permanent representation of the Russian Federation to the OIC started to work in Jidda in July 2008.

There is no doubt that obtaining a lasting universal settlement of the Middle East conflict would allow to reduce sharpness of inter-civilization frictions and, in the first place, those between the Islamic world and the West would become the most important contribution to strengthening the regional as well as the global stability. Russia takes active steps prompting the move towards peace in the Middle East.

The inter-civilization dialogue remains in the centre of the attention of the Strategic View Group (SVG) 'Russia — Islamic world' created on our initiative. In this format two international conferences were held on the issue of 'Russia— Islamic world' and 'Islam will overcome terrorism' in Moscow in 2008. The Russian initiative on creation under the UN aegis of the Advisory Board of Religions was met with warm approval in the final document of the SVG 4th session in Jidda in October 2008.

Russia whose culture is an inseparable part of general European culture strives to contribute within the frames of the European Council to the process of building the 'Great humanitarian Europe'. In May 2008 The Ministry Committee of the European Council (MCEC) approved text of the 'White book of the EC in intercultural dialogue' where a long-term strategy of activity in this field has been formulated. It seems important that the main part of the Russian side's amendments has been taken into consideration in the final text of the 'White book of the EC in intercultural dialogue'. In particular, in compliance with our proposal, a chapter dedicated to religious dimension of the intercultural dialogue has been included. Wide response was obtained to the speech by the Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia Alexy II at the Session of the Parliament Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasburg in October 2007.

A resolution was made within the frames of MCEC by the Russian initiative to conduct yearly conferences on religious dimension of the intercultural dialogue. The first such meeting was held in April 2008 with participants from the Russian Orthodox Church in Strasburg, and the second meeting is planned for spring of this year. We are quite convinced that for modern multi-confessional Europe comprehension of malignancy of the militant secularism is particularly urgent as it destroys the century-old moral standards and spiritual roots of Europeans and simultaneously provokes the Islamic radicalism. After all, the main values of Christian morality are clear for Muslims too in many aspects, whereas ignoring them often just demonstratively aggravates detachment of a whole segment of the European community and enhances its hostility towards western civilization.

Russia takes an active part in discussing the inter-civilization issues within the frames of Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The actions proceed in various formats: in the form of reports to the Permanent Council by three personal representatives of Acting Chairman for fighting different forms of intolerance, within the frames of the OSCE Representative's activity in the field of mass media freedom, regular discussions of this issue in the course

of the OSCE Bureau of Democratic Institutes and Human Rights sessions. Such work is conducted in close interaction with the Foreign Relations Department of the Moscow Patriarchy and Russian profile institutions. Last year, General Prosecutor's Office as well as Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation became connected up to this activity. In the course of the 16th Session of the OSCE Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs in Helsinki in December 2008, the Russian side supported the resolution 'On contribution of the OSCE to establishing the civilization alliance' where the States-Members confirmed the necessity of prompting mutual understanding among countries and peoples belonging to different cultural and religious traditions, as well as charged the OSCE Secretary General with monitoring the Alliance evolution.

The inter-civilization issues open great possibilities for non-governmental organizations to participate in the international dialogue. The World Public Forum 'Dialogue of civilizations' that was created by the initiative of Russian community and was registered in 2006 in Vienna as an

International non-governmental organization contributes greatly to prompt the contacts among representatives of intellectual, political, cultural, spiritual and business elites from all continents. Annual sessions of the Forum on the Rhodes Island have become the remarkable events when the problems of protection of spiritual and cultural values of the mankind are discussed in informal atmosphere as well as the issues of assistance to forming a more just and democratic world order.

Russia intends to assist further establishing in the world policy and in international public opinion the imperative of preservation of the cultural and civilization diversity as the basis for world harmonious development. We will do this both individually and together with our partners, with everyone who is not indifferent to cultural and spiritual heritage of the mankind. We regard our work in this direction as one of the essential elements of formation of polycentric global order, provision of equal security and equal access of all States to advantages of globalization in the economic, informational and other fields.

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## PERSONAL AND GROUP IDENTITY AND A CROSS-CULTURAL DIALOGUE

Nowadays the issue of personal and group identity is one of the most widely discussed in the world sociology, cultural anthropology and philosophy. This is connected with a number of peculiarities of the present day world's environment.

First of all, political and economic globalization, modern informational technologies development, the ongoing social and cultural dynamism and pluralism make the process of personal identification tremendously complex, and they also put under the question many traditional values. This is because individual meanings that constitute the essence of a personality are impossible without their correlation with super-individual values. The crisis of the latter leads to the individual identity crisis. A lot of authors write about individual multi-identity and even about the 'blurred' individual identity, about the end of the personality entity in the environment of the modern informational society.

Nowadays, the humanity faces a great number of problems that don't have a ready solution. There are all grounds to think that the modern civilization faces some considerable challenge, when the question about the perspectives of man and the perspective of a society and culture is at stake [1].

For the first place, these are the problems that result from the latest stage of technology and science development (TV, computer, internet-base communication) [2]. Quick knowledge update tempo characteristic of the informational society, leads to a quick change of social structures and institutes, types and ways of communication that represent that knowledge. A lot of social processes become somewhat transient, short-lived, lasting for a short period of time. The integration of the past and the future into a united chain that constitutes an individual biography and the core of a personality, the 'I',

seems to be a difficult task. The ongoing complexity of the social and technological mediation between the action and its result makes it difficult to plan rationally the actions not just in the collective, but also in the individual content within the modern globalizing society [3]. But that is not the only case. Any rational action together with taking into account the possible outcome, also implies matching the selected means to the already existing social conventions, to the communal ideas of things appropriate and inappropriate, to self-representation of the acting individual, to biography, to commitment, to belonging to this or that community, i.e. to what is termed individual identity. Meanwhile, the contemporary western world, entering the informational community and pulling the rest of the world into it through the globalization, is going through the crisis of individual identity. A crisis of a number of collective identities starts too [4].

I won't make special observations of the threats that the development of modern informational technologies has in stock for the individual and collective identity. I would like to make a special observation of the problems that arise in this domain in connection with the contemporary cross-cultural interaction.

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Different national and ethnic cultures have come to a close interaction. And there is no precedent for it in the history. This interaction sometimes takes aggressive forms of interference of one value-conceptual culture system into others. First of all, I am referring to the present-day globalization that is (the way it is being implemented) nothing else but Americanization, levelling of peculiarities of other national cultures. This kind of globalization brings about the antagonistic reaction of no less aggressive interference of the values of the other, non-western cultures – the latest events in the USA, Western Europe, and even in our country are an evident proof of that. The concepts of the 'melting pot' of many cultures and multiculturalism fell victim to the modern global reality. Nowadays in the world there is an ongoing struggle for cultural domination, for a particular mode of the life content. It is in these circumstances that the personal identity of a human living within the framework of different cultures interaction and confrontation, is being thoroughly tested for stability.

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However, it is obvious that the mode of national-cultural aggression (that S. Huntington called 'the Clash of Civilizations') has no future historically. First, because diversity is the precondition of any development; and in case with the human civilization the diversity is manifested through existence of various national cultures. Second, the clash of cultures can only lead to their mutual death alongside with their keepers.

There is one thing left: to find the ways of a balanced development of diverse national cultures. This will make a necessary background for both the personal identity as well as collective identity of cultures. These ways were once termed as tolerance and a cross-cultural dialogue. Tolerance along with the dialogue seems to be something really simple *ex facte*.

Sometimes, it seems enough to say: 'People, be tolerant to each other, to your differences, to your individual and cultural and ethnical diversity, to your different views. Live in peace and friendship, negotiate your mutual problems, and find solutions through discussion and dialogue that suit both parties, when their interests clash'. To advance this general slogan seems to be enough to learn it, because it is absolutely rational and practical. If tolerance is not raised, then mutual self-destruction comes. It is not that difficult to manage this today.

However the problem is more complex that it seems to be at first.

First, the implementation difficulties should be mentioned. And they are quite substantial. For raising of tolerance implies not just the existence but the essential grounding of some attitudes related to the understanding of man and culture. At least, this is the attitude towards independence, autonomy of an individual, his personal responsibility for his actions and beliefs, towards inadmissibility of intrusion of any ideas whatsoever, no matter how attractive they might seem. But tolerance also implies relativity of our opinions and judgements, and it implies that a unique explanation that would suit all is impossible. Apparently, such attitudes are not only non-typical of the cultures that used to exist and the cultures that are existent now, but they are quite recent, and what is more, they embedded not a long time ago, historically speaking. Naturally, many cultures are still quite used to, if not prejudiced against the idea of tolerance. This is also true for our country where no necessary prerequisites for the establishment of tolerance have been created through the history. Identity of views, taken both in a confessional or cultural sense, is still taken by many as something preferable to tolerance and pluralism which are often believed to be the expression of moral weakness and instability of views. As far as we have recognized this idea as the one that has a substantial practical value, it is clear that the issue of creating preconditions (social, cultural, psychological, educational) of its establishment and cultivation deserves a special study. But I won't make detailed observations of this problem in the present paper, because there is yet another angle of the problem that I see: the very understanding of cultural and personal tolerance and pluralism, as its inseparable co-partner. This is what I would like to pay special attention to.

So then, what is tolerance?

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*The first interpretation* of tolerance was also first historically speaking. In some respect it is considered classical and it has survived till the present. It is connected with Bayle and Locke, with the classical liberal tradition. It seems to be an important historical fact that throws light upon the very nature of the problem, the fact that it was formulated, as a philosophical concept, with the relation to the problem of religious toleration, and was initially understood as a particular

interpretation of Thirty Years' War in which the representatives of antagonistic confessions had almost destroyed each other.

Within this framework, the truth, the basic moral norms and the essentials of political community can be established and substantiated for all, indisputably and convincingly. There is no point in referring to tolerance in such matters, when the proof and rational explanation are evident to everybody. However, people don't only share valid assumptions, but also stick to different opinions. The validity of some of these opinions may be proved later on. Though there are some opinions, the validity of which cannot be proved once and for all. First of all, this refers to religious beliefs and specific values of different cultures, peculiar ethnic views and beliefs. Such views are adopted by people beyond their rational thinking, and, for the first place, they have to do with personal identification: cultural, ethnical, and personal. There is no personality without personal identification, i.e. no individual who is independent in his decisions and responsible for his deeds. However, most of the time the ways of personal identification are beyond rational thinking and have to do with some tradition, adopted by man, with the place where he was born and where he is presently located, with the culture that he is a part of, with his country's history, with his own biography etc.

As for the cognitive truths (especially scientific truths), the rationally explained standards of law and morality, one cannot be tolerant to what contradicts them as well as to the acts of their violation. People who violate the standards of law and morality should be punished (legally or through social deprecation). But one must also be aware of the fact that the truth cannot be imposed on by force: through physical constraint or through propagandist suggestion. One can only adopt a true assertion independently. That is why the actions that break the rationally established rules of community should be struggled against. At the same time it is necessary, to a certain extent, to demonstrate tolerance to unreasonable views, creating, for those who share them, the conditions under which they could independently come to recognize the validity of what can be verified, indisputably and universally.

As for the assumptions the validity of which cannot be proved, which are held without any rational consideration (religious beliefs, particular values of different cultures, ethnic beliefs etc.), it is not only they but also the related practices that can be well appropriate when they don't contradict the basics of a civilized community. In such cases these assumptions and the related practices become a 'special case' of particular cultural and ethnic groups. Tolerance here is supported by the fact that the diverse opinions, not related to the questions of truth and basic moral, legal and political standards, are indifferent to the basic civilizational values and do not interfere with the standard community. Different cultural, ethnic groups can have their own schools and churches, cultivate their own language and have their own customs. Any extraneous interference with such matters cannot be tolerated (from the side of the government, for example, if we are talking about ethnic minorities on a bigger state's territory, or from the side of one state towards another). Tolerance in understanding basic moral standards and what has been established in cognition (particularly in science) is considered to be the background basics for regular life in a community and for a peaceful interaction of different societies and cultures. It should be noted that in the light of the above-stated understanding of tolerance, the differences of some specific cultural values will be getting blurred together with the development of the mankind, because of the inevitable ongoing intensification of interaction between different cultures and ethnic groups and the urge for joint problem-solving.

In terms of this approach tolerance basically becomes *indifference* towards diverse ethnic and cultural attitudes and

practices, because the latter are considered irrelevant to the main problem that the society has to deal with.

The second interpretation of tolerance proceeds from the assumption that the premises for the first interpretation cannot be accepted, viz.: there are such universal cognitive truths and social community standards, which can be established and substantiated for all, indisputably and convincingly. This interpretation relies on the result of the present-day cultural-anthropological studies and on some modern philosophic approaches. Within the framework of this interpretation, religious views and some specific values of one country or another are not qualified as secondary for the human activities and for the society's development. On the contrary, they determine the very nature of these activities and the way that one or another culture follows in its development. The pluralism of these views, values and ways of behaviour is permanent and irreducible, as far as it is related to the human nature and to the man-and-the-real-world relations. All cultures are equal, though incommensurable at the same time. There is no system of privileged views and values.

The only exception should be made for the concept that all people, regardless of their race or nationality, enjoy the equal right to live and the right to develop culturally (no tolerance is allowed when these rights are being violated).

But, being equal and respected, divergent paradigms (including divergent cultures) cannot basically interact, because they are closed in themselves, incommensurable with one another. Identities of divergent cultural and ethnic communities are based on the fact that they do not come in contact, living in essentially different worlds. One can move from the world of one culture to another. But one cannot live in two different worlds simultaneously.

Interpreted like that, tolerance becomes respect for something that is diverse: man or culture that one cannot comprehend, that one cannot come in contact with.

However, there may be objections to such an interpretation of tolerance and pluralism. These objections are formulated in the third interpretation.

The third interpretation. First, it can be proved that there is some real interaction between diverse cultural value systems and conceptual frameworks. This is a fact in the history of civilization. Together with that, influenced by the criticism, some values and conceptual frameworks leave the stage giving way to others. It is because there is no fundamental incommensurability of different value systems.. Diverse value systems and cultural traditions keep competing, whereby trying to show their own strength and a potential to deal with different technical, social and intellectual problems that people are challenged with. But with all the divergence of cultural traditions and ethnic groups, they still have to deal with quite a number of common problems. As the result of this competition, the standards, value systems and intellectual traditions are selected that meet the requirements of the ever-changing situation.

But one's views should not be imposed on others, as well as the values of one culture should not be imposed on other cultures.

In this case, tolerance means *indulgence* towards a different culture [5].

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To avoid the clash of civilizations tolerance is needed absolutely. At the same time, no matter how we interpret or practice tolerance (as indifference, as respect or as indulgence), its essence is non-interference with another culture, and also elimination of interacting with it. Meanwhile, nowadays interaction of divergent ethnic cultures is vitally important as a background for the development and the identity of cultures and individuals.

Dialogue (of cultures, social groups and individuals) means essentially more than tolerance. This is because it implies not just making tolerant allowance for a divergent opinion, for a divergent value system and attitudes, but also a desire to learn something from a different source.

Historically, cultures have been learning things from one another, trying to take into account a different experience, whereby they made the scope of their own experience broader. This is an indisputable fact in the history of culture. By the way, the most interesting concepts in the history of philosophy and science appeared at the clash and mutual criticism of divergent conceptual frameworks and intellectual paradigms. The Western European civilization emerged as a synthesis of the two divergent, and even incompatible, as they might seem, cultures: Judaeo-Christian and Ancient Greco-Roman. The Fathers of the Christian Church had a fruitful dialogue with ancient philosophy, working out the system of dogmatic theology. Contemporary physics, being, first of all, the result of European cultural development, gets some of its fundamental ideas from the studies of Indian and Chinese mythology: it is not a synthesis of mythology and science that we are talking about, it is interpretation of some ideas evoked by mythology into the language of science (as I. Prigozhin, a Noble Prize winner, pointed out, the picture of the world that he offers is very close to the ancient Chinese mythology).

M. Bakhtin would emphasize that consciousness is dialogical by its nature. The 'I' is unlike Leibniz's monad, because it is not closed-up, but is open-up to another man. The very reference to oneself in terms of the 'I', i.e. a simple self-reflective act, is only possible when I relate to another man, when I may treat myself the same way that I treat another man, i.e. share a divergent viewpoint, mentally or in my mind's eye (without being conscious of it, as a rule). Personal identity is not something that an individual just possesses. He can also develop it, changing considerably. This problem is extremely acute nowadays. To develop identity is only possible through regular communication, through a dialogue with divergent opinions and attitudes and through a chance to understand them.

Nowadays the mankind is facing the situation when it understands its insufficient and limited experience in relationship with the natural environment and people with each other and the necessity to broaden this experience. This also implies taking into account one another's experience. It does not necessarily mean that a different experience is taken without criticism. There is something different in question. There is the necessity to concentrate not upon the antagonistic points in a different opinion, in a different value system, but upon the points that may help solve personal problems, as well as problems of other people and other cultures, other value systems and intellectual frames. This dialogue offers all the opportunities where not only individuals but also cultures both may and should develop.

Interacting with the attitudes which are different from one's own, comparing one's reasoning with the reasoning of a different opinion provide necessary conditions for the evolution of one's own views. The same is also valid for the interaction of cultures. Here pluralism is not something that interferes with or something that is profoundly strange to a certain culture, but it is a necessary background for this culture's fruitful development and a mechanism for a culture's development as a whole. This is not only pluralism, but *polyphony*, as Bakhtin put it, i.e. a dialogue and an profound interaction of divergent attitudes.

Generally speaking, dialogue is a more sophisticated stage of personal identity as well as of any ethnic culture's identity. This is something more meaningful than mere tolerance. This is a more profound respect towards everything alien, compared to what tolerance implies. Nowadays this dialogue

cannot but touch upon the underlying core of culture (as well as the underlying core of personal identity). It is this core that tolerance can and should be applied to. It is my firm belief that the future of man and culture is connected with a dialogue, the dialogue that will touch upon the identity core. Because this is the dialogue that gives an opportunity not just to preserve, but also to develop, i.e. somehow to change the identity. And this is the dynamic changes of all social processes including the dynamic changes of the identity (personal as well as group, particularly of ethnic cultures) that the current stage of the development of the human race implies.

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What is the meaning of a cross-cultural dialogue in the current situation?

I would like to emphasize that a dialogue is a specific communication type. First, a dialogue implies that the interlocutors have different viewpoints on the issue in question. Second, it implies that each of the interlocutors adheres to the virtues of a rational discussion. It means that there are the pros and cons, and they will be understood by the interlocutor. It means that one's own viewpoint can and should be defended. It also means that one should consider the viewpoint of the other part, and if the latter's viewpoint proves to have some advantages, one's own position on the issue should be changed. Eventually, the dialogue would end up with a common position on the issue in question. In other words, no dialogue is possible, if the virtues of a rational discussion are ignored.

Of course, rationalism is not a specific heritage of the Western culture. Non-occidental cultures have substantially contributed to its development. Thus, the Muslim world has always valued sciences: algebra, chemistry, medicine, etc. But we should admit that the contemporary rationalism, the way it is being practised in science and technology is related, first of all, to the development of the Western civilization. This is what makes its impact on the cross-cultural dialogue so special. We cannot ignore this fact of history.

Nowadays, a cross-cultural dialogue is practically certain not about the cultures themselves (their core nuclei), but about some definite problem-solving issues. Representatives of different cultures may have their own opinions that depend on their value systems. Exchanging their opinions, comparing them, explaining the advantages can be extremely fruitful and can result in mutual solutions of the common problems.

I believe that nowadays the problems that the nearest future of the mankind depend on should be the topic of the cross-cultural dialogue.

Here are some of such topics.

First of all, it is the establishment of a new legal and political order. Some people believe that the Occidental culture is historically inclined to democracy (and all the values of individual freedom and individual rights, of civil society), while the Oriental ('traditional') cultures appreciate

responsibilities and obligations more, that is why they are politically biased to authoritarianism. If so, the cross-cultural dialogue on these issues seems to be impossible, because these values are a part of the nucleus of the ethnic and cultural entities in question. And the discussion of such values, as I have pointed above, is impossible at the current stage of the humankind development. I think, that kind of cross-cultural dialogue has been fairly impossible until recently. But the current situation in a number of important aspects is different. Nowadays we are talking about the kind of relations between the countries which represent different cultures or between different ethnic-cultural communities within one country that allow preservation of their identity. Only democracy in international relations and in individual countries grants that opportunity. At least in this respect, thus, democracy's values today cannot be ignored by the representatives of different cultures. At the same time we should admit that it is not totally clear what the values of democratic relations between countries are (so far democracy has been understood as a political system related to a certain country). This means that there is a valid topic to discuss in a dialogue. By the way, it is hardly possible to put an end to the international terrorism without finding solutions to these problems. It can be assumed that the development will be accompanied by a wider convergence of diverse cultures. This, in turn, means that the issues that require simple tolerance from the contemporary cultures will ever more be a topic of a real dialogue.

Environmental problems that have to do with all people round the globe, the issues of interrelations between the world's centre and periphery, the problem of poverty can and should be the topics for the present-day cross-cultural dialogue.

If such a dialogue is practiced, the globalization won't seem to be the imposing of the only possible cultural value system upon all the world's districts, but as an establishment of a single united world that comprises many unique national cultures.

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A. A. Likhanov<sup>1</sup>

### DIALOGUE OF CULTURES AS ADULTS' CARE FOR CHILDREN'S DESTINY

1. In fact, any serious dialogue about the present and the future should start and finish with a simple thought: what and who we exist for. Humanly, prosily, our first care should be

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for children and old people. In the historical sense – about the past and the future.

(Clean Stones), "*Obman*" (Deception), "*Labirint*" (Labyrinth), "*Blagiye namereniya*" (Good Intentions), "*Golgotha*," "*Nevinnye тайны*" (Innocent Secrets), "*Vysshaya mera*" (Capital Punishment), "*Pavodok*" (Spring Flood), "*Nikto*" (Nobody), "*Slomannaya kukla*" (A Broken Doll), and some others.

His research interests include children's rights and protection of childhood. Author of such scientific publications as "Children's rights," "Protection of Orphans," reference book "Childhood," "*Belaya kniga detsva v Rossii*" (White Book of Childhood in Russia) and others.

Any civilization or culture, despite declarations, doctrines, explanations, wars and pacifications, crises and recoveries, spends the main energy not only on itself, but also on the past and the future. In it there is subconscious aspiration of the civilization to continue living – by itself and by its children. But the results which come out are different.

2. As for Russia, its bureaucratic policy, throughout my life I have been struck by the clearly expressed non-recognition of the priority of childhood. When they want to report on something, the first things to mention are always square meters and cubic meters, sums and percents, sizes, distances, and only last of all the much talked-about ‘maternity and childhood’ are mentioned as some distressing necessity.

It is surprising! As the logic of continuation of life roots from prerequisites of problem-free birth, which, unfortunately, is absent or operates unreliably. And any economic or social prediction should start with simple arithmetic: how many children do we have today? What destiny have we prepared for them after 15–17 years?

Let us call this vector of thought and practice a routine, economically and socially well-trying one, because it has been the way for many years. In the habitual attitude to childhood prudence and forethought come to the foreground. The practice of the previous two decades shows that the reformatory disruptiveness achieved the highest ‘success’ in respect to childhood. And eventually in respect to the state.

To strike children it is enough to properly hit their parents: to reduce wages, to increase prices, to deprive of a job, to close down this job (a plant), to be more exact, to allow a newly brought to light owner to close it down. It was not a long time ago when a Russian family earned not very much, but the rent was not high, a nursery school was affordable, school and higher education, let alone medical service, was free of charge. And the nation, not living in style, of course, could afford to have one, two, less often three children, thus providing elementary demographic reproduction.

But when the whole people is robbed of it, what is it?

Look at the result. In the overall structure of the population in 1991 there were 40 152 440 children. In 2008 this figure is 27 million. According to the statistics of 2007 in Russia there are 142 221 million people altogether, among these there are 22 755 360 or 16% citizens who are ‘younger than the working age’. How can we define ‘the loss’ of 13 million while giving the first account and 17.3 million when giving the second one? I will define this given datum which we see with our own eyes as an undeclared war against childhood.

Remaining silent, living in poverty, losing a job and confidence, losing social, that is financial, medical, educational, cultural support, drinking hard, losing moral principles, shame, conscience and hope, one finally comes to the main and tragic decision – one refuses to give birth. The matter is not some drawback, a trifle, but the crying of undelivered children – the most significant sign of self-abasement.

There is such a notion as a non-return point. Having rightly realized it before it was too late the government devised the ‘maternity capital’. But even in it there is a lot to be sad about. It is well-known that we have no record by ethnic status. There are a lot of other causes for bewilderment: why cannot we spend the money if we need it for treating the child? With this more propagandistic than social idea of ‘maternity capital’, with this apparently ‘indecisive decision’ we have passed the non-return point of 13–17 million children. Capitals, even humane and useful ones, cannot make up for such a global number of ‘undelivered’ or ‘grown’ ones.

It has a single meaning – we need new policy and practice, the general one, the one which could improve the well-being of the nation. In fact, we need a new social reconstruction, but sound-thinking economists, sociologists and political

scientists are never listened to in Russia. I am not the only one who can clearly see it – the number of children in Russia has diminished disastrously. This loss can be made up for by, first of all, by taking care of parenthood, by equalizing the social status of millions of citizens.

We cannot do without force here. I mean the social equity, political will and the use of this strength of will to save Russia, its children and adults.

3. Now let us turn to the vector of thought and practice concerning children which is not a routine, but an extreme one; the vector which analyses the things which exist but which most often did not appear by themselves and which are a product of the development of social practice.

By the way, I will remark that I consider Alexander Sergeevich Griboyedov with his *Woe from Wit* to be the most modern writer. Only one phrase of his about the mixture of ‘Nizhny Novgorod dialect with French’ is a truly historical diagnosis of Russian lickspittle and servility.

The parental – as well as teaching! – world which existed in the country taught entire generations of educated people who brought the state to achieving unprecedented heights in sciences. And suddenly somebody wanted our degrees to be recognized in the West. And the scheme is simple – if you want your children to work in Europe, divide the total result of an institute of higher education into two levels – master’s and bachelor’s degree, and boil down the school knowledge to computer measurement named the Unified State Exam. And without any need the unified state exam was artificially adopted at school; during this exam knowledge is not checked, but correct answer is chosen. These attempts immediately brought to a disgraceful result.

In 2008 the exam was taken (and school was finished) by 1 097 690 people. 277 715 school-leavers got unsatisfactory marks in literature, and 257 957 school-leavers failed the exam in mathematics. And what about straight A-students? Only 989 students all over Russia got 100 points in different (but not all) subjects! This result was achieved by 620 people in the Russian language exam, by 62 people in mathematics exam, by 86 people in physics, by 42 people in chemistry, and no one achieved this result in foreign languages! The conclusion is easy: the contemporary education system in Russia has already created an illiterate generation, not to mention their upbringing, because nobody is responsible for it.

But forgive me a naïve question: why, what is the aim? Straight-A students, especially the ones who are expert in natural and exact sciences are taken from us by the West as it is. This is for one thing. Secondly, the result of the State Exam clearly shows that the semi-literate young people from Russia will be in demand, at best, in the service sphere. Thirdly, why did we begin to adjust to Western standards if we used to have the best school in the world?

Behind all these facts there is the main difficult question: where will these hundreds of thousands of half-baked experts come in handy in our country. Only in the spheres which are responsible for exchange and supervision. What will the state of moneychangers and guardians (sometimes no one knows what they guard) look like? Who can it compete with and in what fields can the competition be held?

And now it is high time we came back to the routine vector of child policy, which is quite unchildish.

At the beginning of 2009 the crisis was admitted and howls of powers-that-be began to be heard. Moscow mayor suddenly became concerned with the following problem: a lot of graduates from institutes of higher education of the capital are unemployed. But did the authorities care a little over five years ago, when these young people were being admitted to universities as students? It turned out that institutes of higher education admitted – admit and will admit! – as many students as they can (to paid departments). And there is no one in the

general chaos – both economic and political chaos – to plan the state – financed places. It appears that even here the authorities are far from a simple measure – to predict beforehand what will become of the growing children in the future foreseeable for them.

4. The school-leaving party is the first outcome for every person. There comes up a question for every school-leaver; this question being directed at the school-leaver himself: what can you do yourself?

At present weak knowledge, backwardness, lack of interest in studying, coming of sham aims to the foreground start to rule a person very early. To my mind, if the early school childhood of ordinary children can still be saved, starting from the fifth form we should not form the soul, but transform it, repair it thoroughly. At that it is widely recognized that major repairs are always more expensive than a new building.

Professionals from public health services have been speaking a lot and for a long time about the level of health of schoolchildren. When studying at school, children lose sight, become physically weaker. The cult of physical training and sport in its mass forms has left us and gave way to mass smoking, consuming low-alcohol drinks, addiction to inhalants and drug addiction.

Another suppressed woe is the premature sex. Under the influence of Western stereotypes school did not revolt against premature sex, but set out to prevent school pregnancy and to inform about contraception.

Adults also have repudiated everything – national traditions, Russian moral principles and Orthodox chastity! Parents and teachers have deceitfully abandoned honour and morals making way for – what? This concession bears not only ethical but also purely economic sense, which develops inner instability, understated responsibility to oneself and to the surrounding people. The minor society, family and school, tolerate the weakness in the work and opinions of a growing child too easily.

Physical intimacy – most often promiscuous and incident – has become ‘the given’ of the young part of the society. Even children are now involved in these tempting ‘works’, supposing that they are learning to be adults.

Here is a typical quotation from the State report ‘About the situation of children in the Russian Federation’ issued by the Ministry of Public Health Service and Social Development (2006): ‘Annually in Russia there die 15 thousand children under the age of 14, of them 50% die of unnatural reasons, and over 2 thousand become victims of murders and grievous bodily harm’.

More facts from the same report: ‘In 2004 on the territory of the Russian Federation there were registered over 50 thousand of crimes connected with violent acts against minors. 6 thousand children became victims of crimes connected with acts of sexual nature: 2091 children were raped, 2103 children were sexually assaulted, 1086 children were victims of sexual abuse’.

From the statement of President D.A. Medvedev: in 2008 126 thousand children became victims of violence, as a result 1914 children died, 2,330 children ‘were abused’ and ‘suffered from grievous bodily injury’. For 9 months of the year of 2008 784 cases of ‘sexual assaults’ against minors were committed, these being only the registered cases. Twelve and a half thousand children are missing and are being traced. It means that many of them will never be found.

‘Recently’, as some documents say, the number of ‘acts of sexual nature with a person under the age of 16’ has increased by 30.8 times (compared to what?), the number of acts of ‘sexual abuse’ has risen by 3.6 times, ‘manufacture and sale of materials with pornographic images of the under-aged’ has grown by 10 times (again, compared to what?). ‘The number

of elicited facts of minors’ involvement in prostitution’ has risen by 11.8 times. According to the Ministry of the Interior the amount of Internet resources with child pornography’ has increased by 25 times. It is the proper time to ask the Ministry of the Interior: probably, it would be better if you did not count it all, but simply eliminated it?

According to the estimates of independent experts, the number of such filthy resources has run up to over 300 million web-pages. At that, the average number of people visiting one site is 30 thousand people a month!

An acquaintance of mine, one of the luminaries in child neuropathology and a priest, Father Anatoly (Berestov) claims that premature sex is the evident destruction of human organic matter. A person, who has not been shaped properly, loses the integral perception of the world, sees only evil and waits only for it. Child sex leads to psychological or mental retardation. It is always connected with smoking, drinking, freedom of choice of words and expressions to use and, finally, to the primitive consciousness.

An organism, which has not been formed properly, whose body and spirit are weak, spends all of its energy on an intimate act. Its spiritual work and intellectual development decrease, reduce, or totally disappear. An important part of a human’s life, which started too early, before the natural maturity, exhausts one, prevents the adult energy from accumulating in one, is wasted and makes the person silly, makes the person more primitive.

You may ask whether I pay too much attention to this non-public factor? No! I can state and prove it: early sinfulness simplifies and emasculates vast human strata, which lose their historic and genetic inherent worth.

Thoughtless and heartless seekers of ‘bread and circuses’ are always only ‘servitors’, service staff. But they are not a sound nation which is full of energy and wish to continue the kind acts of their ancestors in the name of strengthening their Motherland!

Any mass moral anomaly is fraught with an economic ‘fig’. A great number of ‘birds flying low’ is unreliable by all parameters: high professionalism and worthy aim are unavailable to them, they are incapable of cementing family relations by themselves.

These processes are overcontrollable, and the awareness of this circumstance draws natural human protest. What is going on is certainly a conscious, though, it seems, not always controllable action. There comes a moment of incompatibility of false practice with the creative aims and the constructive sense of the state.

5. Still, let us come back to the children of the ‘extreme’, to the ones who have been brought to life, but what kind of life? What is the quality of Russian child world which amounts 27 million heads?

In our country there are 800 thousand orphaned children deprived of parental custody. Crossing the statistic line at the age of 17 the orphaned children just become orphaned adults and our social system exonerates itself from taking care of these people. The annual number of newly elicited orphans and children deprived of parents has been about 2 million for the previous 20 years.

In our country there are 700 thousand children – invalids. Most of them are left in families, and then the well-being of the family decreases dramatically. The transfer of a little invalid to an asylum remains practically ineffective.

In our country there is a powerful system of special (correction) boarding schools. In 2006 there were 1 342 such establishments (of them 232 were for orphaned children) and there lived 157 200 children including 24 500 orphaned children. But what despair is concealed in this hard, expensive and sad responsibility of the state! Children who are labelled with psychological retardation get a single judgment forever!

In these schools children are fed, given something to drink, dressed, they are haphazardly looked after and they are expected to be transferred either to some vocational school or to the next almshouse – now for adults.

Health (or ill health) of children is the most painful sign of health (or ill health) of the country as a whole.

But if we have 27 million children left, what does the statistics mean according to which in 2006 there were registered 37 million 388 thousand sick children aged from 0 to 14 with a disease diagnosed for the first time in their life, and 7 million 593 thousand teenagers aged from 15 to 17? This statistics means nothing else but child morbidity: one child can have more than one disease first diagnosed in one year.

And the diseases which are not first diagnosed ones? Children aged from 0 to 14 in 2005 – 36 million 837 thousand, and the ones aged from 15 to 17 – 7 million 730 thousand. In 2004 – 36 million 471 thousand (the first group), 7 million 802 thousand (the second group). In 2003 – 37 million 118 thousand (the first group), 7 million 802 thousand (the second group). In 2000 – 38 million 225 thousand (the first group), 6 million 621 thousand (the second group).

And despite the fact that almost every baby has quite a number of seemingly natural illnesses, the overall statistics is just destructive: the nation is ill from the very childhood!

In 2002 there were 2 million 100 thousand children under the age of 6 and 5 million 800 thousand children aged from 7 to 15 who lived in low-income families; there is no record of such children aged 16–17. The number of low-income families has increased recently.

The number of minors who had a police record in 2002 was 363 200: of them 81 500 children under the age of 13; 133 600 children aged 14–15; 171 300 children aged 16–17. The number of convicted juveniles was 88 334 people. By the way, these very same reckless children committed 2 526 305 crimes.

Homelessness is almost not spoken about today. It has acquired hidden, often camouflaged forms; the statistic results concerning this topic sound muffled, and the number of detentions of juveniles is 1–1.5 million a year.

But here is the figure which comments itself: in 2007 11 923 624 people turned to 3 358 establishments especially created for social service of family and children. 21 223

children did not go to school in 2007. In 2003 there were 40 579 children like this, though.

Coming back to the homeless I will quote a citation from the public statistics. In 2007 – 58 304 children, in 2006 – 64 361 children; in 2005 – 65 587 children were delivered to medical and preventive treatment facilities. The overwhelming majority was hospitalized. And so what comes next?

And then: the ones who recovered (but had violated the law) were sent to remand houses of the Ministry of Home Affairs – 321 (2007), 9 198 (2007) were sent to health care facilities for further treatment, 111 died. Among ‘others’ there were 48 714 children (2007), 52 679 (2006) and 53 423 (2005). They were discharged and dropped out of the sphere of the attention of state bodies.

All these circumstances give rise to instability of childhood – to its uncertainty of the nearest and distant future, especially after the introduction of fee-for-service medicine and higher education, and in the conditions of almost complete absence of technical secondary education – vocational schools and technical colleges which were wide-spread in the past.

6. So, if we add up all the groups of children who are in the state of instability, on a most conservative estimate we get a figure of about 10 million. Out of 27 million. Let it be an approximate and not exact figure. 10 million people who have just started to live and who have no secure hope for their own future!

What is it? Issues of policy? Certainly! Issues of education and upbringing – of everything that was fairly called enlightenment, this word including such an important notion as the purpose of a young life, its sense?

Issues of economy? What economy can be built if its workers are people without sense and knowledge, without a family, with a criminal inclination, or even just ill ones – passive consumers! Economy without people is unthinkable. It is weak without strong people. It is primitive without educated people.

But people come to adult life from childhood. And it is quite clear that childhood is an important part not only of economy, but of today’s practice and tomorrow’s history of the state, of all Russian civilization. The more you invest in childhood, the more you will get from it. Incomes or losses. Fame or infamy. Ups and downs. Investments in childhood are the fundamental condition for development.

**V. G. Loshak<sup>1</sup>**

## GETTING NO LOVE, YET TAKING NO OFFENCE EITHER

The country has fallen out of love with journalists, but still shares opinions spread by television and newspapers. Doesn’t this split prevent us from getting integrated into the world’s framework?

Nowadays Russia is going through a certain period of disappointment with journalism. The latest polls of ‘Obshchestvennoye Mneniye’ [Public Opinion] Foundation show that 47 per cent of the respondents trust journalists, while 40 per cent don’t. The same results refer to the appreciation of our work: 48 per cent of the respondents think that we are objective, while 45 per cent believe the contrary.

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We could refer to such reasons as commercialization of journalism and the Russian interpretation of the freedom of speech. But there are also far more complex processes taking place within the Russian society. Stuck in the transitional phase, it has plenty of paradoxes. Meanwhile, paying no attention to the crisis, Russia is very boisterously integrating into, if not the democratic freedoms club, but into the world consumers’ club. Visitors from Russia top the charts of purchase volume abroad.

The country met the crisis when it was wealthier and sovereign, but also extremely corrupted (the joke is circulating in Moscow that fighting the corruption is an attempt to disrupt the state power), because those who regulate the business, as a rule, are part of it.

But another paradox is yet more important: we hate ‘the yesterday’ and worship ‘the day before yesterday’! Even nowadays more than 70 per cent of the Russians regret the collapse of the USSR and are still living with the enemy

complex. But at the same time, it is these people who don't want to abandon the benefits granted by a liberal country, for instance, elections or trips abroad. Even the attitude to such a crucial element of self-identification as the national anthem is surprisingly inconsistent: 85 per cent of the respondents believe that a citizen must know the anthem lyrics, but at the same time 70 per cent of the same respondents don't know it.

The examples listed above demonstrate that the Russian public, unlike any other audience, being at conflict with media, precisely displays the general state of the power and the media. The joint survey (Allensbach Institute for Public Opinion Research and the German-Russian Forum) of the German concept of Russia as well as the Russian concept of Germany published at the 'Peterburgsky Dialog' [Petersburg Dialogue] forum has a most clear display of the situation. Despite the hard historical memories, Vladimir Putin's (the lover of Germany, who was destined to be connected with this country) coming into office in 2000 destroyed all the prejudices, from both sides, at that. 77 per cent of the Russians believe their own country to be great, and almost the same number of the Germans (62 per cent) feel likewise. Leaving Belorussia and China behind, Germany tops the list of the countries that Russia would like to cooperate with. To the question 'What are the relations between Russia and Germany like?' 78 per cent of the respondents in Russia and 55 per cent in Germany chose the 'very good' option.

People are very sensitive to their domestic informational policies. That is the reason why to the question about the tone of the media reports 56 per cent of the Russians responded that what they hear or read about Germany is mostly positive in nature. At the same time only 13 per cent of the Germans responded likewise about the information from and about Russia. 45 per cent of the respondents in Russia like the Germans, while only one out of four Germans feels the same about the Russians. While the Russians, in general, think Germany is a democracy, 73 per cent of the Germans don't take our society as a democracy.

The last question is a striking proof of how differently the notion of freedom is defined in Russia and Germany. Here are the four basic definitions according to the respondents. The freedom to express one's own opinion; the opportunity to travel wherever one wants; the possibility to appeal at the court of law; the opportunity to live wherever one wants scored even among the German respondents. The respondents in Russia believe that sufficient protection by the state in case of any troubles; the opportunity to buy whatever one wants; equal opportunities in life and job; a free occupational choice are the basic things... That's interesting that an overwhelming majority of our fellow countrymen believe that it would be better if the society offered less freedom, but more justice. In general, it is a dream of more than a half of the Germans to enjoy their life, and of only of a quarter of the Russians, whose priorities in life are the family values and material welfare.

And finally, perhaps the most vivid example of how the public opinion reflects the politics of the authorities is the response to the question about the foe-countries. While the Germans have been more or less definite (26 per cent) about Iran only, our fellow countrymen have shown once again that they are living with the 'fortress-under-siege' feeling. More than a half of the respondents consider Georgia, the USA and the Ukraine to be the foes. But isn't that what they hear on TV each day?

Rejection of the change, reconciliation with what we are and, which is important, with the Soviet past is an alarming yet evident feature of our contemporary society. They say: 'The people became different under the Soviet rule and there is no changing that.'

At the same time, isolationism in the country is increasing. There is an assertion: 'Russia has its own way' or 'Russia has always had foes, and nowadays nobody wishes us well either.' In fact, part of the power-holding elite provokes isolationism. It is believed by some that this is quite possible in the country that has long become a part of the world order. That this is possible in the country with the Internet, with the loans of \$500 billion from the western countries and with the membership in all prestigious international institutes, from the Security Council to the OSCE.

But one cannot be ignore other (only a few) reasons of such an attitude. They are directly connected with the double standards that were used by the western world to strike Russia, young and eager to cooperate. In the USA there is, at least de jure, the still working Jackson-Vanik amendment versus Russia that was adopted 30 years ago with regard to the USSR as a sanction against the restrictions on those Jews who wished to emigrate. And the same time, Russia and Israel have enacted a visa-free regime, which was the latter's initiative. Who are the United States supporting like that? Only incurable Russian anti-Americanists, who are quite numerous and who have an access to TV and newspaper pages.

There are some difficult painful questions for Russia that Europe underestimates. For example, showing indifference at the state support of the Fascists in some Baltic countries or the demolition of the monuments to the soviet soldiers who were killed in the war...

There is no doubt that Russia deserves criticism. And the objective criticism of the West traditionally correlates our authorities so that they wouldn't respond to that criticism. But sometimes there is an impression that any critic who is a Kremlin opponent automatically becomes a supporter of the West. Take, for example, Saakashvili, Georgia's leader. If this Europe's pet is a democrat and what he is implementing is democracy, then it must be a super-democracy that Russia is implementing.

I am a co-chairman of Russo-Polish roundtable on independent information exchange. Its last sitting in Warsaw looked like a meeting of a clandestine organization. No media, no TV cameras, no press conferences! In the present-day Poland a single hint at the liking for Russia is enough to ruin a career or a life. The EU seems to turn a blind eye to the massive lustration in that country, a member of the Union.

Russia, although some may feel different about it, doesn't have a return path from democracy. The experience of the past few years shows that while the turn to democracy is possible at any level of development, the reverse process is only possible in poor or extremely poor countries. The per capita rate of the gross domestic product after which a democracy consolidates is \$10 500. No single example can be found in history when any country of such or a higher income turned to a dictatorship! Russia has broken through that barrier thanks to the rise of energy sources prices. The only question that remains is where to and to what extent we are going to roll back after the crisis. At this historically trying moment it becomes clear what we are implementing and how we are doing that. It is at this moment when a hybrid of a democracy and an authoritarian power are mentioned. The present history turn has given a new rise to a well-known Russian problem: can paternalism and democracy, freedom and justice be all in one in the policy of the state, or should the advocates of these values be determined foes?

They say, democracy in Russia is spreading at the speed of 100 kilometres per year if you start from Moscow Central Telegraph Office. It basically means that it still has a long way to go.

V. K. Mamontov<sup>1</sup>

## GLOBALIZATION AND MASS MEDIA

Dear participants of the Likhachov Conference,  
Dear guests,  
Dear organizers of this significant and highly necessary event,

The topic of the report that I would like to make is 'Globalization and mass media'. It is clear that one cannot survive without the other. What is globalization in its essence? The speed-up of processing, spread and getting information all over the world – this is the main thing. All the rest are only technological aspects of this speed-up. Today mass media, in fact, including the Internet are the main channels of disseminating knowledge, they form beliefs and views. Do they do it honestly?

Globalization is considered to be an extremely useful thing, as it advances progress. However, there is a big question: what should be seen as progress? What do we advance? Technological developments, improvements, new medicines, new metals, nanotechnologies? Certainly, all these are important and necessary.

But there is still a question: has the human being become happier? Has the human being become freer? And finally, has the human being become better as a result of progress?

Recently globalization has started to move from purely material things, from progress in the sphere of technology, industry, communication, science, etc towards such spheres of human consciousness which had not been affected by globalization before. I mean the spread of 'advanced doctrines' which state what a person should be like, how a person should react to what is going on in the surrounding world and how a person should respond to the challenges of the changing world. And the main thing is that globalization presupposes setting certain important standards in the entire area of civilized world; lapse from these standards strikes a person, or even peoples and countries out of the civilized society. And on the contrary: recognition of those standards, at least verbally, allows the most retarded regimes and not well-educated people to be referred to the integrated area of the civilized world.

We witness all these events. We do not have to look far for examples. The events which have been taking place in Georgia in fact are beyond not only the civilized world but also beyond the common sense. For a long time in this post-Soviet republic there was in fact a civil war. In turns there came to power either old machine-politicians who based on the remains of their Soviet influence, rulers, or blatant criminals. And finally there appeared an absolutely grotesque figure of the current president.

It becomes clear immediately that, being desperately persistent, this quite bright representative of the diversified family of American marionettes will bring a number of woes to Georgia. And certainly, he will bring none the fewer woes than the years of ruling of Shevardnadze, Gamsakhurdia did...

How recklessly he was destroying what used to be called cultural affiliations with Russia! How ardently he was parting brass and rags not only with the Soviet past, but also with everything that had connected Georgia and Russia in much more distant past! How easily he was going for lies, forgery and falsifications in this movement.

On the one hand, he uses universal methods – the populist ones. On the other hand, he rests upon the vocabulary

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attributed to a democratic ruler of a unified Western mode. It is enough to remember the 'Blitzkrieg' on the 8th of August which was definitely barbaric. On the other hand, it had been properly prepared in terms of informational aspect. The progress of such a country as Georgia along the way of democracy is surprisingly combined with their advance to the Roksky Tunnel. This progress is combined with the attempts, treacherously using military attacks, to win back what once was lost because of the short-sighted policy of the previous Georgian authorities. These previous authorities were not able to take into consideration the interests of national minorities of Georgia; this was what Georgia itself wanted to get from Russia and the World community some time before.

You might ask: so, what do mass media and globalization have to do with it? There you are.

First, the Georgian side of the conflict quite steadily looked to be right: protecting democracy, protecting the integrity of the country. And that very same world community supported it. But after some time the Georgian government committed a more serious crime from the point of view of democracy advance: a peaceful demonstration of the opposition was dispersed. It was dispersed quite sternly: with the use of water cannons, special riot police, special police methods. And again we did not hear any words of blame said by those whose rank obliged them to say such words. By those who are advancing globalization in the sphere of spirit and globalization in the sphere of mass conscience.

Such misses check the genuineness or insincerity of attractive slogans. As soon as the interests of the verbally expressed democratization come into clash with the state interests of the USA, with the state interests of Europe, of the European Union, they, without rejecting the democratic vocabulary but, on the contrary, under its protection, manage to support most anti-democratic regimes. And they do not face any repulse. Hypocrisy and insincerity are easily swallowed by the public.

How do they manage to do it?

Not long ago at a conference in which journalists, scientists, specialists in social sciences took place I happened to hear a report of a young scientist who analyzed the state of affairs in the sphere of mass media. It dealt with the coverage of international events. His conclusion was easy and it did not exceed the limits of globalization. Two or three international companies in fact have monopolized the coverage of these or those events in one light or another for the whole world. Despite the fact that the world seems to be getting wealthier (to tell the truth the conference took place before the crisis) nobody wants to spend money on gathering information through various sources – through the system of personal correspondents, etc. And many editions live on what is given to them by a restricted number of information agencies, and the conclusions are also calculated. In fact, such a thing as an independent journalist's thinking is disappearing and this place is being occupied by clichés worked out by somebody, which can easily be published. It is similar to how the information agencies spread different schemes, diagrams concerning everything – from a new design of a flat to a plane crash. It is usually well drawn, it has been thought over and the edition just has to take a picture and show it. There are usually some numerical calculations and some statistics in them. Well, and everybody agrees with such an approach.

But when it comes to more sophisticated things politically, economically and socially than a flat design or even a plane crash these stereotyped estimates lead us far away from the truth for a long time.



The scientist cited some surprising compilations. He took several Western newspapers which covered one and the same event. Even when those newspapers had different political preferences in a number of approaches there was a feeling of some military uniformity. These or those events were outlined with the help of literally the same words, and those events were estimated similarly.

There is nothing surprising in it, because the coverage of those events was not based on their own investigation but on some informational materials and comments bought from the biggest monopolists of the media market.

What does it finally lead to? What is the main danger of it? The danger is that from the very beginning we more and more rarely get what we need most of all – an objective picture of this or that event. In fact, we do not get the truth of this event.

We in *Izvestiya* have analyzed several important international events – and the gradual transformation of what was going on there at the time, from plus to minus, from pros to cons.

Here are some examples. I will get back to Georgia again. The first days. 08.08.2008. In fact all mass media claim that the military actions in Georgia have been started by Russia, and Saakashvili is the victim of this aggression. Tiny Georgia has become victim of Russia's aggression. Not having true reports and true pictures from Tskhinval for a long time, mass media in America, in the West and in Europe continue to spread around one version: Russia has attacked Georgia. It is said that Russia has lost the information war, that Russia does not belong to the 21st century, that Russia behaves as conquerors of the 19th century did, that Russia too roughly understands its state interests, that it continues to carry out its imperialist policy and so on... Finally, Russia has reduced Georgia to tatters by bombing, though they show the same two houses from different points and angles.

For a long time all this fraud was the only picture the world community had concerning the Georgia–South Ossetia conflict. And this picture is quite difficult to shake.

However, as time passed there appeared some footage taken in Tskhinval, there appeared articles written by journalists who were in Tskhinval. I would like to remark that the only journalist who reported live from Tskhinval was Yuri Snegiryov, a correspondent of *Izvestiya*. Owing to him and other journalists the information blockade was raised. Indeed, in the world there is honest attitude to work and honest journalism, and today the picture of what was going on Georgia is different. Now many people know that the military actions were started by Saakashvili, but not by Russia.

Many people understand that it was not Saakashvili who lost Abkhazia, but the previous generation of Georgian rulers. Many people also understand that we cannot quickly make up the torn blanket. We can say now that it has broken its way. But I am convinced: in the mass consciousness there is the imprinting of the first days, of the triumph of 'globalization of falseness': Russia is an aggressor. It is to blame for Georgia's woes.

I am not sure that these are the wonderful results of globalization which we have been waiting for.

The same scheme worked well with Iraq. If you remember we were assured that in Iraq there are weapons of mass destruction. Moreover, high-ranking American leaders maintained that all this operation was to a great extent brought about by the fact that the bloody regime of Saddam Hussein threatened the world civilization. They stated with all responsibility: the secret service knows there are weapons, the danger is threatening. As a result the very same people who claimed it with all responsibility now maintain: we were deceived, there was no weaponry. And in Iraq the government has been changed (by the way, legitimate government though unattractive), there is a full-scale war. And the goals which were set by Americans for themselves have been achieved – in the way they understood them at the time. Certainly, there have appeared other problems. But it is a different story.

The same approach accompanied the events in Yugoslavia where along with shouts about ethnic purges there took place bombing of Yugoslavia, dismemberment of the country, there was created a gangster drug-enclave the potential danger of which is just great. And the fact that this enclave will indirectly play its sinister role is realized by many people. But even if the one-sided approach to the coverage of the 'ethnic purges' is recognized, mass consciousness will for a long time shift the blame only onto the Serbs. And the false numbers of the dead are even now thoughtlessly repeated in mass media – who wants to admit their mistakes? To admit that you were manipulated? It is easier to 'persist in heresy'.

I can conclude: behind many key events of the world politics there are: (a) lies; (b) global technologies of its advancement to mass consciousness.

I am not happy about such globalization. I do not understand whether it is globalization or cynicism. Fortunately, lately the authors of such 'globalization' have withdrawn from business, and new leaders are proclaiming the restart of international relations. We will see what these statements will turn out to be.

L. V. Matveyeva<sup>1</sup>

## SPLIT INFORMATION PHENOMENON IN MASS MEDIA AND ITS IMPACT ON INFORMATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SECURITY FRONTIERS

Information society is a stage of human civilization development. It followed industrial and post-industrial epochs. The new stage postulates new values that differ from traditional ones; it declares other spheres for human activities, novel principles of management by means of information

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systems; it provides available access to information databases to the majority of population; it imperatives new skills. A novel space for people communication evolves, it is information space arranged by mass media, which results in efficient means of cross-influence on people's behaviour and consciousness. Market economy and advanced information technologies facilitate involving modern achievements of the humanities in the process of managing human resources on economical, social and political levels. It especially concerns psychology as a scientific means of influencing people.

Media systems institutions led to a new type of power, 'writercrats', which means those who make information products. A man's personal experience in modern life provides

insignificant part of knowledge about the world, compared to the amount of information received by texts and information products produced by others. As many researchers state, 'writercrats become bodies of social perception, keepers of society common memory'. According to the formula of power functioning, 'there is a possibility for one man or a group of people to implement their own will in a group activity even to the detriment of other people participating in the activity'. [2] That's why they use this possibility to re-arrange social 'privileges' and various resources: financial, material, spiritual, informational etc. Subjects of media communications tend to use their authoritative resource in individual or corporation favour, thus forming information elite, that presents itself to the society via all possible information means. Phenomena like 'chief editor', publisher, head of media holding, celebrity, film star, showman appear. Spontaneous mop turns into spectators or audience, i.e. informal group with common information interests, while its leader turns from an orator into public figure, actor, teacher, political TV leader, i.e. informal leader of interest. For example, A. K. Pushkov states that TV is a powerful instrument that the corrupt may turn into a mass information destruction weapon. 'Meanwhile oscillations of this pendulum are large: sometimes financial elite uses TV as a political cudgel, sometimes government restricts TV activities...' [13] According to J. Habermas and F. Webster, information society development in its technological, economical, social, spatial and cultural dimensions leads to enlarging spheres of watch-guarding and control, as well as to enhancing the level of regulating everyday life, and so, to civil society exhausting. Mass media evolution is one of the most important elements of this process. In the 20th century mass media turned into economical monopolies, that altered their main function of providing the masses with accurate information, they turned into a channel to proclaim interests of capitalists and to make public opinion in favour of authority elite. J. Habermas also points at significant society modification resulted from 're-feudalising' some spheres of life, namely public life, when mass media and government administration are abused by large monopolies to lobby corporation interests. In such a case freedom of information becomes a myth. [16, 20] However, in the '60s of the 20th century P. Lazarsfeld and R. Merton [23] formulated the principle of mass media and business correlation: production and delivery of mass media results is sponsored by business, which means, disregard any good intentions: he, who pays, manages.

According to A. Bell, new social lifestyle is based on telecommunicative 'intellectual technologies' that become the main instrument in systemic problem analysis in the society and the means of decision-making. Involving computer technologies in telecommunicative systems erodes differences between handling information and communication. Knowledge and information become strategic resources; it gives chances to abuse 'information control, from concealing information to its illegal publishing' [19].

A fundamental feature of mass media operating is its well-directed technology of information-making, when an information message maker is deprived of property right on means of producing information, i.e. in media systems an information maker is a hired labourer, media owner use him as a mediator in producing and delivering information from the group of people with power resources to the power target-group of common people, the audience. 'Split communication' phenomenon in mass media is as follows: interests, demands and values of media owners, media makers and the audience do not coincide, quite often they contradict each other, which results in psychological barriers in social communication.

Since 1992 the international project 'Media Focus' has been in progress in Russia. Its goal is regular (wave) analysis of TV audience, by means of measuring TV addictions

and communication orientation with a specially designed technique. In Russia this survey was conducted in Moscow and St. Petersburg. [14]

Nowadays the top of rating lists belong to Gallup Media company, that uses high-tech means to measure the audience. The target of measurement is information support of advertisement business. 1200 households take part in Russian panel. Such measurements resulted in a critical shift of programmes policy for the majority of TV channels. For example, the results obtained by O.I. Karpukhin and E.F. Makevich [6] show: this shift follows the main blocks of programme typology after S. Head. S. Head [21] divided communicational preferences, interests and expectations of modern audience into 6 functional categories: information, education, culture, religion, entertainment, commercial. It is worth noting that the typology doesn't depend on the audience life-style, work, social and demographic factors. The curves of programme typology components were measured on 'Pervy Kanal' [Channel One] in September 1986 and on 'ORT' channel in September 1996 during a week.

Table 1 (taken from [6])

Country	Programme typology					
	1 informa- tion	2 education	3 culture	4 religion	5 entertain- ment	6 commer- cial
USSR (1986)	45.0	20.5	30.5	0	4.0	0
Russia (1996)	28.0	7.0	5.0	4.0	38.0	18.0

After the comparative analysis of results, the researchers state dramatic change of social role of mass media in Russian society.

Research I conducted together with T. N. Zemlyanskikh in 2005 in her graduation paper showed the curve of publicist-political and entertainment programmes share in Russian state broadcasting since 1991 to 2004. For example, publicist-political programmes share was 49%, and entertainment programmes share was 6% in 1991, but in 1994 the shares of both genres was about 20%. In 1996 during presidential elections the share of entertainment programmes was 10%, while publicist-political 35%. However, since 2000 the share of entertainment programmes has kept growing (2004, 25%), and the share of publicist-political programmes has steadily been declining (2004, 4%). It can be interpreted as TV rejecting its main function: information, socialising, involving members of society into political context of the state, only entertaining function dominates.

Information space globalisation and technical advancement in mass media (means of mass communication) turns TV and Internet into a powerful factor to influence perception and world view of a single person as well as of political and economical groups. Mass media can be described as an enormous ethnic and cultural crossroad, where an informational 'Tower of Babel' is being erected, where information wars are conducted and information terrorism scenarios are put into life. The main target of this powerful information intrusion is the system of individual and group consciousness of human society.

The key task of psychology in the field of information security is scientific reflection on mental information interactions that involve mass media. First of all, I'd like to focus on several features typical for humanity living in the informational 'global village' (after M. McLuhan).

1. Development of mass communication means resulted in lack of useful information, compared to information noise. According to G. G. Diligensky, 'abundance of information can confuse people, enhance lack of accurate and explanatory information. 'Don't believe anything' is a typical reaction of mass consciousness on 'the lack from abundance'. It is

a casual lack (lack of information about cause-and-effect links), typical for public and political perception rather than lack of facts. [5]

2. Wide-spread multimedia means of communication modified all spheres of social life (public, political, information impact, interpersonal relations, etc.), social life turned into a staged spectacle, directed both in contents and in time-and-space orientation; i.e. another dimension in people's life appeared: performance, it manifests itself in mixing game and work activities. Huizinga views it as a universal feature of modern culture, so-called 'puerilism' (childishness). According to Huizinga, this phenomenon displays itself in banal entertainment demand, inclination to sensation, mass spectacles, in juvenile, teen-age behaviour. It can be detected in traditions, habits and modern forms of spiritual communications [18]. News on TV are turning into a show, real life became an object of voyeurism, for example, TV project 'Real TV' [15]

One of the key people interactions is game, 'fun played by rules, sometimes with stock of items. To play a game is to amuse, entertain oneself, frolic, make jokes, spend time in merriment, do something for fun, escape boredom, fill in recreation time, fool around, fuss, act or stage something'. [4] It is worth noting that people take part in a game voluntary. Unaffected and spontaneous emotions, sincerity, low level of distress and self-control, ability to live 'here and now' help to participate in a game. We can suppose that playing a game is targeted at correlating orientations, learning to control and influence, feeling and expressing various emotions, forming norms of conduct.

According to M. Levi [24], TV creates new forms of social interaction and relations of 'intimacy and distance', as spectators communicate face-to-face with the other party in TV. He introduces the concept of 'para-social' interaction, when a spectator reacts on an image or conduct of a person on the screen, as if the latter were a member of the group watching TV.

3. Dominance of indirect ways of people interaction resulted in the fact that visual communication; codes and images became the leading means of spreading information. So the image of a political leader changed too, his success depends now on how TV-genic he is, a new type of hero appeared: showman and a new type of a celebrity: TV star. Charisma transforms into image, and beauty transforms into striking appearance.

4. Technical advancement sequel of means for producing, spreading and transforming information messages lead to communicative systems commercialising. Where an information maker is a hired labourer. The property right on information product belongs to the owner of media holding. So the owner of telecommunication systems is in full control over contents, plot and goals of information message.

Impact mechanisms of human consciousness phenomena in communication process were investigated in details by L. S. Vygotsky and A. N. Leontiev. The declared that individual psychic functions development and personal motivation structure development are performed by means of various forms of activities and communication with the environment, including people, objects and personal self: '...any function of child cultural development exhibits itself twice, in two spheres, first in social then in psychological one; first as inter-psychic category between people, then as intra-psychic one, inward a child. It means that communication is not only a medium, background for growing individual consciousness, but its contents as well'. [3]

TV can be treated as a tool to form the world picture and to master personal living space. According to P.A. Florensky, tools enlarge the space of activities by adding to person's body [17]. A.N. Leontiev in his theory of forming the world

picture states 5 objective dimensions: 3 spatial, a time one (i.e. movement) and a subjective one, or quasi-dimension, 'semantic field'. A person can be relatively independent on information about spatial features of environment, that is he can fix them and manipulate them; while forming the world picture in time dimension faces obstacles, as images constantly alter. The invention of photography, cinema and TV that can fix images in time helps to overcome the barrier of dependence in time dimension of the world picture. A person gets a chance to use fixed perceptive impressions that reproduce certain events and are based on inter-modal signals (sight, hearing, tactile; after M. McLuhan) in order to enhance presentativeness of subjective world picture. However, M. McLuhan dramatically simplified the issue, considering that the key effects of mass communication means are resulted from communication form rather than contents. The fifth dimension of the world picture, termed by A.N. Leontiev as a 'dimension of inter-system links in objective world', can be correlated with contents of TV communication, that is defined as a set of subjective ideas, interpersonal relations, semantic schemes and role interactions of communication participants. Thus, TV can be treated as exteriorisation of a certain 'functional body' for personal individual consciousness, that enables to broaden personal abilities in mass consciousness interaction while forming the world picture. [7]

Communicative approach presents mass communication phenomenon in the following way. Pressing a TV button, a person widens the frames of his usual dwelling and starts his interaction with artificially created environment. The spectator not only perceives information, but feels compassion and sympathy with heroes and identifies himself with them. The spectator rejects or absorbs emotional climate of the event on the screen; approves or denies them; starts inward arguments with certain opinions, ideas, thoughts; forms his attitude towards showmen, commentators, as if they were partners in real communication; expects emotional warmth and respect from them; wants them to resemble himself or his icon or somebody he trusts. So, a spectator lives, as it were, a part of his life in this virtual environment. The level of getting involved into virtual communication depends on two factors: to what extent the environment-makers consider and code all aspects of communication process, and to what extent spectators are eager to participate in this process and decode all semantic aspects of TV message.

Basic structural units of analysis are:

- behaviour of communication partners;
- significance of behaviour for each partner;
- affective evaluation of communication in progress.

In this case real contents of TV message serve as a reason for arranging or conducting the message.

The scheme of structural communication process in TV communication can be presented as a 3-level system of relations, each preceding one inside a subsequent one, like a Russian toy-doll. [9]

For example, the first level of interaction comprises: on the one hand, social customer; his ideas about the partner of communication (in our case, about public opinion on various issues); his views on how the partner of communication might change during interaction (target of interaction); sets of means to achieve the required changes (TV editors work on making TV products); on the other hand, it includes an objective need of spectators to receive certain information that is available to obtain by interacting with TV; treating TV as a source of such information; potential eagerness to changes pre-planned beforehand in interaction process (namely, communicative experience of the audience).

The second level of interaction includes: on the one hand, the process of re-targeting interaction performed by a creative team making a programme; image or icon of the spectator

TV-message is targeted for; choosing means and forms to make TV-message; prognosticating interaction effect; on the other hand, it involves social and psychological factors that provide indirect perception of TV information; group norms, values, professional and demographic features of the audience; image of communicators team, i.e. TV message makers and their intentions in communication process; relations of trust ~ distrust, competence ~ incompetence for communication partners. It should be pointed out that all possible types of communication are used here:

Classification by means of communication:

- image, or non-verbal one (progressing mostly in the right cerebral hemisphere);
- verbal one (progressing in the left cerebral hemisphere) using arguments, logical schemes and verbal dialogue.

Classification by levels:

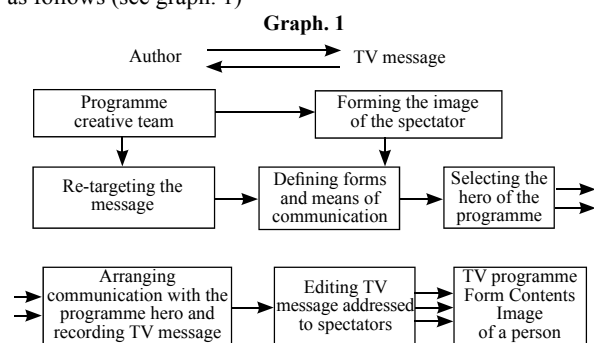
- conscious mechanisms of communication process;
- non-conscious mechanism, of regulating emotional context of communication.

Classification by forms:

- ritual communication;
- communicative activities (exchange of information and emotions);
- game;
- dynamics of psychological intimacy;
- manipulative activities.

The third level of interaction comprises: on the one hand, process of interpersonal communication: TV message director of editor with the hero or participants of the programme; their personal features and communicative style of activities; on the other hand, spectators' perception and understanding the goal and contents of the programme, type and contents of communication the guests of the programme, attitude towards the programme makers.

In their functions these levels are separated in time, in psychological analysis they explicate themselves in two different forms: the first form of their existence is the process of making TV message as a medium to communicate with spectators, the second is the process of spectators' perceiving TV message as a result of communicating with the medium. In the first point communicative situation is carried on, in the second this situation is lived through, adopted and analysed. The structure of the process mentioned above can be presented as follows (see graph. 1)



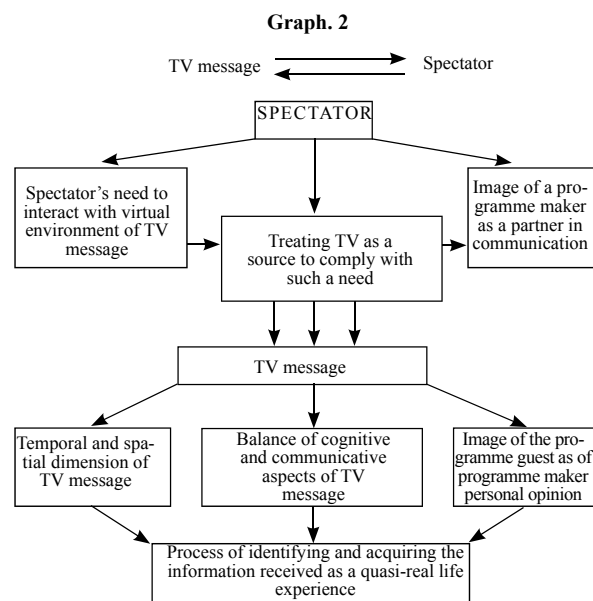
Special features of TV message on this stage are:

creative team work while making the programme. The spectator is addressed by a group-partner of communication. However, the team leader is the director of the programme and it is his personal concept concerning the goal of the message and expected image of spectators that define the style of the message.

Public process of interaction between makers and guests of the programme. Even if during shooting the programme only the making crew members are present, still the image of the expected multi-personal spectator is a real partner of such interaction;

Individual and personal features of TV message participants turn into the means of spreading information that serves to interpret content aspects of the programme;

The type of interaction between the director and guests of the programme, their attitude towards the plot of the message defines communicative aspect of TV message and manifests itself in selecting means and forms of impact in TV communication structure. Impact of informational message on the spectator can be shown as follows in graph. 2



Within the frames of communicative approach I carried on a comparative analysis of categorial structure for perceiving various types of TV messages with a number of spectators groups; as a result, common and differentiative features of their subjective semantics were defined. It was shown that communicative interaction efficiency depends on the category system balance, categories that are exploited to make the image of 'real' and 'ideal' TV message with interaction partners. Basic categories re cognitive analysis of information; emotional aspect and communicative system of symbols for both contents and forms of the TV message; the level of TV spectators involvement in communication determines peculiarities of categorial structure for various TV programmes images.

Studying perception of advertising TV messages made in various cultural traditions (American, Japanese, English, Russian) unveiled the following perception categories: psychological comfort; cultural level, speech discourse; correlation to legal norms, dynamic and real images of heroes.

It was proven that popularity phenomenon in TV communication manifests itself as follows: a popular TV showman is included in the group of 'significant people' by the members of the audience, while non-popular one is treated as a 'business partner'. Popularity effect of a TV programme and a person of a screen means that common space of emotional and cognitive communication evolves for both programme-makers and spectators. This space almost annihilates the indirect element of mass media [9, 11].

All the above-said leads to eroding normatives of human community in information society; a person starts to seek for stable basis categories for self-identification; such categories can be found in gender aspects, ethnic and cultural sphere and in spiritual life, namely in religion. That's why basic categories for cross-cultural information space analysis are ethnic stereotypes and ethnic world picture which can be characterised by rituals, way of perceiving time and space,

system of values and relations between an individual and society. Namely, Hofstede detects 4 levels of analysis for such relations: authority distance level; ways of avoiding indefiniteness; individualism index; masculine ~ feminine level. [22]

Solving the challenge of informational and psychological security should, first and foremost, start with defining and forming the concept of psychological frontiers of information security. The most difficult thing in this case appears to be the fact that the frontier is stretched in mental space of subjective reality, where the majority of norms has convention character or a taboo-mode (social restricts on individual or group conduct in socio). That's why the frontiers of informational security are bound to have psychological and ethical character in its context, and legal character in its form. For instance, ways of expressing feelings, mode of mentality, type of volition conduct regulation, peculiarities of verbal and non-verbal communication are vulnerable elements for informational aggression of an alien culture or alien world perception.

In regard to the stated above, several types of psychological security frontiers in information space can be determined: biological level: impact on a spectator is performed by varying technologies of broadcasting audio- and video information via technical means of communication; psycho-physiological level: impact can be performed by modifying time and spatial characteristics of complex signals; psychological level: impact is performed by demonstrating certain forms of individual conduct, interpersonal relations and mode of presenting all forms of human conduct; social level: impact can be performed by encouraging various forms of group conduct, relations of the majority and minority, leader and the whole group; spiritual level: impact can be performed by substituting basic values (good ~ evil; duties = taboo, norm ~ pathology) and modifying scenario basis of mythological level in creating world picture of a person.

At present we can witness eroding normative basis values and categories of individual and group world picture in modern media space on all main media channels. Radio has become a medium for speech discourse that often violates cultural and ethical norms of speech, meanwhile the choice of music tracks follows the taste of a target listener who doesn't know what other entertainments to have. Internet with its information sites provides resources for ICQ, computer games of the contents far from educational, finally, for sites to meet psychic pathological needs of some people. TV programmes of educational character are called 'talk shows', that is talk as a fun, spectacle. Entertaining programmes, in their turn, follow an international scenario, where relations and activities of heroes are defined by a plot of the game, and the game is designed to break basic norms of human community. For example, the programme 'Slaboje zveno' (Weak Chain-Section) ruins social hierarchy by promoting situations when a weaker person (elderly, not witty, not able and so on) can be driven out of the group of more successful and stronger people. Programmes of 'Real TV show' dramatically alter basic personal category 'intimate ~ public'; the programme 'O, schastlivchik' (Lucky You) and such like make us slaves of cupidity, promote desire to gain money without labour, set our hopes for luck; the programmes 'Okna' (Windows), 'Bolshaya Stirka' (Great Washing Day), 'Moya Semya' (My Family) offer scenarios of anti-hero, where hero-rescuer and hero-breaker are balanced on subjective values. Programmes about magic bring us back to pre-historic states of collective mentality, when human nature was perverse by communicating with fallen ghosts, for which the humanity had been punished with the Deluge.

Passion to view vicious side of personality has become one of priority orientations in information programmes, the scenes of blood, violence, aggression, pathology in biological, psychic

and social norms are regular subjects of news programmes on many channels. It seems, that information about the world server as a sinister 'background' for the 'figure' represented by advertisement, whose aim is to compensate a person for his imperfection of his nature and his living environment. In this case mass media people and trans-national corporations play the role of prophets and saviours.

The final stage of TV spectacle development is represented by the programmes 'Ya gotov na vse' (I'm ready to do everything) by D. Dibrov; 'Rozygrysh' (Playing Tricks), new programmes by A. Abdulov and N. Fomenko. The contents of such programmes are sufferings and tortures that a participant agrees to experience to achieve certain goals. But the problem is not in the people who are willing to take part in such programmes because of money, the problem is in those members of refine cultural elite of the Russian society who create and promote such projects on TV. It seems that the Rubicon of informational and psychological security has been crossed.

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V. I. Matvienko<sup>1</sup>

## DIALOGUE OF CULTURES AND PARTNERSHIP OF CIVILIZATIONS

The term 'cultural capital city' has always been actual for St. Petersburg during its over three-hundred-year-old history. Fame of the Russian Empire Capital was created not by rulers and politicians alone, but also by scientists, artists, and representatives of creative professions belonging to different strata of the urban society as well as to the peasantry. In St. Petersburg, such a concentration of masters and talents, of artistic schools appeared, such intensity of creative striving occurred that could only be envied by other Russian cities and many countries in the world. Neither is it unimportant that in St. Petersburg talented Russian people and skilled craftsmen-representatives of many peoples of Russia worked together with the best Italian, French, German, Dutch, Swedish, British architects, artists, composers, choreographers, actors, physicians, jewellers, modellers, etc.

The today St. Petersburg is a city with rich historical heritage; a city-custodian of the highest world level masterpieces, a city impregnated and filled up with various traditions and customs — both folk and professional those. Our time St. Petersburg is a city where nearly five million people live, and these people belong to different generations, have different nationalities, adhere to different religious views, different world views and cultural preferences. Everyday in our city scores and sometimes hundreds thousand of guests arrive from all over Russia, from near and far-away foreign countries, and this is also a sign of St. Petersburg multicultural identity, of a city — crossroad of civilizations.

St. Petersburg was built with work-hands' labour that had arrived here from different regions of Russia; its economy, public and cultural life was created by citizens' labour that kept different ethnic traditions. During the Great Patriotic War resistance of the residents of blockaded Leningrad was part of the Victory over the fascist aggression. Today, St. Petersburg is developing and is being renewed, and in this process native residents of the city as well as the labour migrants are cooperating using the experience of historical 'St. Pete's' tolerance. In many regions of Russia, a tradition exists to distinguish St. Petersburg residents by their specific cultural features, and the St. Petersburg style of communication is cited as an example of particular politeness in relations.

The sphere of St. Petersburg culture provides tremendous and often quite unique possibilities for dialogue of cultures. The expositions and various exhibition activities of the Hermitage, Russian Museum, our numerous city museums, international festivals ('The White-Night Stars', 'The Art Square', 'The Baltic House') attract to our city world-famous professionals as well as simple lovers of art, while the average residents of the city feel themselves people of the world.

Proceeding from the results obtained in their work by scientists of different profiles, one can say that St. Petersburg plays a great historical role of the contact junction for a great number of ethnic cultures, for practically all world religions, being a zone of civilization interaction and one of the main centres of occurrence of the specific civilization unity that has occurred in the Eurasian area and which we call the Russian civilization.

By the boundary of 1st–2nd thousand A.D. regarded as the time of beginning of existence of the majority of peoples in contemporary Europe, in the point of Neva river source, a multinational artisan and trade city existed named

Aldeigborg in the Northern Europe and known in Russian history as 'Staraya Ladoga' ('Old Ladoga'). In this city, the Slavs, representatives of local Finnish-language tribes, retinues of Varangian warriors had coexisted. The city had appeared at the intersection of Volga and Dnieper paths to the Northern Europe, Volga region, Western Asia. Along these paths in the Middle Age, travellers could reach British Isles as well as powerful Byzantium and Arabian caliphate. By the evidence of Old Russian chronicles 'The tale of transient years' confirmed by modern archaeological studies, 'Staraya Ladoga' had been destined to become a starting point of the Russian State development. In many aspects 'Staraya Ladoga' could be regarded as a form of city preceding appearance of St. Petersburg. Archaeological data give us reason to say that yet quite early the Neva-river banks had been an area of interaction among different groups of ancient population.

In the 13th century, the joint resistance of prince's armed forces and local multilingual population warded off the knights' aggression directed to the North-West of the Old Russian State and threatening its political and religious independence. It is right here that the star of Alexander Nevsky rose; he became distinguished as a wise politician in his relations with the Mongolian rulers, thus having started the transition to the birth of the Moscow State from the Old Russia broken by feudal enmity. The logic of war predetermining in many aspects the course of history at the time did not deny trade connections in which the Neva-river lands were involved as a part of then the Great Novgorod in the paths to cities of North-German Hanseatic league. Until the beginning of the 18th century, the fight for border zones near the Gulf of Finland had been a part of coming-to-be of the Russian and Swedish States. Establishing of Russia in the lands of Eastern Baltics in the 18th century was far from meaning severance with the European civilization, but on the contrary it drew Russia and Europe together.

The Russian Empire grew up from the pre-Peter's Russia that had already been by then a multinational State situated in the centre of Eurasia and extending as far as Pacific shores. The Emperor Peter I arranged kind of a grandiose historical experiment when the new Capital of the State was shifted to the area of civilization border zone. A mission was set and resolved involving building of a city quite new for the country not only in its architecture but in the way of the population life as well. For Russia creation of the Capital on the Neva-river was part of the process of colonisation of acquired lands even in presence of former Russian population there. Together with the Russians, other peoples were attracted for building St. Petersburg; people from Volga Region were the first to come including Tatars. It was natural to include into the city an area with Finnish population drawn towards Neva-river water area. Armenian and Georgian population appeared in the city as well as the Jewish settlers. While the ethnic groups tried to live in their own communities in St. Petersburg, it seems remarkable than no tradition of closed quarters of the 'China-town' type was born. It was logical to attract Swedish and German people for civil and military administrative posts or as representatives of the city professions: physicians, pharmacists, bakers, and skilled artisans. Specifics of the St. Petersburg town-planning and architectural appearance both in the initial period of St. Petersburg history and in the following years was manifested in the fact that, in its creation, architects from the Western Europe countries took part, these architects having created the best samples of European architecture in the Capital of Russia. The attraction of foreigners was part of the process of the forming Russian society entering the European enlightenment,

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appearing of advanced science, creation of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, The Academy of Arts. In the middle of the 18th century, up to 15 per cent of St. Petersburg population consisted of foreigners, and among them a considerable share belonged to specialists (if to define them in modern language). With such European influences as appearance of other creed churches in the city along with the Orthodox ones one could associate origin of toleration spirit in St. Petersburg. Yet in the Manifest of 16 April 1702, it was said: '...In our Capital practice any religion should be free, under compulsion... it is unacceptable...'

Under Catherine II reins of government, St. Petersburg becomes a Capital of Empire extending from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, the only State bordering northern, southern, western, and eastern seas of Eurasia. And it was a gigantic continental country, too, in different landscape zones of which hundreds of different ethnic groups resided. A considerable step towards uniting the Empire population involved the measures taken under Catherine II reins of government concerning development of tolerance and granting essential rights to non-Christians including adherents to Islam and Judaism (in particular, the Ukase of 17 June 1773 'On tolerance of all creeds...'). Under Catherine II reins of government, opening of the first house of worship for Moslems took place. And far from paradoxical looks the sacralisation of the Empress figure in the northern Buddhism in Buryat and Kalmyk peoples.

In the end of 18th – first half of 19th century, grandees, noblemen who were looking for jobs and ranks, as well as the peasants depending on the former came to St. Petersburg. The city population was growing on account of inflow of representatives of personally free estates, quitrent peasants. A certain relief of the State peasants accomplished in the first third of 19th century and particularly related to Baltic and Volga regions made it possible to increase the number of natives of these places among the residents of the Empire Capital. In the first half of 19th century, the city population was growing on account of inflow of representatives of personally free estates, quitrent peasants. Into the city milieu entered different retired rank including Moslems and Jews who had served in the Army. Following the peasant reform in 1861, an inflow of former peasants came to the city, the peasants being gradually freed of limitations of movement; mostly these were the residents of the country's European part and predominantly Russians. In the city, the number of Tatars was growing as well as Byelorussians, Estonians, Jews, etc. The population of St. Petersburg and its national composition were growing along with development of works and factory industry. On the verge of 19th — 20th centuries, St. Petersburg became the largest university centre and the first centre of polytechnic education, here the Russian national idea was formed as well as a version of Russian culture; a phenomenon occurred that was named afterwards 'the silver century' of Russian literature. In this Empire Capital, representatives of national intelligentsia could feel freer than in remote areas of the Empire.

Thus, yet in the beginning of the 20th century, St. Petersburg became not only the centre of Russian civilization but also its real representative and model. Loss by the city of its Capital status during soviet period did not alter the essence of the phenomenon. It is remarkable that in different part of the Soviet Union St. Petersburg-Leningrad was perceived as a city whose population was nearer to the population of Russian province and national republics than the population of the State political Capital; but simultaneously it was perceived as a city with advanced culture — both Russian and European. In the 20th century, the regions of Russia increased their representation in the population of St. Petersburg. Particularly intensively this process developed in 1990s. Partially the migrant inflow to St. Petersburg from the regions of Caucasus and Middle Asia may be regarded as perception of the St.

Petersburg significance by these regions' population as the permanent centre of both Russian and Eurasian area. One can also note an obvious tendency among representatives of a number of national formations of the Russia northern peoples at the beginning of the 21st century to see in St. Petersburg their own Capital uniting the aboriginal population of the Far North.

In what one can see the phenomenon of Russian civilization? First, it is the historical alliance of Russian people with other groups of east Slavs but, in particular, with the peoples of the Ural (especially Finno-Ugric group), Altai (especially Turkic group), Caucasian and other language families. Secondly, this is a field of close interaction of the Orthodox creed with northern Islam (the Volga region, Northern Caucasus and Dagestan, Siberia) and the Northern Buddhism (Lamaism) as well as a number of local religious creeds. Thirdly, this is comprehension of historically uniting role of the Russian State system taking the significance of the national factor in due consideration. Fourthly, the understanding of the fact that Russian civilization is native specific formation of the European style enriched by the contribution on the part of national culture of many a people of Eurasia and maintaining a constant dialogue of cultural mutual understanding with peoples of Western, Central and Eastern Asia, and Pacific region. As a geopolitical unity the Russian civilization occupies a middle position between the Central Eurasia (Eurasia proper from the Elbe to the Pacific and from the Arctic Ocean to the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf, Hindu Kush) and the so called (as expressed by P. P. Tyanshansky) Russian Eurasia (situated between the Dnieper and the Yenisei). The idea of 'Russian civilization' indicates the integration of civilized regions and the unity of occurring specific multiethnic community.

St. Petersburg plays a specific role within the space of Russian civilization, the role being predetermined by its significance as the 'cultural Capital of Russia'. St. Petersburg remains a 'window to Europe' which under modern conditions means purposefulness of its scientific, technical and artistic thought striving for selection of a new progressive trend in modern world experience and for filtration of those ideas that contradict the essence of Russian civilization; striving for partnership with foreign scientific and university centres, great museums, large educational centres. St. Petersburg retains its historical role of guide for ideas and results of European enlightenment in Russia as well as the role of a participant in their creation.

Secondly, St. Petersburg was and still is the centre of cognition of the Russian civilization phenomenon as an integral occurrence.

In St. Petersburg, Russian scientist and a distinguished State official Vassily Tatishchev (1686–1750) formulated the task of studying the population of Russia as part of administrative activity. At the beginning of the 18th century, the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences accomplished over 50 so called academic expeditions to various regions of the country that prompted cognition of culture of its multinational population. In result of the expeditions the first ethnologic encyclopaedia of Russia appeared in 1776–1780: the work by I.-G. Georgi 'Description of all the peoples dwelling in the Russian State...'. In opinion of great soviet ethnographer and historian of science S.A. Tokarev, a comparable in its significance work by K. Cherig 'Ethnography of the Austrian Monarchy' was published in nearly a hundred years after the 'Description...', in 1851. In the end of the 18th — beginning of the 19th century, the round the world expeditions started from St. Petersburg, and they also greatly contributed to the Russian science. The final result of many events in public, political and scientific life of Russia in the first half of the 19th century involved the idea of creating a comprehensive national

museum in the country. Its prototype took shape of the created in St. Petersburg in 1826 Rumiantsev's Public Museum later transferred to Moscow where a large museum complex appeared around it. In 1845, on initiative of enthusiasts-scientists, military people, participants of long voyages, and supported by the Emperor Court, the Russian Geographic Society (RGS) was founded around which in subsequent years many branches arose in different Russian cities that were regional centres. Now the Society exists under the name of 'The National Geographic Society', its Central Bureau continues its work in St. Petersburg where the Society keeps its Archive for all the years of its existence. It is worth noting that in St. Petersburg many archives of national importance are located: the depositories of historical thought, including the Russian State Archive that was entered in 1993 in the State Code of particularly valuable objects of cultural heritage of the peoples of Russian Federation. In St. Petersburg, glorious and the very first in Russia University and the Pedagogical Institute go on existing.

The most important instrument for self-knowledge of the Russian civilization phenomenon is the museums, the most important ones being concentrated in St. Petersburg. Modern St. Petersburg possesses colossal heritage in this area. By the beginning of the 19th century, several types of museums existed: the academic museum with scientific and enlightening purposes (Peter's *Kunstkamera* founded in 1714), the artistic gallery with training purposes (collection of artefacts at the Academy of Arts formed in 1758-1765), the new ones (in relation to galleries of Peterhof, Tsarskoye Selo, Oranienbaum), the palace collection: Hermitage (founded in 1764), military museums, training museums (for instance, the Museum of the Farming models and machines founded in 1972 by the Free Economic Society). Peter's *Kunstkamera* at the beginning of the 19th century was the most representative museum combining scientific, keeping and enlightening functions. In 1818-1836, out of the *Kunstkamera*, Asiatic Museum, Botanic, Zoological, Mineralogical, Ethnographic and other museums were apportioned. The Asiatic Museum (nowadays the Institute of Oriental Studies) and the Ethnographic Museum that has originated the Institute of Ethnography (nowadays the Institute of Ethnology and Ethnic Anthropology) have become large centres of studying the Eurasia peoples' culture conducting today the research extensive by its geographical scope. The process of formation of the Russian Military Glory museums has been rather long, the main of them being the Naval Museum (in 1867 named 'The Pantheon of Russian Naval Glory' and in 1908 — Peter the Great Naval Museum) and the Artillery Museum (its collection was started as of 1711, in 1868 received a place in the Kronverk Arsenal, in 1902 the Museum was named the Artillery Historical Museum). In 1904, in a specially constructed building, the A.V. Suvorov Museum was opened. The 19th century was a period of museum bloom, the museums having been founded at educational institutions, services, departments, and this tradition continued in the middle of the 20th century when museums appeared at many enterprises. In 1907, at the Society of Architects-Artists, Museum of Old St. Petersburg was organised. This date is considered to be the date of foundation of the State Museum of St. Petersburg History. During the whole 19th century, Hermitage was developing as the largest depository of the world art items. Foundation of the Historical Museum in Moscow had been a manifestation of striving for implementing the idea of a national museum rather than its realization. The final result involved the Emperor's decision to create two museum complexes: in St. Petersburg and in Moscow. The legatees of this decision and its partial realization are the existing Russian Museum and the Russian Ethnographic Museum in St. Petersburg.

The exposition of the Museum of Russian Civilization implies a greater attractiveness than the existing one because of the complex-civilization approach to problems of ethnography, history, and religion studies in relation to the peoples of Russia. Creation of such a museum unity exactly in St. Petersburg is predetermined not only by common practical and scientific tasks but also by the fact that the city is traditionally a multinational one.

At present, because of a complex multiethnic situation, the urgency of the Museum of Russian Civilization is constantly increasing.

The united museum complex could be based on ethnographic collections of St. Petersburg with addition of items reflecting the multi-confessional structure of Russia in the past and at the level of historical-ethnographic contemporaneity.

Creation of the museum association of this generalising type seems to be a staged one: from complex exhibitions to systemic expositions, and in the future, creation of a united museum centre of the humanitarian profile. Such a centre will expose, keep and study those items that reflect the cultural-historical unity and ethnic specifics of the peoples of Russia.

The 20th century history has shown that the idea of Russian civilization is a historical fact rather than an invention by the armchair officials. It is all the more important to study this phenomenon and its representation in scientific and public perception. There exists an opinion of expedience of creation of the Russian civilization museum in St. Petersburg, and this museum could be an analogue of national museums existing in world capitals rich in their cultural heritage.

St. Petersburg by its national composition actually represents at present the whole of the Russian Federation and, taking into consideration immigrants from nearby and far-away foreign countries, it represents an even larger civilization space. St. Petersburg could be called a live laboratory of simulating the international interrelations in their whole variety, its aim being the integration of ethnic groups into the St. Petersburg city culture and intercultural interaction. A stage of the road towards this aim involves the municipal Program of harmonisation of the interethnic and intercultural interrelationships, prophylactics of manifestations of xenophobia, strengthening of tolerance in St. Petersburg in 2006 — 2010. In the city as in any megalopolis, an intensive contact of civilizations both at the intergroup and the interpersonal levels is rather constant, different forms of mass, everyday, and ethnic perception interact among themselves. In St. Petersburg, not only the problem of economic-domestic adaptation of people arriving in the city has been perceived but also the problem of social-cultural adaptation of these people with their forms of thinking specific for the traditional-agrarian society and the attitude of those who came just for temporary residence.

In our city, much is made directly for maintaining and development of the multinational traditions, the multiconfessionality of the cultural milieu. In 2008 alone, a large-scale exhibition 'The multinational St. Petersburg: the city and the people' and an inter-confessional music festival took place, a unique artistic-biographical project 'The nationality — Peter's' and the cultural-educational program 'Embrace yourselves, millions' (songs, dances, theatre of peoples of Russia) were realized, there is a tradition of yearly all-city festival of collectives of the national-cultural associations 'Let us shake hands, friends', an all-city Library of National Cultures is being formed, as well as other actions.

St. Petersburg community and municipal authorities are seriously worried by a considerable drop of domestic and public culture level of the city residents that has occurred during last 15–20 years. That is why the St. Petersburg



Government develops a municipal complex social program 'The Cultural Capital' aiming at elevation of culture and social responsibility, changing of behavioural stereotypes of St. Petersburg residents. The program priorities and first steps include actions of popularisation of authentic resident of St Petersburg's style of behaviour as well as attraction of attention to general humanistic values of ethnic cultures, development of behavioural culture starting from young age, social-cultural

adaptation of migrants, composition and publication of several versions of the 'Resident of St Petersburg's Alphabet' for different categories of the population.

The dialogue of cultures and creeds must go on on the ground of St. Petersburg not as just an elemental dialogue of civilizations but as the strategy of choice of optimal ways of interaction among public and ethnic groups, peoples, and countries.

## Federico Mayor<sup>1</sup>

### IALOGUE AND THE ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATIONS

In 2005 at the meeting of the Alliance of Civilizations high-level group my first words were: "I plead you not to begin any scholastic debates on identification of "what civilization is", "what Alliance means", etc. Our objective is to work out concrete practical steps to bridge civilizations, to shape real projects for interaction of cultures, to establish constructive dialogue among religions...

All of our different cultures, beliefs and identities are our wealth. Uniting in universal values is our strength. Only through dispassionate dialogue, interaction, and reciprocal knowledge will we be able to live harmoniously in peace. We must promote a great mobilization in civil society to achieve the eradication of the causes of extremism and violence, to enable us to make the transition from a culture of imposition to a culture of dialogue and conciliation. Building peace each day and *establishing alliances by means of the word* is our immense and urgent mission.

Also I would like an alliance within the framework of the United Nations, to be able to dissuade and, if warranted, respond rapidly and efficiently to any attack or provocation by proponents of conflicts and violence.

I would like an alliance to contribute to the prevention and treatment of illnesses and pandemics, a world alliance against poverty and above all, to prepare together adequate strategies with respect to the great global challenges, which can no longer continue to be decided by a minority: energy, nutrition, water... Foresight is of the utmost importance to avoid "surprises," which always affect the weakest.

Alliance in favor of the most vulnerable, children, youth, the elderly and disabled... with a permanent attitude of solidarity on the part of society.

An alliance to provide access to life-long education for all, which promotes the distinctive creative powers of the human species and enables us to find our own answers, the result of reflection and the exercise of our freedoms, so that we do not respond to the dictates of others. Education that avoids propagating stereotypes, disarms history and emphasizes the many facets that comprise the mystery of each human life. An alliance, through interaction and exchange, among universities and scientific institutions, among entities involved in the arts and sports, among townships... among all countries of the world and, particularly, among those which are most distant and share fewer relationships.

Alliances to combat "fear and misery," in the words of the Preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human

Rights, through access to reliable information and freedom of expression, sharing material wealth and knowledge, so that they may promote stability and security through justice and the respect for human dignity, preventing the formation of breeding grounds for frustration, radicalization and aggression.

At that, respecting freedom of expression without limitations is not incompatible with comprehending and even sharing the indignation prompted by certain imprudent forms of manifesting that freedom. When freedom of expression is not accompanied by an appropriate dose of self-contention, there is a risk that the reactions of the aggrieved may be disproportionate and enraged. The solution never lies in censorship, but rather in cool-headed dialogue and, when warranted, the intervention of the courts of justice. But now it is imperative that all countries, on both sides, make an urgent call for dialogue and conciliation.

An alliance for active participation and the consolidation of democratic contexts in which human rights may be freely exercised and responsibilities assumed. An alliance that protects common values and reinforces our unity. Identifying what unites us and evaluating what separates us, to forge our inevitably common destiny.

I have run through only a few spheres for application of the Alliance capacities to demonstrate how great the space is where we can operate and where civil society and organizations that represent it, through their daily conduct, can create peaceful and unified future that is characteristic of free peoples, unburdened by addictions, fear and prejudice.

Time has passed since I pronounced these words. I was pleased to learn that it is for nine years now that in Russia, in Saint Petersburg at the Saint-Petersburg University of Humanities and Social Sciences international meetings of policy makers, researchers, representatives of civil society have been held on a regular basis dedicated to these issues. I familiarized myself with the materials of those meetings and was convinced that many projects that I mentioned in 2006 are being constructively discussed and implemented at your sessions. I sincerely hope that I will be able to attend the anniversary meeting in 2010.

Also it seems symbolic that your events are united by the name of D. S. Likhachev – a great person who embodies an Alliance of Cultures of the 21st century. Thank you for your attention.

<sup>1</sup> The founder and President of the World Culture Fund, Doctor of Pharmacology, Professor (Spain), Director General of UNESCO (1987–1999), the author of books: "Scientific Research and Social Goals: toward a new development model" (1982); "Letters to Future Generation" (1999); "L'enseignement supérieur au XXIe siècle" (2000); "La fuerza de la palabra" (2005) and others.

V. M. Mezhuyev<sup>1</sup>

## THE DESTINY OF NATIONAL CULTURES IN THE GLOBALIZATION ERA

Globalization is an objectively developing process meaning formation of unique economic, social and cultural world (supranational) space functioning by the common laws and in common time regimen. In the course of the globalization, the world gradually loses its former many-sidedness and heterogeneity, a kind of world homogenization occurs — and not in the industrial-economic sphere alone but in the domestic one at the level of everyday life, too. In different countries people more and more often use the same kind of transport and community services, wear the same clothes, consume the same food, watch the same TV, listen to the same news. The technologies, goods, services, information, etc. produced by modern civilization when entering the life of different peoples make them similar in some aspects.

The economic globalization is complemented with the informational globalization. Having obtained the technical ability to spread all over the world space, the today information embraces the whole world with its nets and flows. In the words by M. Castels, ‘the technological revolution with its informational technologies in the centre forms anew and in accelerated tempo the material basis of the society. The national economies in the world became globally interdependent creating within the system with changeable geometry a new form of relations among economy, state and society’<sup>2</sup>. But what these changes mean in the cultural aspect?

Numerous researchers native as well as foreign share the opinion that, in the course of globalization, the culture gradually spreads beyond the limits of national borders, ceases to function exclusively in national form. We will cite just two such opinions. One of them belongs to well-known German sociologist U.Beck. In his opinion, we live in the world that has turned the idea of closed spaces into fiction. In such a world ‘not a single country or group of countries can shut off one from another’<sup>3</sup>. In such a society one has to grasp anew ‘the indisputability of the Western model’, to put a question of how people and cultures can perceive themselves in it. After all, globalization actually ‘means the processes when national states and their sovereignty are intertwined with the cobweb of transnational actors and subjected to their imperious possibilities, their orientation and identity’<sup>4</sup>. It prejudices the most important idea of the epoch of Modern by which the societies after disintegration of empires can only exist within the limits of national states. Globalization destroys this connection creating new interrelations among the national-government and transnational actors and processes. Within the context of occurring changes, one cannot regard politics as the modern one, if this politics in the name of falsely understood patriotism or nationalism shuts itself off the world, tries to get isolated from the world, perceives itself outside logic of the global development. Our native philosopher V.S. Malakhov holds to the same ideas, he being a well-known specialist in

the field of national relations. In his book ‘The State under Conditions of Globalization’, he writes: ‘In modern society, production, distribution and consumption of cultural products more and more decidedly goes beyond the national limits... Global supply corresponds to global demand. A company-manufacturer of one or another cultural item is oriented to consumer far beyond borders of the State where its headquarter stays’<sup>5</sup>.

Globalization denies a possibility of further existence and development of culture in its accomplished form rather than the accomplished national cultures themselves. In the world of global transformations, the individual involved in transnational nets cannot any more limit oneself to fruit of his or her national culture alone. In the result, new global localities appear that do not boil down to previously dividing them national borders. They unite people by the commonness of their cultural preferences rather than the national sign, i.e. on the basis of their free choice of their cultural identity. So, the fans of pop-music and classic music exist in the whole world forming cultural communities both global and local. Modern means of communication enable people to find their cultural confederates, unite with them both by the signs of their national and cultural kinship. In other words, globalisation creates the global locality rather than the national one, this locality simultaneously connecting people on the planet scale, and differentiating them depending on their cultural choice.

For designation of this new type of cultural commonness a specific term has been invented: the ‘glocalization’, formed with the words ‘globalization’ and ‘localization’. British sociologist Roland Robertson introduced the term to the scientific application for fixating the two mutually interconnected processes occurring in the global world: the homogenization and the heterogenization. In his words, in the world, the glocalization occurs rather than a simple globalization, i.e. the ‘homogenization’ and the ‘heterogenization’. These simultaneous tendencies are in the end mutually complemented and mutually penetrate each other although, of course, in some concrete situation they might come and actually do come into collision with each other. By its sense, this term is directed against those concepts of globalization that originate from the logic of establishment of the uniform world system of transnational connections excluding all differences and dissimilarities. The idea of ‘world system’ implies either the capitalist system with the well-developed West countries and the USA in the first place as a model, or the global informational nets under control of supranational power authorities. A number of distinguished Western sociologists have disputed the uniform trend of these concepts, having contrasted them with the concept of cultural globalization denying the possibility of complete overcoming of cultural heterogeneity in the globalizing world. As to the aspect of culture, in their opinion, globalization preserves and even actualises culture localization rather than suppresses it, although not by the national but some other signs.

The glocalization as comprehension of globalization in terms of the culture theory differs from purely economic or sociological interpretation of the same process. For theorists of this approach the main consequence of the cultural globalization involves birth of new dividing lines, new localities that do not just coincide with the traditional those: local regional, national, ethnic, etc. forms of cultural identification of people. What the people prefer all over the world often means more for them than their national customs

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<sup>2</sup> Castels M. The Informational Epoch. Economy, society and culture. M., 2000. P. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Beck U. What is Globalization? Mistakes of Globalism: Responses to Globalization. M., 2001. P. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. P. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Malakhov V. S. The State under Conditions of Globalization. M., 2007. P. 206.

and habits. Companies, advertising, trade organizations working for mass consumer all over the world do not at all care of the national composition of their clients. And those of them who manage to go beyond the limits of their national clientele win competition with others. In the course of cultural globalization, the national symbols related to different aspects of human life become elements of free communication among people on a transactional scale. Globalization only reproduces in national culture those items that have become good and valuable for of other culture, that have been chosen by them on the basis of their own cultural choice. The freedom of personal choice unlimited by any local or regional barriers becomes the main condition of involving the individual in the global cultural connection.

Everyone's right for free choice of one's cultural preferences, in our opinion, is just the basic condition of culture existence in its global dimension. Only this can provide cultural equality of people on the planet scale. Nobody must think of oneself as a cultural monopolist. Consequently, the global culture implies not one and the same and mandatory for everyone culture but such a way of its functioning when every individual on the planet may use the good and achievements of any national culture. The free choice is the basis for national culture as well, together with its variety of individual preferences and self-expression, but this choice on the part of people who realize it is much predetermined by their perception their own national identity. Everyone assesses another one from the viewpoint of the cultural group to which one belongs by the fact of one's birth. Whereas in the global connection and communication world, such a choice will be predetermined by personal wishes, demands and pretensions rather than the national those. In this world, it is difficult to imagine a person whose cultural passions and preferences are limited by the frames of one's national culture alone, who tries to isolate oneself from other cultures. Such isolation indicates incapacity to live in modern world.

But in this case the State cultural politics should be built in respect to own culture and to those whom it encounters in the modern world? Today, in the West (and in the USA in particular) the politics of multiculturalism is widely propagated, such a politics aiming at preservation of small ethnic groups with their cultural specifics, traditions and customs. Such politics is criticized by those who prefer everyone's right for free choice of one's cultural identity rather than the artificial preservation of small groups' cultural specifics, because this preference enables different cultures to freely compete with each other. By the opinion of authors of such approach, the cultural identity should be built not on the base of mandatory and unalterable injunctions determining to the minute detail the life of an individual in the group, but on one's own choice rather that enables one to constantly reconstruct social reality,

to change the sense, significance and goals forming it. The 'social constructivism' as opposed to the multiculturalism, in opinion by American sociologist Sheila Benhabib, is generated by the admission of the fact that 'the culture of a group of people is no entity but is formed and changes along with flowing time via customs. Cultures do not present themselves as integrities with obvious limits, they rather appear as the sense nets overcome again and again, re-identified via words and deeds of their carriers'<sup>1</sup>. The movements for religious, national, any other cultural identity that try to 'freeze in time and space the borders dividing groups of people and cultures'<sup>2</sup>, i.e. having mainly an ideological nature, should be set off against the democratic-elite politics of the State in the culture sphere. Such politics aims at not only the preservation of already existing cultures of national minorities but also at involvement of growing number of people in the process of intercultural dialogue and communication, their democratic participation in the spiritual life which leads to appearance of new groups and their incorporation into the civil society. 'As opposed to a multiculturalist — writes Benhabib, — a theorist of democratic orientation admits that, in mature societies, political incorporation of new groups will lead rather to hybridization of cultural heritage at both poles. Modern people can choose whether to support their own cultural traditions or to destroy them... In brief, the democratic incorporation and preservation of culture continuity can be not necessarily mutually exclusive. But still, if one has to choose from among them, then I would put the spreading of democratic participation and equality higher than the preservation of cultural specifics'<sup>3</sup>.

The cultural equality achieved by means of granting everyone the right for one's own cultural choice is far from meaning a liquidation of cultural differences, cultural egalitarianism, and total standardization. As opposed to the multiculturalism with its artificial conservation of ethnic specifics of minor groups, the politics of democratic participation of the society members in the process of production of cultural sense and meanings enables everyone to independently solve the problem of one's cultural identity. But it seems important that such a decision were dictated not by external injunctions forcibly imposed to individual by his or her belonging to one or another ethnic or social group, but were rather his or her own free decision. This is the only way to preserve on the global scale those values that are present in culture of every people, simultaneously combining it with standards and ideas necessary for the life in a democratic society. In any case, it is just in culture being formed, so to say, by the individual choice and order one should seek a key for globalization that would not divide the world into economically prosperous centre and beggarly periphery but be developing on the way to freedom and equality for all residents on the planet.

V. V. Miklushevsky<sup>4</sup>

## EDUCATING AND UPBRINGING OF YOUTH IN A MULTICULTURAL WORLD

In the '90s, Russian society went through a most serious crisis of values. The values of the Soviet epoch were no

<sup>1</sup> Banhabib S. Pretensions of culture. The Equality and Variety in the Global Era. M. 2003. P. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. P. 52–53.

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longer in line with new reality while the new system was still immature and had not rooted itself in the minds of citizens. This led to the situation in which the school, which had always acted as a conduit of social values, lost the positions it used to occupy before.

However, the state was facing a task that required the implementation of the public policy aimed at exercising the principles of religious tolerance, toleration, peace, and civil

A New Payment System at Federal State Higher Educational Professional Institutions" and others.

patriotism through education, and thereby transforming education into the accumulated source of social confidence and social cohesion. It was in the '90s that issues of multicultural education began to develop in Russia. In addition, an intensive development of the integration process in the world as well as Russia's desire to be part and parcel of the world and European social, cultural and educational space contributed to the process.

Thanks to the efforts of recent years, including the launch of the priority national project 'Education', there was a shift in the understanding of education as one of the most important values of the society, the state, and the individual in Russia. Education came to be seen as a leading social function of the state, which can ensure the country's competitiveness in the global market and help reduce social tension and xenophobia. A number of recent surveys have shown that the higher the educational level of citizens, the fewer intolerance practices towards other cultures, religions, and social backgrounds.

In general, the shift from a monocultural education to the multicultural one, in a sense, is comparable to the transition from the world of Newton to the world of Einstein. It expands the universe, in which the personality of Russian citizens is developed and it goes from the culture of usefulness of the culture of dignity.

At the same time the system of values in education should be revised, too. To learn well and to teach well should be interesting, prestigious and profitable! Only he, who sees himself as a successful and creative person is able to teach and foster successful, active, and creative people. The position, in which the teacher is, is a kind of a litmus test for any society. If he is well-off and respected, then the state cares about the future of its people. In this connection, it is essential to change the attitude of the society to teaching and to school which could be achieved through the promotion of teaching profession and improving teachers' economic situation. Equally, teachers are required to do their best to bridge the gap between what they were taught, and the demands of the new era.

The world around us is changing rapidly. New technologies, new social processes, new concepts, new types of social interaction appear, not always positive, though. The teacher must know better than anyone else and, what is more important, understand all these developments, because he is in charge of preparing his students for life. The social complexity of the world, its cultural diversity is the challenge that teachers and our school face in the broad sense of the word.

The world is becoming increasingly open and interdependent. How can we teach a student to live in a multicultural world? Very often, the skills to live in a multicultural world are taught by the teacher who himself was educated in a completely different environment and who has not learnt to use the experience of multicultural education accumulated by scholars and teachers-innovators. This is a real problem that needs comprehension on the part of our system of training teachers, and the system of additional professional teachers' education. In any case, it should be discussed and not hushed up. For our country, with its diversity of nations, religions and cultures this is an extremely important task.

Three goals of multicultural education are a key to success and to the development of Russian democracy. They can be described as 'pluralism', 'equality' and 'integration'. By pluralism, we understand respect and preservation of cultural diversity. Equality means support of equal rights for education and upbringing. And finally, integration is the development of national political, economic, and spiritual values. The goals of multicultural education are multistage. In the process of exploring other cultures exercising tolerance is the first step towards them. Understanding, respect and, finally, active solidarity, cooperation, interdependence, and interaction should follow.

One must remember that a family possesses vast educational resources for it is one of the major institutions of socialization of an individual. At present, however, Russia and other countries of the world face negative phenomena and challenges in upbringing children and adolescents, which destroy the institution of the family. As a result, many psychologists, educators and sociologists have noted the growing incompetence of parents in educational issues, including multicultural ones. In these circumstances, improving the educational culture of parents is of great importance. There is a need to develop new and effective methods of parent education, as well as the close interaction of family and school in the context of multiethnic media.

Multicultural upbringing takes place not only in the family environment or within formal and continuing education. Therefore, it should be a concern of not only educational, but also cultural and educational centres, religious institutions, the mass media, the Internet, and public associations. Coordination of the efforts of the educational system with these institutions of socialization is a very important task of building a civil society.

Paraphrasing a saying by the famous psychologist Lev Vygotsky 'development follows education' we can say that the development of a society follows education. That is why education is a leading social function of the society which, on the one hand, promotes economic development and determines if economy is going to base on knowledge and innovative technologies or on exploitation of natural resources and, on the other hand, being an institution of socialization of young people, it determines the social and political structure of the society based on democracy and civil institutions. Our task is to coordinate the work of these two parties so that synergistic effect is achieved.

All our citizens are well aware of the value of education. Orientation toward higher education, educational 'boom' is its vivid example. The trouble is that sometimes a diploma of higher education substitutes the value of knowledge acquisition. Few people realize that learning is a labour, a hard labour at times. Attempts to make it easy and convenient for a student is the wrong direction. It is a difficult task, a challenge to the entire educational community to create conditions motivating students to get knowledge, to overcome difficulties, to develop responsible attitude to future, to promote interest in the material.

Intensive development of the modern world and globalization processes prompt migration. People from all countries wander around the world. Young people belong to the category which is particularly active in establishing cultural contacts between nations, viewing them as a vital necessity; through these contacts, they gain valuable experience, thus opening up new opportunities for themselves.

Professional higher education today is an important social institution engaged in the formation of the modern generation of young people. In this respect, higher school is faced with the difficult task of preparing student body for life in the multicultural environment and forming in the future professionals relevant skills for cooperation and intercultural relations with people of different nationalities, cultures, religions, and cultural outlooks.

Interaction with different cultures, inevitable under globalization and intensive migration of people, can be carried out in three forms: confrontation, assimilation or dialogue. Confrontation consumes inner energy of a person, it directs this energy to destruction; assimilation or mingling the foundations of different cultures, the loss of what Vassily Rozanov called 'the unity of archetype', the loss of the inherent cultural backbone, leads to the destruction of the cognitive sphere, to the decreased motivation, to the 'loss of ego'. Both these forms are consequently destructive, they result in nonsensical human activity or false ideas.

Professional training of an individual for him to function in the multicultural world must be primarily aimed at his competence to conduct an intercultural dialogue, a constructive form of interaction leading to mutual cultural enrichment, to personal growth, to professionally meaningful personal qualities and communicative skills.

Training professionals who are to work in the multicultural world should be aimed, first of all, at the development of skills to conduct a multicultural dialogue: a constructive form of communication which enriches interacting partners, promotes their personal growth, development of professionally meaningful qualities and communicative competencies.

Skills of intercultural communication are even more important for those who work in the spheres providing services for people (technical maintenance, technology, information, transport, communication, social and cultural services). These professions are widely spread in the modern post-industrial period. Specialists of these fields should meet additional requirements in terms of their professional and communicative competencies, as they offer services to people and societies belonging to different cultures, traditions, religions. Those who take up these careers must possess tolerance, knowledge and understanding of the values intrinsic to other cultural traditions and communicative culture.

As long ago as in the previous century, transnational corporations relocated their industries to other countries due to cheap labour in the developing countries. This gave rise to multicultural education and training in Western countries. Managers and professionals from developed countries needed to understand the language of their employees, their lifestyles, culture, and traditions in order to live and successfully work in their new locations. Fibre optics communication, high-performance computers and the Internet as well as outsourcing can help set up in other countries such industries which employ highly qualified specialists from the third countries. Now you don't have to leave your native country to work, for instance, for, an American or British company. You can reside in your own country and telework for companies elsewhere in the world being connected by modern means communication.

In this situation, a specialist must demonstrate not only professional qualities but language competence, skills in intercultural communication, and knack for conflict-free relations with people of other nationalities, religions and cultures. Language learning, in this connection, can help understand and be understood as well as understand another mode of thinking and behaviour. Paraphrasing the famous saying, 'You have as many friends as many languages you speak,' one can say that a graduate of a higher school has more opportunities and is more competitive in labour market if he has good profound knowledge of the history and culture of other peoples.

One of the important indicators of the success of the Western and particularly the U.S. universities is the diversity of international student body. And it is rather a question of attracting investments to the country, than an opportunity to acquaint students from other countries with the culture and values of the host country, the possibility to establish economic, political and other contacts through these graduates in the future promoting the development of relations between countries. We know that college-mates trust each other and find common ground easier. To export educational services, to increase attractiveness of the Russian professional education (especially higher education) for foreign students is a top priority.

One of the measures aimed at solving this important task is Russia's joining the Bologna process, the development of the National framework of qualifications corresponding to the European one, the introduction of the two-tier system of higher education and other measures directed at harmonizing Russia's professional education with the international one. But until we learn to accept each other at home, until intolerance of others, no matter whether they belong to nations of our country or foreign ones, is perceived as a norm rather than an unworthy manifestation, these measures will remain only wonderful and non-viable enterprises. Foreign students, especially from developed countries, will not go to our country. It is only through education that the situation could be changed.

Rapidly developing technologies and economy, the emergence of new products of scientific and technical thought, the increased mobility of people entail new challenges. Even in our time, not to mention the future, it is not enough to get a profession and think that you will stick to the career for life. Some professions are going to die out; new ones will appear and the redistribution of demand in some occupations in the labour market will take place. The current global financial crisis proves it. Therefore, it is necessary to be ready to change careers and to take up new professions.

Our key task today is to teach the citizens to learn throughout their life. The system of additional professional education at all levels must quickly react to the requirements of life, and must offer a wide range of various programs, from retraining and refreshment courses to getting another higher education and Master's Degree. Only the continuous updating of knowledge and competencies can guarantee success of a person, and, ultimately, of the entire state.

Summing up, I would like to stress that the Russian educational system at large must prepare our citizens to live in the conditions of multiethnic, multicultural, tolerant and open community. Stability of our society and our state, its further development, free of ethnic tension and conflicts, depends on the effectiveness of this work. The future of our graduates, their competitiveness in the labour market depend on the effectiveness of this work.

**P. A. Minakir<sup>1</sup>**

## **RUSSIA AND CHINA IN THE FAR EAST: AN UNEXPECTED THREAT OR THREATENING EXPECTATIONS**

China's penetration into the Amur River Region and Primorsky Territory, quite considerable since the beginning of

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the 1990s, is uneven in its range and mode, but has become an absolute constant that defines Russia's present and future ways and ability of economic and political control over these territories.

The attempts to oppose this penetration have not led to any tangible results, because Russia is facing the opposing structured and motivated state political programme of China.

The repeated hysterics in mass media and the affected appeals of politically committed experts aggravate the situation, giving rise to the hidden pessimistic attitude and the feeling of the inevitable defeat to the boisterous, active and organized Chinese who enjoy the support of the state. Moreover, such hysterics, as a rule, distort the reality, they are theatrical and are targeted at getting a higher rating of particular publishers, politicians and 'experts'.

One cannot select one's neighbours. Besides, in the 19th century it was Russia's deliberate move to consolidate its positions along the banks of the Amur and the Ussuri, which Russia had been looking forward to for a long time. With its advance to the Pacific coast and the Japanese Sea Russia became de facto a country connecting the two world cultures, two branches of civilization – European and Chinese. Putting all the positive consequences of that move aside, it should be remembered that culturally Russia became a unique state and a national establishment destined for tolerance and multinational and multicultural development, both on the inner and global scale.

Russia has been China's 'Big Brother' in economy, technology, culture and the military sphere. The situation started to change in the beginning of the 1980s when China set off large-scale and profound reforms of its economy, which also covered (quite gradually) the major social and political institutes. Russia wasted a lot of time trying to perform almost the same range of reforms in the reversed order – first, to modernize social and political institutes, and only after that, to reorganize economical institutes and mechanisms. The history's irony is that the most orthodox country of the Marxist ideology rejected the ever unshakable dominating concept of labour-management relations. But the most 'opportunistic' unit of the world's socialist movement has not only revived that concept, but also accepted it as a chief hypothesis of the steps that followed. This obviously showed the substantial maturity of China's fundamental philosophical and political culture.

Growing economical dependence of Russia's Far East on China's market as well as its on-going depopulation are the primary concerns of Russia's society and mass media. Indeed, there is a lot to worry about. If, prior to 1991, there was almost no international trade with China, by now the foreign trade quotient with China is about 20 per cent of the international trade turnover. Together with that, 36 per cent of the imported delivery comes from China. Meanwhile, the quotient of Japan's market indicating the international trade turnover is higher than that of China's, and the one indicating the price of the import is a little bit lower (30 per cent). The fact that China has become the world's factory of a number of goods must also be taken into consideration. And this is the fact of the economic life and the comparative competitiveness of prices. The population of the Far East is yet another evident concern. Compared to 1991 the regional population has decreased by 1.600, making up 6 500 000 people. And the population of China's frontier provinces goes beyond 100 000 000. But, first, in the Far East frontier areas proper the population decreased by 500 000. Second, the problem of depopulation is an all-Russia issue, because its population is now hardly over 140 000 000. We can hardly be serious about a possibility of migration of almost all Russia's population to the border with China to maintain the populace balance. If so, the increase or decrease of population in the frontier areas of the Far East do not provide any sustainable or serious reasons for panicking.

It should be a matter of concern why Russia finds itself being a teacher who has no wish to use her own achievements, and who, after a certain time respectfully makes a statement about the need to adopt the fruitful practices of others. It appears that that will be the case with the programme planning of the regional development, that has been rapidly evolving

in Russia since the end of the 1970s. There have been no considerably positive practices due to the scepticism of experts and bureaucrats. They have succeeded in China, though.

The 'Revival Plan for Northeast China' state programme appeared a while ago. It was developed by the National Development and Reform Committee, the Administration of the Chief Committee of China's revival and other old industrial foundations of China's State Council.

According to this plan, in ten- or fifteen-year run North-east China is supposed to become 'a major mover of growth, characterized by the substantial economic power, by the comparative integrity of social institutes and systems, by the efficient business structure, by the sustained growth of regional economies, by the steady development of 'resort' cities and by harmonious social environment'. The plan sets specific and feasible goals of, for example, making northeast China a national supplier of new products and energy, making it a major site for the development of technologies and innovations, making it a strategic environmental safety zone and a national source of agricultural products supply.

Meanwhile, we are rather surprised by and sceptical about the possible consequences of this plan for Russia. Shortly, these results are likely to become a substantial problem. There are enough problems now. Sticking to the terms of threat, they can be classified as follows:

Migration of substantial masses of the Chinese to the Far East (different numbers are given, up to 2 000 000 at present), that actually make up a native enclave in this region;

Development of the political situation falling under the Kosovo scenario, which means the claims of political self-determination of the concentrated Chinese population, that would lead to Russia's loss of the Far East territories and bring the situation back to the middle of the 19 century;

'silent' invasion of economy, of real estate and plots of land, which will turn the Far East into China's economic colony;

transformation of the Far East of the Russian Federation into a source of raw material for China, which will practically separate this region from Russia economically;

excessive economy 'focusing' on the Chinese market, which will mean the virtual isolation of Russia from the rest of Asia, from Japan, for the first place, from the ASEAN states, from the USA, from Canada (economically) and will make the economy of the Far East tightly linked to China's production and market cycle;

financial seizure (a buy-up) of the major raw material reserves in the region (economically attractive to China), which will considerably deprive the region and the whole of Russia of sovereignty in the matters of regulation and usage of its natural resources;

the possibility of the long-term lock of the region's current economic structure and foreign trade commodity structure, which will indicate the on-going redistribution of the commercial rent in favour of China;

bringing back the territories of the southern Amur River Region and of Primorsky Territory under the jurisdiction of China using force, taking into account China's persistent strengthening of economic as well as of war potential, and also a possible growth of the aggression component in the geopolitical strategy of China together with the growth of China's influence in the world's economics and politics.

What are the real threats?

the probable use of power to restore China's sovereignty in the southern areas of Primorsky Territory is unlikely to be very significant not only because the epoch of military colonial invasions came to its end a long time ago and the modern world has a lot of resources to prevent such scenarios, but also because any large-scale military conflict between nuclear powers is absolutely out of the question;

the probable massive migration of China's population to the Amur River Region and Primorsky Territory is the most likely scenario, its implementation under other similar conditions, however, depends on the efficiency and the targets of Russia's control over the migration; under the certain circumstances such migration may become a positive factor in the development of the region if such development follows a monotonous up-going scheme and the increase in the physical number of the employees is the major growth rate factor, which means that the emphasis will be made on the development of labour-intensive industries; there is every likelihood that this assumption is hardly realistic, taking into consideration the already made and prospective declarations and intentions in different documents, which have to do with the perspectives of the Far East social and economic development; consequently, even if the threat of the Chinese massive migration is quite probable, it is also quite possible to have it under control;

the threat of a domestically provoked coup (the Kosovo scenario) is also quite hypothetical if, first, Russia allows massive legal migration from China, and, second, if no strict conditions are rapidly created, that will guarantee complete assimilation of the Chinese new-comers and their complete political and cultural identity with the citizens of other nationalities; the common references to the experience of assimilation of the Chinese populace in the USA, Europe and Canada, where it has never been a threat to the territorial and political sovereignty of the occupied territories, are inconsistent in connection with Russia's Far East; the mass Chinese enclaves in Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore, however, should be taken into consideration, the enclaves which, like Russia, are located in the close proximity to the metropolitan country of China, where no 'Kosovo' precedents have ever happened or are happening; in other words, the Kosovo scenario is quite probable, but for the most part its implementation depends on Russia's activity or inertness, rather than on China's steps or on the prospective Chinese migrants to the Far East territories;

a far more substantial threat is the probable controlling over business and real estate in the Far East, together with that the major threat is not the control over larger enterprises, which are easily controlled, but the control over the small and medium-size business; the acquisition through nominees of commercial and residential property and of land sections in small portions; the real threat is that cash flows are followed by streams of people, but as far as they are attached to some actual property and real business, their influence on the economic and social and cultural environment in the Far East will be increasing proportionately to China's business quotient in the overall economic turnover or even faster than that, with the exceptional Chinese business activity, diligence and persistence, which make them far too strong competitors to our domestic entrepreneurs and our population in general; a special threat is connected with the fact that the prospective Chinese migrant-workers come from the China's north-eastern provinces, which are considerably inferior to China's southern and seaside provinces in education qualification, cultural level, ethic standard, rules of conduct etc.; this may dramatically change the business and the Far East society in general, making them more primitive, and, consequently, weakening their ability to adapt to a rapidly changing economic and technological environment, making the issue of competitiveness at all markets except China's market more complicated;

quite objective is the threat of transformation of the Far East economy into a segment of China's market, or rather, the conversion of the Far East economy into a source of raw materials and transport and logistics centre to supply China's industry with the inputs, transportation of the goods into other markets and at the same time into the product market of China's manufacturing; however, the Far East will get no advantages from such a cooperation, for example, no guarantees that there will be China's orders for manufacturing; this scenario is most likely to happen, because the external demand is the crucial component for the growth of the Far East industry and transport; and China's rapid growth and its aggressive economic policy provide favourable conditions for China's business in the environment of economic annexation of the comparatively weak border areas, they provide a valid foundation for a far more substantial external demand bias to China; the absence of response, which could be performed through Russia's targeted economy policy in the Far East, may well bring about such scenario as 'default';

providing that China's economic conception, which aims at using the accumulated reserves and potential of Chinese economy for the post-crisis restoration of global economic links in the before-crisis mode, proves successful and is implemented, China's restored economic growth will be in the position to absorb a substantial part of the world's raw material resources after a while, and, in this respect, the Far East can be transformed into a province of the raw materials which China is naturally short of; sticking to the before-crisis pattern of the global trade and financial flows would mean the further growth of China's financial power, which would make the annexation (through concessions, assets purchasing, direct investments, long-term agreements) of raw material markets a much easier process; from that viewpoint, Russia has certain resources to react to this scenario, because in case of the restoration of the before-crisis pattern of the global economic arrangement (which seems to be quite doubtful), Russia will remain a prominent component of the world raw markets, which means that Russia will accumulate considerable financial resources in the short run, and will be able to use them to activate its own policies in opposition to China's expansionism of raw markets; however, this threat is quite real, and efficient and quick moves are needed to eliminate it;

another substantial threat is the preservation of the Far East outdated economic structure against the background of China's emerging economy; China's increase of demand on raw materials will lead to redistribution of budgets in raw sectors of the Far East and of Russia in general; indeed, this will bring about the bias of the economic structure to somewhat primitive extractive industries with the shortage of funds for their modernization; there is every likelihood that counteracting with only market tools will be impossible, because the loss of profit minimization will objectively interfere with the redistribution of resources in favour of the extracting industries; consequently, this threat can be countered only in the framework of the targeted state economic policy, with the formal target of resistance to China's economic expansionism.

The threats are substantial when they are considered a manifestation of an alien culture. But the essential task is to perceive and then act according to the convictions and understanding that the preservation of a multicultural pattern and the orientation at the cultural synthesis in the framework of the world's Far East crossroads is Russia's mission and its only chance to constructively cooperate with Eastern Asia.

V. A. Myasnikov<sup>1</sup>

## MIGRATION PROCESSES IN THE CIS COUNTRIES

Disintegration of the USSR dramatically affected political and social realities. Declaration of independence resulted in that the former allied republics became sovereign states. Simultaneously millions people, i.e. the whole not-native population became foreigners in nowadays sovereign states with respective consequences. On one hand, the state borders became established anew and numerous ethnic groups became shut off the territories of their compatriots compact settling. On the other hand, new conditions of migration appeared for a number of ethnic groups, Russians included.

One of the most serious and painful consequences of all this involved appearance of many-million Russian population outside Russia (25 million people). Until recently, no such situation existed. Relatively few Russian emigrants outside the empire nowhere formed any stable closed communities but rather quickly became dissolved in the population of those countries where they lived. But, following disintegration of the USSR, everything changed. Over 17% of the Russian-language population who had lived in the USSR turned out to be 'in dispersion' outside Russia, and all the reasons appeared to regard them as a Russian Diaspora.

Such interpretation corresponds to self-sentiment of many Russians who remained outside Russia. Having for the first time felt themselves a national minority, they feel social, cultural and political discomfort and start striving towards strengthening their connections with their historical fatherland or returning there.

Adoption of a number of statutes by the sovereign states (on the language, citizenship, land, etc.) put the foreign-language population into an unequal situation as compared with the natives. Forcing of the language lawmaking, hasty application of the language laws in all former union republics (now the sovereign states) served as a 'pushing off' factor. Of course, this evoked tension in all life spheres and led to formation of migration attitude and outflow of the population.

The most characteristic type of migration on the CIS territory is a migration by ethnic-political motives. Economic factors proved to play a secondary role. The Russians living, for instance, in the Middle Asia republics, as a rule, enjoy a higher standard of living as compared with the native population, being respected as specialists and masters in their profession (engineers, physicians, teachers, workers at technically complicated industrial enterprises, etc.). They leave mostly without any particular wish to do so but do that only under pressure of extreme circumstances. In this connection, one should note that at first signs of normalising of the political situations they strive to return. By some estimation, 40% of those who had left Kirghizia at the beginning of 1990s, by now, came back owing to measures of the Republican Government for protection of the Russian population.

So the main content of nowadays migration process on the CIS territory is a mass exodus of the Russian-language population from the republics of former USSR to Russia. Thus, in 1995, in Russia 813,9 thousand people arrived, in 2000 – 346,8; 2001 – 183,6; 2002 – 175,1; 2003 – 119,7; 2004 – 1104 thousand<sup>2</sup> Its main spring was a fast impetuous development of centrifugal tendencies in the regions after the USSR disintegration, wish of local elites to consolidate

one's grip on the positions occupied by them and not to admit returning to any of the former schemes of interrelations with Moscow.

The migration of labour force is an important component of forming common labour market of the CIS countries. Transference of labour force between countries bind national labour markets into a single market complementing the movement of goods within the frames of this formation of a single economic space.

Problems with migration had occurred in the world from the time of origin of the mankind, and the factors that prompted migration in the past are still maintained at present and, maybe, are even more urgent than in the past as now they are accompanied by technological changes that sharply reduce expenses associated with information and communication. Deepening of economic and demographic differences between states under conditions of globalisation induces a 'natural response' in the form of transference of people through the borders.

In 2000, about 175 million people lived outside their country of origin or citizenship, which makes three percent of the world population.<sup>3</sup> In the last decade, the number of such people was increasing by about 6 million people a year which is much higher than the rate of world population increment. The world population level, i.e. 6,3 billion people, increases each year by 24 million, and 97% of this increment occurs in developing countries. One billion people having no job or full-time job is replenished with 100 million people each year who come to the world labour market for the first time.

The over the border transference of labour force became a key problem for the whole international community. The independent initiatives undertaken in 2003: the Hague declaration of the politics of migration and asylum of the Association for International Development (the Netherlands Association) and the Bern initiative of the Switzerland Government call for partnership aiming at inclusion of the humanitarian principles in the process of migration control. In 2004, as a number of governments insisted, a new Global Commission was established for the migration problems. In 2006, a session at the highest level of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation was dedicated to problems of migration and development.

The main directions of migration and its types often coincide or complement each other (e.g., flows of refugees, illegal labour migration, repatriates, etc.). However, the main and the key moment for all types of migration is the economic (or labour) factor, i.e. the necessity to solve the problem of employment (getting a job) by migrants as the basis of their settling up and adaptation to a new habitat. Therefore all types of the migration in one way or another affect the situation in national labour markets changing the balance of labour demand and supply.

In 1990s, not only those factors acted that determined the reversionary or forced migration among the CIS countries, but also some new stimulating migration stimuli were becoming stronger and stronger, these factors having been induced by transition to the market economy. The market at the time received new stimuli, became more flexible, some alternative and dissociated from the state sector possibilities appeared for job placement and earnings. Specifics of the migration processes in 1990s are determined by differences between the Commonwealth states in velocity and character of reforming national economies, standards of life of the population, ethnic tolerance.

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<sup>2</sup> The population and Life Conditions in the Countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States: statistics. Moscow, 2005.

<sup>3</sup> UN: International Migration, 2002.



Sharp differentiation in salaries in the CIS countries is one of the most important reasons for leaving by Russian language population and even some native population for Russia, where the salary in its dollar equivalent is by several times exceeding the respective parameter in other CIS countries. So, the money income per head (in the USA dollars) was in 1995 in Russia – 1350,2; Uzbekistan – 214,4; Belarus – 651,4; Azerbaijan – 197,5; Armenia – 198,7. In 2005, in the same republics it was respectively: 3262,7; 324,2; 1836,0; 1010,8; 816,5, etc. Apart from the low salary, the important motive of Russian language population emigration from the CIS countries involves the increment of difficulties with job placement as many national economic objects had to stop their production because of disorders in the cooperation connections.

In the world practice, the economic estimation of country income through export of labour force has existed for a long time.

The hard currency effect of the labour force export, as a minimum, is 10-fold higher than the income from the goods export. Existing computations indicate that a migrant is able to feed 20 persons on account of the fact that, apart from family members maintained by his or her money transfers, he or she also 'feeds up' a great number of people in the country-exporter of labour force by means of acquiring real estate, building houses, communications, and servicing them.

In general, intensity of migration of the CIS countries' population is insignificant and amounts up to only 3% of the combined population of the CIS countries which is significantly less than in developed countries of the World. By the UN data, the number of international migrants alone in the West Europe countries amounts up to 6,1% of the whole population of the region, North America (USA, Canada) — 8,6%, West Asia — 10,0%.

The labour migration in the CIS countries in its legal (with taken stock of it) form is assessed as approximately 160 thousand people per year (see the Table). The main flow of labour migrants comes to Russia. According to the Russian Federation migration services data and that of the CIS Statistical Committee, in the period 1994-2005, in the Russian territory 1876 thousand workers and specialists arrived from the Commonwealth countries. On the average, in 2000 — 2004, this amounted up to 49,4% of the aggregate number of foreign labour force accepted by Russia from the CIS countries<sup>1</sup>.

Among the countries-exporters, there are:

- Ukraine, supplied during 12 years 1033,3 thousand workers, which makes 55% of all the labour force that has arrived from the CIS;
- Moldova — 189 thousand workers (10,1%);
- Uzbekistan — 138 thousand workers (6,9%)

**Labour migration between Russia and the Commonwealth countries**  
(by the data submitted by the Russian Federation migration services; thousand persons)<sup>2</sup>

	1995	2000	2005
The number of citizens arriving from the CIS countries and employed in Russia — in all including those who came from	134,4	106,4	343,7
Azerbaijan	1,3	3,3	17,3
Armenia	6,1	5,5	26,2
Belarus	11,1	...	...
Georgia	7,0	5,2	4,3
Kazakhstan	2,1	2,9	4,1
Kirghizia	0,7	0,9	16,2
Moldova	6,7	11,9	30,6
Tajikistan	1,5	6,2	52,6
Turkmenistan	0,1	0,2	1,5
Uzbekistan	3,6	6,1	49,1
Ukraine	94,2	64,2	141,8

**Table 1. Potential advantages and drawbacks of emigration and immigration<sup>3</sup>**

	Emigration		Immigration	
	Potential advantages	Potential drawbacks	Potential advantages	Potential drawbacks
For the migrants	Employment. Higher income. Training. New cultural experience. Meeting new people.	Interruption in the work, loss of career pattern. Bad labour conditions. A lower level employment, loss of qualification. Separation from one's family; unfavourable effect on children.	Services freeing women from the necessity to become a member of labour forces. Cheaper goods and services. Richer cultural life. Acquirement of knowledge in other countries.	Competitive struggle for working places, marginalisation of less qualified employees. Reduction of wages of local employees. Overfilled schools. Unaccustomed languages and habits.
For enterprises	Skills of returning migrants. Attractive business for selection of labour forces. Additional business for communication companies and travel bureau.	Loss of qualitative labour force. Lack of labour force leading to wage raise.	Cheaper and more flexible labour force. Diversity of labour force. Larger markets and economy due to the growth of production scale.	Less stable labour force. Dependence on foreign labour force in respect to some types of work.
For country as a whole	Reduction of demographic pressure. Lowering of the unemployment level. Transfers in foreign currency. Knowledge and professional skills of returned migrants. Formation of transnational communities.	Loss of younger people. Problems associated with sudden return of employees. Loss of potential production volume and tax proceeds. Loss of more qualified employees. Disturbance of social unity, and the cultural emigration. Growing inequality.	Rejuvenation of population. Growing in number of the labour force and reduction of inflation. Growth of the gross domestic product, capitals brought by immigrants — investors. More diverse and dynamic population. Tax income from younger employees.	Social collisions. Delays in technology improvements. Growth of income inequality. Expenses for integration programs. Enhancement of social stratification in society. Cost of social services, social welfare benefit.

<sup>2</sup> The 15th anniversary of the Commonwealth of Independent States (1991–2005): statistical collective works/The CIS Interstate Statistical Committee. M., 2006. P. 333.

<sup>3</sup> A Fair Approach to the Migrant Labourers in the Global Economy // International Labour Bureau. Geneva, 2004.

<sup>1</sup> The population and life Conditions in the Countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States: statistics. P. 84.

We regard the migration both inside the countries and in between the countries as a part or one of the aspects of the development process. In Table № 1, some of potential advantages are listed as well as drawbacks associated with the migration at three different levels: for the migrants themselves, for enterprises, and for the country as a whole.

The Russian Federation, being a subject of international rights, joined the majority of international agreements regulating migrant flows. In the country, legislative standards were accepted, e.g. 'On refugees', 'On involuntary resettlers', 'On citizenship of the Russian Federation', 'On approval of the Statute of dwelling accomplishment in the Russian Federation'. One of the actually working mechanisms for rendering aid to compatriots involved bilateral agreements of Russia with a number of the CIS and Baltic's countries on regulation of the transmigration process and protection of the resettlers' rights.

The unidirectional migration from the CIS countries to Russia is a characteristic feature of the demographic situation during this last decade, and it leads, on one hand, to increase in number of those who live in diasporas, extension of effect upon their regional labour markets, growth of international families in Russia and, on the other hand, to reduction in number of Russian language citizens in other CIS countries. The latter circumstance might tell negatively not only on economy but also on development of international relations in the Commonwealth states.

Immigration on such a scale unavoidably entails a lot of problems the main of which is settling of newcomers in a new place and provision of working places for them. As in the indicated period of time one should expect a considerable rise in

price of dwelling, whereas possibilities of finding a job at the Russian labour market will be rather limited because of the predicted worsening of state of affairs, this will become a serious problem for Russia. On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that, under certain conditions, the immigrant inflow might serve as a factor of economy growth in places experiencing chronic scarcity of labour. However the outflow of Russian population considerably narrows and weakens Russian language milieu in these countries.

Assessing the basic results and the character of migration processes in the CIS countries, one might state that former methods of action upon people movements inherent for the planned economy (organised enrolment, resettling, communal summons) ceased to exist whereas the new mechanisms inherent for market economy have not yet achieved a wide application. In the opinion of authors of the analytical report 'The demographic situation and the formation of common labour market of the CIS states-participants' (M., 2001), this does not mean that the Commonwealth countries stay aside from affecting the migration processes.

For solution of this task, a well-directed migration political effort started to be developed in all states of the Commonwealth comprising elaboration of the following:

- concepts and targeted state programs for controlling the migration processes;
- bilateral and multilateral agreements of the CIS countries on the problems of migration;
- mechanisms of controlling the migration within the frames of the population employment programs;
- legislative-rightful documents on social guarantees for employees-migrants, refugees and involuntary resettlers.

**V. V. Naumkin<sup>1</sup>**

## INTER-CIVILIZATIONAL DIALOGUE AND TOLERANCE

My statement is just a reflection concerning separate aspects of the dialogue which I find it possible to name inter-civilizational. This term has settled and entered the global political lexicon and despite the great appeal and propriety of the use of a different scheme – 'one civilization – many cultures', is quite admissible as an instrument of the theoretical discourse. Certainly, under a stricter approach to terminology both 'civilization' and 'culture' are abstractions, and in this sense, academician A. A. Guseynov is quite right when speaking of them as of some 'generalized characteristics of a great number of empirical objects', and 'civilization, as well as culture (if we talk about the latter in the sense which is proportionate to civilization) has no subjection, does not exist as an empirical object';<sup>2</sup> indeed, the interaction is realized not by some abstract civilizations but by people bearing different cultural and civilizational values. However, ideational motivations along with cultural and civilizational framing of actions not only of individuals but also

of much bigger communities of people such as nations or states frequently take on such special significance that they can act, without exaggeration, in the role of the well-known 'motive power of history'.

This is why the inter-civilizational/inter-cultural dialogue has become an imperative in our epoch of globalization, which is enlightened but full of conflict. It is an important means of overcoming of estrangement, lack of understanding, hostility between people, which are particularly dangerous for the lot of the world. This dialogue is not a linear but a multidimensional construction, and it can be a success only with the proviso that it is supplemented with an intra-civilizational dialogue and debates about the essence of this or that culture, held by the representatives of one. As we know, these debates sometimes become more heated than the debates between representatives of different cultures. It is enough to cite an example of the debates held between Muslim thinkers over the fundamental postulates of the dogma (in particular over the question of the concept of jihad), which tolerated difference of minds and variety of opinions and interpretations from the very beginning of its existence. It is common knowledge that the relations in the area of 'The West – the world of Islam' have become more tense recently due to political reasons in the first place. There have appeared quite a number of projects aimed at overcoming of this confrontation, which were doomed to unthinkable difficulties by the actions of people who assumed the right to speak on behalf of the religion (with jihadism being on one side and 'the war against terrorism' on the other).

Apparently these two aspects are the key ones for the successful conduct of the dialogue. The first aspect is the wish

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<sup>2</sup> Guseynov A. A. What we speak about when we speak of the dialogue of civilizations // The dialogue of cultures and civilizations in the global world : the 7th Likhachov Scientific Conference, 24–25 May 2007. St. Petersburg, 2007. P. 57.

and the ability to understand The Other, to repudiate stereotypes and mythical ideas about each other. The second one is the readiness to repudiate violence and imposition of one's culture upon The Other, tolerance, acceptance of the variety of cultures as an inevitable given datum of the world. As long as the discourse has turned to the notorious jihadism, I will remark that the idea that Muslims want to disseminate their faith with fire and sword is the malicious stereotype which requires resolute overcoming. But for the definitive and irrevocable overcoming of stereotypes of the Others and about The Others first everyone – both Christians and Muslims – have to gain an understanding of their own home.

In the Middle Ages the attitude to adherents of different faiths was not simple. Let us remember what incredible cock-and-bull stories about Muslims were told by Christians at first. What was at first written about Muhammad the Prophet is incorrect to cite. The famous Christian theologian, saint John of Damascus spoke of Muhammad the Prophet and the Sacred book of Muslims in a most insulting and impermissible way.<sup>1</sup> It must be said that Muslims neither then nor now ventured such statements about prophets of other religions. Certainly, that was an epoch of complete absence of mutual understanding between the two cultures, but Arabs Muslims (although I am not inclined to idealize them – that was an epoch of universal cruelty, people spoke to one another and on behalf of religion in a cruel language), though having come out of desert still treated The Other with greater understanding. The evidence of the complete reluctance of Christians to get to know the essence of the new religion was the explanation given by Constantine 'The Purple-born'<sup>2</sup> to the Muslim expression 'Allah Akbar': this is allegedly *Alla oua Koubar*, i.e. 'God and Aphrodite',<sup>3</sup> in other words, the earnest Arabian monotheists supposedly turned out to be pagans, worshippers of Venus. The reminiscence of this remained in the historical memory, it was no coincidence that the Muslim world reacted so keenly to the fact that Pope Benedict ventured to cite a disrespectful and completely erroneous statement about Islam of a Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos who lived in 14th century.<sup>4</sup> Thank Goodness the conflict was resolved. And the early epoch of Europeans' ignorance in Islam gave way to the wish to understand and then to see it in proper perspective. Though crusades and the persistent obtrusive determination to convert all Muslims to Christian faith by force were yet to come.<sup>5</sup>

By the way, it was this tolerant attitude towards adherents of different faiths demonstrated by medieval Islamic states (with the exception of some separate periods in the history of caliphate) that became a distinctive feature of this religion, providing it with great appeal. Adherents of other faiths adopted Islam not under the threat of sword: suffice it to say that in Iberia, where just after the Arabian conquest the number of Muslims ran only to a few thousand people, in the tenth century the 'practising' adherents of Muhammadanism constituted an overwhelming majority of the population.<sup>6</sup> Certainly, economic, mercantile reasons played their role in it: the adoption of Islam exempted from paying *dzhizya*, a special poll-tax upon Ahl az-Zimma ('people under patronage'), the payment of which guaranteed the complete freedom to practise their religion on Dar al-Islam ('the land of Islam'). By the way, it

was the existence of this tax as well as the system characteristic of separate periods of caliphate which expected Christians and Jews to wear clothes different from Muslim ones (a belt and a cap), that was sometimes used as an argument by those who considered Muslim liberality insufficient, speaking of discrimination of adherents of different faiths. But nevertheless Islam excelled other religions in tolerance, it was no coincidence that Jews who were persecuted in medieval Christian Spain found refuge on the territory of caliphate.

It is well known that Islam condemns apostasy hard: conversion from Islam to another faith as well as the abuse of the Prophet or the Koran inflict death penalty. True, it has already been mentioned that the difference of opinions in medieval Muslim world was amazing. At the same time Christianity in Middle Ages fought against heresy in the most cruel way. In 1209 having captured the town of Beziers in France crusaders punished cruelly the adherents of the Cathar sect – they took pride in reporting to the Pope that they had killed 15 thousand people. Moreover the notorious Catholic inquisition can be mentioned, which, by the way, did not exist in Orthodoxy though people were also burnt on our fires! And when in 1099 crusaders captured Jerusalem 'they were merciless in killing in fact everyone they were able to find – both Muslims and Jews'.<sup>7</sup> During their conquests Arabs did not show such cruelty to 'the people of the Holy Scripture'. Chroniclers write that the first crusaders who were led to the Holy land by fanatic pseudo – preachers slaughtered the unfaithful everywhere they could. And doesn't the conception of 'just war' dating back to Augustine remind us of anything; according to this conception the saint blessed the Christians to take up arms under certain circumstances. So Pope Urban proclaimed 'a small-scale jihad' against the unfaithful, i.e. a crusade. For unknown reasons Pope found it necessary to liberate the Holy land four and a half centuries after the Muslims had gained control of it. As an American historian and theologian R. Armour states the inspirer of the second crusade bishop St. Bernard of Clairvaux left a single choice for Muslims living in the Holy land: conversion to Christianity or death.<sup>8</sup> Is it clear why ex-president Bush's likening of the war in Iraq to 'crusades' was perceived oversensitively? Not a less keen reaction in the world of Islam is provoked by the unconditional support given by Washington to Israel which has occupied the land considered by Arabs – both Muslims and Christians – as the land of theirs; the land abundantly shed by blood of their ancestors yet in Middle Ages. In no way does it justify the anti-Semitic utterances which are often heard in Muslim countries. They are disgusting. But Islamophobia which has unfortunately struck some of our nationals is no less abominable. I remember the feeling of amazement I experienced when I came across some nasty utterances about Palestinians from an Israeli writer Dina Rubin who is well-known in our country. It is not the proper way of thinking for an 'engineer of human souls'. After this I became uninterested in the virtues of this person as a writer. But let us get back to the dialogue and tolerance as its prerequisite.

Extremely significant are the debates over the concept of tolerance,<sup>9</sup> despite its seeming ethical impeccability it has no unconditional support of religious figures of different creeds. In the contemporary Orthodox discourse there is suspiciousness caused by the fact that this concept was allegedly imposed from without by some forces which are hostile to the Orthodox identity; this concept can allegedly promote the washing out of some primordial moral values and – in case of Russia – shake the fundamental positions of Orthodoxy. Putting it in a different way, tolerance is considered not as

<sup>1</sup> "Ofheresy", ch. 100–101 in: Rollin Armour, *Islam and Christianity: the Difficult History*. Moscow: Biblical-Theological Institute of St. Apostle Andrei, 2004. P. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII the Purple-born (905–959) is well-known to a certain number of Russian readers as a person who according to "The Tale of Bygone Years" became the God-father of St. Princess Olga of Kiev.

<sup>3</sup> Meindorf J. *Byzantine Views of Islam // Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. Washington, D. C., 1964. No. 18. P. 118.

<sup>4</sup> We shall remind of the fact that Benedict XVI gave a speech in the University of Regensburg in which he cited this statement.

<sup>5</sup> For instance, the policy of a forced conversion of Muslims to Christianity was realised by Pope Gregory IX.

<sup>6</sup> See: Bulliet R. W. *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.

<sup>7</sup> Runciman S. *A History of the Crusades*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968. Vol. 1: *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*. P. 287. See: Armour. R. Op. cit. P. 124.

<sup>8</sup> Armour. R. Op. cit. P. 116.

<sup>9</sup> The used notions of "tolerance" and "liberality" are not identical: liberality is understood here as a quality, and tolerance as a norm, category.

a religious and philosophical concept but as a political category the attitude to which is closely connected with the rivalry of the creeds aggravated by proselytism of some of their trends.

Calls for tolerance do not always meet with support from some part of Muslim clergy. Let us cite an example of the accusations against the Russian scientist and expert on Islam of Syrian origin Taufic Ibrahim who interprets the basic sources of Islamic dogma in the spirit of tolerance. The sharpest reaction was provoked by this scientist's interpretation of the essence of the attitude of Islam to Christians and Jews and, in the first turn, by his thesis that according to the Koran these 'people of the Holy Scripture' can, like Muslims, attain the salvation in their life beyond the grave (moreover, Ibrahim extends this statement partially to atheists). It was this thesis which provoked the keen reaction among some part of Russian Muslim theologians, one of who on the net accused the scientist of being a hireling of foreign anti-Islamic forces because to doubt the fact that hellish fire is prepared for all non-Muslims is a crime. Soon this Muslim theologian unfortunately fell a victim to religious fanatics (according to the version which was made public by the press, to 'wahhabits' who he opposed not less energetically than, though paradoxically, the scientist preaching Koranic liberality).

Regarding the calls of Ibrahim for reforming Islam (and it is well-known that there has been quite a number of such attempts) the theologian returned an inexorable verdict: 'There have been many attempts to reform Islam both in Egypt and in Pakistan as well as in other countries. Hardly had half a century passed when these reformers' treacherous and poisonous fangs became visible to the people'. And an absolutely standard accusation in such cases: the scientist 'helps the ones who want to make Islam in Russia weaker'.<sup>1</sup> There were also direct threats: If one incenses Allah 'the Most High will make this person incur the anger of these very same people. This will serve as a punishment to him. Taufic Ibrahim, you should become aware of this as no person is eternal'.

There is nothing surprising in the fierce polemic which flared up around a number of the most unusual Ibrahim's theses, like the conclusion that '... The Koranical polemic with certain doctrines of Christianity and Judaism does not confirm the thesis about the falsification of the Biblical text'. In response to this one of his critics refers to a South – African Muslim preacher Didat who competently shows and proves that the Bible is not any longer either original or unaltered God's word'. And then again the scientist, the true expert on sacred texts and Muslim exegesis is accused of all sins, now he turns out to be willing to lead Russian Muslims to 'the syncretism of Syrian Alawi who say prayers in churches and make the communion by drinking wine'.<sup>2</sup>

Let us get back to the bitter criticism levelled against the concept of tolerance by some part of the Orthodox clergy; the criticism has something in common with the statements of the above-mentioned representatives of Muslim clergy. The slogan of a recent open letter of bishop Irinarch of Perm and Solikamsk to nationals and the local authorities of the region has a single meaning: 'Tolerance is when you are driven out of your home and you do not resist'.<sup>3</sup> A member of higher order of clergy Irinarch states that when 'the West is trying to impose some tolerance upon us', i.e. 'instead of love to a fellow creature as to an image and likeness of God in the international sphere and instead of cultivation of the freedom of conscience in the spiritual sphere they are trying to impose some liberality' in this way they are trying to instil in our people 'the acceptability of vice' and they are even realizing 'the di-

rect expansion against the Russian State system'. The bishop urged all orthodox citizens not to participate in conferences on tolerance and the parental community to demand that classes on tolerance at schools without parents' agreement be banned. How can we possibly speak of a dialogue!

Certainly, when tolerance is interpreted as liberality to drug addiction, moral degeneration and other malaises of the 'civilization', I am inclined to support the religious figures. But I fear lest we should splash the baby out with the water! In this sense we can ambiguously interpret the statement of a priest Georgy Ryabych about the fact that Russia 'does not need to borrow, including the educational system, such notions as 'tolerance''.<sup>4</sup> The priest rightly paid attention to the fact that in many reports and documents 'which are formed in the West and contain bitter criticism of Russia the word 'tolerance' is one of the key ones'. But is this a reason to reject such an important notion which we can understand in the sense in which it must be understood! On the whole all this polemic is quite similar to the story with the long-suffering democracy. After all, it is also a good word, isn't it?

It is significant that concern over our Russian spirituality is expressed not only by religious figures but also by scientists. Let us cite, for instance, A. V. Akimov's opinion who considers that spirituality 'at present has been lost or has degenerated. The role of Orthodoxy as a spiritual mentor is not great, non-commercial art is vegetating, prestige of knowledge is low unless it turns a profit, unselfishness is considered by the public consciousness as a whim or inferiority, labour motivation is weak, the prestige of labour is not significant unless it brings high income, there is a great number of homeless children having alive parents,<sup>5</sup> old people having alive children find themselves in a difficult situation, there is just formal social provision, indifference to the lot of the homeless and the imprisoned on the part of the state and of the majority of Russian people. All these facts leave little space for illusions regarding the high spirituality of the contemporary Russian society'.<sup>6</sup>

The expediency of this inter-religious dialogue is sometimes doubted; the ground for this is that every religion, quite naturally, will lose its significance if it declines the postulate of its superiority over others. Nevertheless, the inter-religious dialogue exists and is gradually becoming a norm of the cooperation of different creeds. However this does not reduce the acuteness of the inter-religious opposition especially in such cases when religious groups of the population live in close contact to one another. Even the groups whose beliefs have a reputation for being tolerant in these cases are inclined to show aggression with application committing acts of violence against adherents of other faiths. I mean the Hindus of India, the country where one of the most numerous Muslim communities of the world lives (by the approximate estimate not less than 150 million people) who are guilty of murders of Muslims and destruction of sacred places (this certainly does not mean that Muslims in their turn are not ready to pay back in their own coin). To my question about the reasons why Birmanese Buddhists from certain regions of Burma do not show such liberality as Buddhists from some other countries of South East Asia one of the local religious figures answered that this is because of the geographical proximity of India and consequently a greater impact of Hinduism which is inclined to be more cruel to adherents of other faiths. However even such a Buddhist and traditionally monarchic country as Thailand did not show any tolerant attitude to the Muslim population of its southern provinces which caused tension be-

<sup>1</sup> Ramazanov Kuramahammad-hadji. Who to believe: Taufic Ibrahimov or the Koran? [Available at <http://www.islam.ru/lib/warning/taibmi>]

<sup>2</sup> Abdulhakov M. To the syncretism of the Alawi? Where does T. Ibrahim lead Russian Moslems? [Available at <http://www.islam.ru/pressclub/islamophobia/taufiq>]

<sup>3</sup> Available at <http://www.permeparhia.ru/index.php?id=1016>

<sup>4</sup> Priest Georgy Ryabych: Russia does not need such notions as "tolerance". Available at <http://www.rusk.ru/newsdata.php?idar=730225>

<sup>5</sup> According to the data of the Russian press no less than 20 thousand children die annually as a result of family violence in Russian families.

<sup>6</sup> Akimov A. V. Civilizational aspects of demographic problems in Russia. Moscow, 2006. P. 20.

tween Thailand and Malaysia, the latter being accused almost of supporting separatism. Naturally this is not about the religion in itself but about the people who show cruelty, commit acts of violence on behalf of the religion without having any grounds for it.

What is so frightening about this tolerance if its advocates are beaten so savagely? They are beaten not only by extremists, terrorists and other villains but also by priests and imams who always call for the good. Then what about the dialogue – both inter-civilizational and inter-religious? Certainly the clergy do not necessarily contrast tolerance with intolerance, nevertheless there are people who will draw this conclusion from the attack against tolerance. But there is more than enough of intolerance and spite in our society. In other words the people who call for high morality are the ones who hit the morals. Probably the point is the age-old rivalry of religions? Can't we show tolerance even to adherents of the faiths which originated from one and the same Abrahamic root, to the people who believe in one God? However, the question whether Christians and Muslims believe in one and the same God is one of the most complicated ones in both Christian and Muslim theology and I would not like to intrude upon the theological sphere. Certainly, the Orthodox believers have something to worry about: the zone of expansion of Islam is extending, it is extending everywhere, there are many reasons for this and not only the demographic ones. It is sad when in the Middle East the traditionally Christian towns of Palestine, Ramallah and Bethlehem are gradually losing their Christian identity; there are fewer Christians in Syria, Lebanon and Jordan. But probably what we need under these circumstances is tolerance?

It is even more necessary in the relations (which are traditionally full of conflict) between faith and lack of faith, religion and atheism, religiousness and secularism. Europe gave its answer to the age-old argument between them a long time ago having made the secular nature of its civilization its corner stone. There are also many atheists in our society where faith was unfortunately persecuted during the Soviet period of our history – it was tolerance that the atheistic authorities lacked. Nowadays impiety is out of fashion, it has become unusual to openly practise atheism as the Nobel Prize Laureate academician Vitaly Ginzburg living in St. Petersburg does. But the paradox is that the truly religious people are few and far between, and the officials who habitually stand in churches holding candles in their hands behave not in the Christian way.

The third world religion – Buddhism – is more tolerant to secularism than the other two ones, probably owing to its non-theistic nature. 'To show care about others we need certain energy which we draw from love and compassion, – Dalai-Lama, the ecclesiastic head of Buddhists, said when speaking to the Kalmyk diaspora of the USA, – these are the values which are common to all mankind and which are not directly relevant to religion. This is what I call 'secular ethics'.<sup>1</sup> According to Dalai-Lama to promote love in the human society (and this is the absolute imperative for Buddhists) we can resort to three ways: to the above-mentioned 'secular ethics'; to theistic religions (Christianity, Judaism, Islam, recognizing the figure of God the Creator; to non-theistic religions (Jainism and Buddhism).

Speaking at the previous 8th Likhachov Scientific Conference, the High Representative of the UN Secretary-General on 'The Alliance of Civilizations', a former president of Portugal George Sampaio called for 'the development of new strategies and principles of the intercultural and inter-religious dialogue' and rightly brought up a number of ques-

tions concerning the interrelation between society, state and religion as well as the following question: 'What is the significance of the interrelations between political doctrines based on the principles of democracy and religion? What are the ways of overcoming of the mutual distrust between state and religious officials and of attaining a constructive dialogue?'<sup>2</sup>

For an adequate answer to such questions the apparent imperative is the necessity to organize a process of intra-cultural and inter-cultural global dialogue between different cultures which would involve a maximum number of participants. Referring to one of the famous authors, MacIntyre Hernan Lopez Garay writes about his idea 'for western universities to become the living models – for the society as a whole – of such totals in which the unity of life is collectively supported through developing and retaining of the traditions of moral research'.<sup>3</sup>

It is important who the subject of the inter-civilizational dialogue is, where there is both a secular and a religious constituent. Globalization amends the essence and the structure of the dialogue. Among the scientists who tried to conceptualize the dynamics of the change of configuration of traditional civilizations in the contemporary globalizing world for instance is A. Salitsky who distinguishes three 'vertical civilizations' in the contemporary world: political and ideological, business and creative.<sup>4</sup> In the course of these attempts there is the discourse in the context of which the civilizational approach is supplemented by the social one. For instance, the authors of the monograph *Population and Globalization*<sup>5</sup> write about the formation of the world-wide 'social demographic pyramid of globalization'. This pyramid involves 'the global elite'; the globalist under-elite; the people involved in the process of globalization in the national context; the people with quite high living standards who get their income in the least globalized sectors of the national economy; the rest (4.5 billion people) who are not on a level with the globalized economy but are indirectly dependent on it. It should be remarked though that the current world-wide economic crisis has shown such a great interdependency of economies and societies of different countries that this division might need reconsidering. If we still recognize this principle of the pyramid it should be mentioned that predisposition to the inter-civilizational dialogue is mostly shown by the representatives of its upper layers. At the same time these can be such people who adequately represent the values and norms of their own culture but not cosmopolitan-oriented intellectuals.

As for our country the vital importance for its lot is gained by the traditional norms of mutual respect, interaction, cooperation and rallying which have been formed in the mutual relations between different religions practised by Russian people. We can't but agree with Cyril Frolov's opinion who wrote in view of the election of His Holiness Cyril the Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia: 'Concurrently the Patriarch can call the political class for a greater social and national responsibility, suggest a formula of the historical break-through for Russia. This is a formula of national modernization on the basis of traditions and freedom multiplied by the moral responsibility of every individual'.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The Dialogue of Cultures and Partnership of Civilizations: 8th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, 22–23 May 2008. St. Petersburg, 2008. P. 32.

<sup>3</sup> López-Garay H. Dialogue Among Civilisations: What for? // Dialogue Among Civilisations. N. Y., 2005. Vol. I: Global Scholarly Publications. P. 247.

<sup>4</sup> See: Salitsky A. I. Considerations after the Rhodos forum. Vostok – ORIENS, 2004. No. 1. P. 173.

<sup>5</sup> Population and Globalisation / ed. by N. M. Rimashevskaya. M.: Nauka, 2002.

<sup>6</sup> Frolov C. "I do not want our Russia to be considered silly Russia: the historical mission of Patriarch Cyril" // Politichesky Class. 2009. No. 1 (49), January. P. 29.

<sup>1</sup> The text of the speech given by his Holiness Dalai-Lama to the Kalmyk diaspora of the USA. Philadelphia, July 16, 2008. Available at <http://savetibet.ru/2008/09/26>

A. D. Nekipelov<sup>1</sup>

## ECONOMY AND THE CULTURAL VALUES

Economy and culture are usually seen as independent spheres of social life, and they are developed according to their inner nature. Certainly, the mutual influence of these spheres on each other is recognized by everybody, but the impulses going from one sector of the society are seen as exceptionally external ones for the other sector. It is clear, for instance, that the change of cultural level of the population cannot but affect the efficiency of their production activity. Also there is no doubt that the amount of financial resources allocated for the development of cultural sphere determines its state to a significant extent. There are some attempts to 'hierarchize' the relationships between economy and culture. It is well-known that Marxist sociology refers economic relations to the 'basis', and all other segments of society, including culture, to the 'superstructure'. There are also, in a sense, contrary desires to contrast the 'high' sphere of culture to the 'low' economic sphere. The common thing for all these approaches is that they deal with interactions on the borders of the two independent spheres but not with their interpenetration.

Certainly, it would be a mistake to claim that the tendency for integral analysis of economy and culture is absent at all; the long-established in the humanitarian culture notion of 'material culture' is self-explanatory. And yet this tendency has not become dominant, determining the approach to research in different scientific disciplines. This article is devoted to illustrations of this statement and to formulation of some tasks concerning the economic theory which result from this statement.

\* \* \*

Economic science is known to study processes connected with the use of limited resources suitable for satisfying the demands of certain people and of the society as a whole. At that, the 'economic science' is a generalized notion as it embraces a great number of disciplines referring to two big and qualitatively different groups of sciences. A. Pigou, a well-known English economist of the first third of the 20th century characterized them in the following way: '... pure economics would study equilibrium and disturbances of equilibrium among groups of persons actuated by any set of motives  $x$ . Under it, among innumerable other subdivisions, would be included at once an Adam-Smithian political economy, in which  $x$  is given the value of the motives assigned to the economic man – or to the normal man – and a non-Adam-Smithian political economy, corresponding to the geometry of Lobachevski, under which  $x$  consists of love of work and hatred of earnings. Contrasted with this pure science stands realistic economics, the interest of which is concentrated upon the world known in experience, and in nowise extends to the commercial doings of a community of angels'.<sup>2</sup>

The modern economic theory, unlike A. Pigou, does not try to contrast the pure economic theory with realistic economic disciplines. It is more or less recognized that the 'pure theory', based upon axiomatic footing, is absolutely necessary for the substantial interpretation of functional dependences which are revealed during the study of a concrete economic object.

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Author of over 200 scientific works: "Sketches on Post-Communism Economy," "Development and Functioning of Economic Institutes: from 'Adventures of a Castaway' to Market Economy Based on Individual Production," "New Russian Encyclopaedia: in 12 volumes" (co-authored); scholarly articles "Globalization and Post-Socialist Countries: Some Theoretical Issues," "On Rationalization of Property Relations in the Russian Economy" and others.

<sup>2</sup> Pigou A. C. *The Economics of Welfare*. Fourth edition. L., 1932. Ch. 1.

That is why not the condescending attitude of the author to pure theory is of interest in the cited quotation, but the author's understanding that pure theory is built on the basis of initial assumptions about the nature of human aspirations. At that, A. Pigou apparently supports Smithian conception of 'economic man' and speaks ironically of the idea that people are members of 'a community of angels'.

The conception of an economic man is based on the statement according to which a member of society is indifferent to anything that is not part of their own consumption. This starting point allowed building a harmonious model of market economy (i.e. economy based on private property for consumer goods and for factors of production, and on individual liberty of members of a society); it also allowed to identify spheres of possible 'market failures'. Moreover, the theory based on the axiom of an 'economic man' leads to a very important conclusion though we are not always conscious of it: the market mechanism itself is able to identify exclusively the 'selfish' component of human needs.

It is very important to pay attention to the fact that the conception of an 'economic man' presupposes that an economic entity has a certain value system: as the desire to maximize their own consumption is, undoubtedly, a sort of value system. In this sense the cultural component is integrated in the very heart of the economic theory. It is no mere chance that their own definition of a collective (public) benefit is inherent in a society whose members are 'economic men'. The collective benefit will be achieved when the economic system is in the state of general equilibrium.

The popular quotation of A. Smith about the 'invisible hand of market' is well-known; due to this 'invisible hand' individuals' actions aimed at improving their own welfare lead to the realization of public benefit in the conditions of competitive economy. This is how a part of modern microeconomic theory – 'welfare economics' – interprets this question. At that, the equilibrium market price is identified with the amount of 'social utility' of a corresponding benefit and with 'social costs' of its production. The content of the concept of 'Pareto efficiency', which is fundamental for economic theory, also corresponds to the 'Smithian' idea of public benefit. 'Pareto efficiency' is provided when we cannot, by regrouping resources, improve the situation of some members of society without worsening the situation of somebody else. Such standard guidelines should be convenient for everybody who admits the inviolability of private property and of the principle of individual liberty; at that, it is important that the Pareto efficiency is typical of the state of general equilibrium.

It is well-known that with one and the same total of resources parameters of general equilibrium (prices, the structure of production, factor incomes) can vary greatly as they are directly dependent on the initial allocation of factors of production between members of the society or, which is the same, on the configuration of property relations. This is where one of the differences from the model of welfare of an individual person (consumer) lies: the point of maximization of the utility function of the latter depends on the structure of their preferences and on the total amount of resources at their disposal. That is why it seems natural to speak not about the independent system of preferences of a group (society) but about the conciliation of interests of its members.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See: Nekipelov A. D. Stanovleniye i funktsionirovaniye ekonomicheskikh institutov. Ot 'robinzonady' do ekonomiki, osnovannoy na individual'nom proizvodstve. [Formation and functioning of economic institutions. From adventures of a castaway to economy based on individual production]. M., 2006. P. 254–272.

But it is not infrequent that public welfare in the conditions of market system is determined through the amount of this or that national measure, most frequently through gross domestic product. According to the principle: the bigger the GDP, the higher public welfare is. It is easy to notice that such an approach is qualitatively different from the approach which is oriented on general equilibrium in its search of 'collective happiness'. As within the value national measure, which GDP is, 'details' concerning structural characteristics of the economic system disappear. In this sense the 'scalar approach', which is realised in macroeconomic research, is connected with significant simplifications, which, on one hand, make its use considerably easier, but on the other hand they impart nothing but approximate nature to its results.

Anyway, traditionally basic efforts of economic science were directed at the research of market economy with its 'economic men'. As a result the economy itself began to be identified with market, and economic sciences with sciences about market economy. It results in the frequent contrasting of economic and non-economic (political, social, cultural) factors of the development of the society. It, often subconsciously, takes place when there comes up a question of the necessity of account when making not only economic decisions, but also political, social and moral considerations.

Such a narrow interpretation of the subject of economic theory is typical of a considerable part of economists. This is why it turned out to be so established to treat the state as a non-economic institution in its essence, and, in this sense, as a 'necessary evil', whose existence economists have to put up with. In the same way the issues concerning the account of some value systems, which are different from the ones inherent in an 'economic man', are 'external' for the tasks of economic research. On this basis in the economic theory there has established a certain division of 'positive' and 'standard' analysis.

But if this position is dominant in the economic science, should we be surprised by the fact that representatives of other social and humanitarian disciplines become firmly convinced of the idea that the most important factors of social development are left beyond the sphere of interest of economists, who at the same time claim to be analyzing the key conditions of social development? It is quite natural that an outstanding culture expert D. S. Likhachov did not take a tender interest in economic research, understanding that a real man is much richer than an 'economic man' of A. Smith.<sup>1</sup>

Does it lead us to the assumption that the hypothesis of an 'economic man' led the economic theory to a dead-end and all of those working in this sphere are supposed to set themselves a task of starting its reconstruction 'from scratch'?

I am convinced that the reply should be negative. The modern economic science has proved its ability to appraise many sides of economic development. And this is not by accident: people in a greater or lesser degree bear the qualities of an 'economic man', and the desire to maximize the level of their own welfare is not alien to them.

At the same time the nature of the human being does not boil down just to the instinct of consumption. The system

of preferences of each of us includes this or that attitude to the state of different aspects of the surrounding world, and we are often ready to sacrifice some part of our individual consumption for the sake of such 'non-economic' aims as, say, the equity of the distribution of income. In this sense Pareto efficiency is not an ideal for many of us.

Consequently, the 'non-selfish' component should be included in the individual functions of welfare, and on this basis we should build on an additional storey to the modern 'mainstream' (but not build it in the place of the modern 'mainstream'). It is great and complex work, but some of its peculiarities are clear now. For instance, there is no doubt that on this 'second storey' the state and many of the institutions of the civil society will not be 'unwelcome guests', but they will be full-blooded participants of the economic process; and they will correct the 'imperfection' of the market as of a mechanism of identification and conciliation of individual interests.

Ideas close to this one had appeared before. I will refer to the works of a prominent American economist J. K. Galbraith and, first of all to one of his latest books *The Food Society. The Humane Agenda*.<sup>2</sup> But, unfortunately, they have not yet been able to break the strict bounds of 'mainstream'.

Meanwhile, the currency of this way of development of the economic theory, to my mind, is especially evident in the conditions of aggravation (and, probably, of entering the crisis stage) of a number of global processes, which just cannot be regulated on purely market basis. The point in question is the disruption of ecological systems and climate changes caused by human activity, the impossibility of energy supply of the current direction of the development of world economy, overcoming of awful poverty of a great number of people; apart from anything else this human activity provokes and nourishes such extreme processes as terrorism.

An finally, the last point to make. It would be mistaken to suppose that the offered direction of the development of economic theory is aimed at the absorption of other social science and humanitarian disciplines by it. It is impossible and unnecessary. What is important is to break the artificial wall between economic and other social-humanitarian sciences; this wall appeared due to economists' traditional appeal to almost purely mercenary sides of human nature. And then the economic theory will gain a possibility to organically base upon fundamental achievements of philosophers, culture experts, psychologists, sociologists and political scientists when creating its constructs, which are in this or that way oriented on solving the problem of allocation of limited resources.

In a broader sense the matter is about the change of the long-established habit of considering the society to be the aggregate of separate subsystems – political, economic and cultural ones – which interact only on their 'junctions'. In the new paradigm the difference between separate humanitarian-social disciplines should consist not in the fact that they study 'different parts' of society, but in the fact that they consider one and the same object – the society – from different sight angles.

<sup>1</sup> See: *Zapesotsky A. S. Ekonomicheskoye vozreniya akademika D.S. Likhachova (poslesloviye k prazdnovaniyu 100-letiya)* [Economic views of academician D. S. Likhachov (Afterword to the celebration of his 100th anniversary)] // *Trud i sotsial'nyye otnosheniya*, 2007. No. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Galbraith J. K. The Good Society. The Humane Agenda*. Boston; N. Y., 1996.

N. D. Nikandrov<sup>2</sup>

## EDUCATION AS A CROSS-CULTURAL DIALOGUE

As far as education in the pedagogical sense is the domain of humanitarian knowledge, it can be easily assumed that its definitions are numerous. For practical purposes the general definitions, provided in the corresponding Law of the Russian Federation 'On Education', adopted in 1992 and amended not once, seem to be quite adequate. This basic notion within this law is defined as 'upbringing and training in the interest of an individual, society and state'.

But it is easy to understand that, as it happens in others subject areas, a variety of approaches is possible. It depends on the viewpoint, approach or perspective. It is possible to draw an analogy with an object-subject differentiation in a scientific research. Even though a variety of approaches and definitions are possible, the object is traditionally believed to be selected from some empirical area. It does not depend on an investigator per se ('is objective', putting the tautology aside). On the contrary, the subject of a research is a certain creativity of the researcher. It is being developed in the sense that the researcher is active in his choice of the point of view, approach, perspective, on which account one and the same object is projected quite differently. The frequent scheme of such investigation is 'A is (considered) B'. Thus, this report will consider education as a cross-cultural dialogue.

This kind of approach can hardly be considered an arbitrary play of mind. There is no doubt that this kind of approach has its grounds. The world has always been a place of a few civilizations and plenty of cultures. They replaced one another, interrelated, coexisted peacefully and competed with each other. A brief article on modern times gives no chance for a detailed history survey, but some historical facts are important for understanding the present.

Thus, it used to be believed that man preserves his culture notwithstanding voluntary or forced change of residence. *Coelum, non animam mutant, cui trans mare currunt* (those who move across the seas change the skies, but not their souls), as an ancient Latin aphorism puts it. Nowadays, in two thousand years similar examples are found, when the fifth descent of Russian families abroad speak Russian (with a strong accent though) and go to Orthodox church. At this point, we can think of the Romans, who having conquered Greece, not only appreciated its culture, but also recognized its more advanced value.

Another well-known example is taken from a much later period. I am referring to the famous theory and practice of 'the melting pot' in the USA.

The Founding Fathers of the Northern United States brought the European English-speaking culture to that continent. They terminated and enslaved a lot of aboriginal people, almost suppressed their culture. Later, the main task was to 'rechristen' each immigrant into 'the right immigrant', who would be assimilated into a new US culture. There was one important exception though: like in the ancient world, almost till the middle of the 19th century in the USA (till the

end of the 1860s, to be exact, when slavery was abolished) this was applied to free people only. Slaves, 'talking tools', evidently needed no special culture. Incidentally, serfdom in Russia was abolished some years earlier than slavery in the USA. And keeping in mind a low culture level among serfs, one must take into account that it was their native culture, not newly-introduced, the one that came into existence under 'the local skies'.

A lot of interesting facts about the export and import of cultures, about suppression of cultures, about cultural imperialism and so on can be mentioned here. And one cannot say that it all has already sunk into oblivion and become common facts of history. The extensive literature describes quite modern facts that refer to some cultures of Africa, Australia, Asia, Northern and Southern Americas. But still nowadays a keyword for interactions of cultures and education of various countries and the people is 'globalization', globalization with all its known — but to different extent and correlation — pros and cons (Tangyan, 2004).

Over the past few years a lot of interesting works comparing and contrasting cultural-educational policies in different countries have appeared in Russia (Balitskaya, 2008; Gukalenko, 2003; Dzhurinsky, 2008 and others). Out of many problems this sphere is concerned with, these works focus on the educational policy, though they touch upon other aspects as well. Thus, B. L. Vulfson makes the pedagogical aspects of education the central topic of his concern. For him, globalization and cross-cultural contact are the environment of the education (Vulfson, 2009). It would be interesting to mention here that it is the latter aspect — devoted to that very problem, with a variety of titles and key words — that has been predominating in the western scientific literature over the past decades. L. H. Ekstrand provides an in-depth review of this problem in an International Educational Encyclopaedia (Ekstrand, 1994).

It seems to be only valid to believe that the issues of educational policy, as well as the issues of upbringing proper, have different targets. At the same time let us not forget that one cannot grasp the ungraspable. Thus, why don't we turn our attention just to the points that, to my mind, have the utmost importance for those who are involved into organizing and managing the educational process at school and institutes of higher education? With this approach, the topic of the present article would be very close to the definition of multicultural education, provided in the abovementioned Encyclopaedia: it is 'a kind of usually formal education (i.e. provided by specially organized institutes — N.N.) with the involvement of two or more cultures' (Ekstrand, 1994: 3960). We will accept some positions that have been more or less established in this discourse (though there is still an on-going debate about them). The assumption that we start with is that there is some theoretical concept and some quite real structure that can be called the global culture. Furthermore, the idea of developed and undeveloped culture is just conventional, because, if we take the present, cultures are diverse. Then, in accordance with the international laws, the cultures of different countries and different people enjoy equal rights. If we accept these hypotheses as they are — because there is no need or necessity whatsoever to prove them here — three conclusions can be made. First, it is desirable and advisable to expose man, especially young man, to all the richness of the global culture. The idea would be that he should know some of it to some extent (this one can be really different). Second, it is necessary that tolerance and respect to other ('strange') cultures be cultivated in man, even if some cultures or some

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Award of the President of the Russian Federation in the field of education in 2000 (2001) — for a series of research works on the subject "Social and cultural grounds for integrating educational environment (theoretical principles, psychological and pedagogical conditions, scientific and practical model)" for professional education at universities.



of their aspects seem alien to him. In the third place, if education is the culture translation process from generation to generation, it is advisory that the very process of education be entirely based upon a cross-cultural dialogue. In this respect one more Latin aphorism is significant — *cave hominem unius libri* (beware the man of one book), i.e. as we would put it nowadays, it is harmful when one is limited in one's cultural views by the only approach, few sources, a rigid ideological scheme.

This problem-solving process is partially natural, though it is possible to purposefully concentrate upon some issues. For instance, teaching any topic of any subject at any level a teacher (lecturer, tutor) usually gives at least a brief survey of the topical history. Euclidean Postulate, Pythagorean Proposition, Ohm Law, the invention of gunpowder or a space vehicle, of an internal combustion engine, Ptolemaic System or Copernican System, they all provide a good opportunity to recollect (and remind of) the time, the level of science development, and those people who were creating and developing it. These simple examples from the secondary school course can be easily extrapolated on to other subject and other levels of education. It is important to keep in mind though that the teacher should evaluate those 'inclusions' as a meaningful part, but not as a waste of time.

These situations are not quite new. Some time ago they were discussed within the framework of interdisciplinary relations. And cross-cultural dialogue was quite correctly considered to be a method that could cultivate an interest in the subject and promote the subject mastering. Given the result of the process, it is not relevant whether the problem is being solved alongside with other problems or by the teacher's task-oriented planning and methodical activities. But the result itself (acquisition of the global culture, tolerance and respect for other cultures) can be more impressive, provided some points in the culturalistic and pedagogical aspects are settled in advance.

It seems useful that a list of priorities be made up, i.e. it should be decided at which parts of education the process is aimed purposefully in the framework of a cross-cultural dialogue, some special matching and comparison, and which parts are covered incidentally, by the way. It seems also important to decide upon the age priorities, i.e. what it all should start with at a particular age of a child. A solid base to such reflections is provided by some international instruments also adopted in this country.

Thus, article 26 of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the UNO in 1948, says that 'Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace'.

The Convention on the Rights of Children, adopted by the UNESCO 40 years later, definitely specifies some aspects of education:

- (a) The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest;
- (b) The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations;
- (c) The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own;
- (d) The preparation of the child for responsible life in an open society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic,

national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin.

The quotations are quite lengthy, and though almost each phrase here is worthy of special attention, it is necessary to concentrate upon just some important nuances. Both documents emphasize the development of a human personality, or all-round development of personality, in terms of a less popular language. But this becomes possible only under the condition that a growing human be exposed to very different subject areas, various communicative and language situations, i.e. the situations of an organized cross-cultural dialogue.

The subject area exposure has been under the focus above. These particular examples can be easily extrapolated onto other educational areas and levels. The communicative aspects that comprise the language aspect are of no less importance. It would only be reasonable to tell the students about different communicative aspects in various cultures and to demonstrate or practise them. Making the easiest, sometimes funny instances the starting point ('Bulgarians and Russians move their heads differently to express agreement and disagreement'), we proceed to more serious situations ('The colour for mourning is white', 'the smile and bows of the Japanese' etc.). It is clear that the content matter of the examples and the details of the comments depend on a number of reasons.

These suggestions lead to understanding the fact that language issues should not be solved in an entirely pragmatic way. The English language, in particular, is the preferable, most widely used language of international communication, the language of the Internet. Only this approach unites diversified students considerably. It has been recognized in the USA. Alongside with their 'melting pot' orientation, the law on the state language has never been adopted, the English language is not regarded as such. On the other hand, Switzerland has three state languages, Canada has two. The approaches to the matter vary.

Article 29 (paragraph 'c') of the Convention on the Rights of Children leads to an obvious conclusion: even in the environment of a real cross-cultural dialogue, the desire of mastering universal values (because any upbringing involves bringing up the values), everything should start from where 'the motherland originates'. Enumeration of different values in the article is not a coincidence. Their constant repetition does not change the matter. But there is another aspect of the issue of indisputable significance of the universal values. With a cross-cultural dialogue as a basis, it can be demonstrated how representatives of different cultures contribute to the treasury of the ideas that are related to the universal values. The most evident demonstration of this is a simplified (for educational purposes) analysis of the traditional world religions.

Thus, all religions advocate kindness, compassion, mutual aid. This is the core of all the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament demanding a man's attitude to God (the first four commandments) and a man's attitude to another man. The central point of the Sermon on the Mount (now it is the New Testament) is the teaching of a Christian charity. Treat others the way you want to be treated is the essence of Christian charity as a universal value. The Quran is much younger than the Old and the New Testament. But this fundamental Muslim book also narrates about love for one's neighbour and about the moral imperative: 'Allah loves those who do good things. Allah is with them who carry their burden (difficulties) with patience; don't hurt others and you won't be hurt; if you do good things, you do so for your own soul; if you do evil, you do so to yourself'. But even prior to this, the Egyptian Book of the Dead that accompanied people into the other world said the same: 'I have done things that people talk about, that the

gods are pleased with; I pleased god with what he desires; I gave bread to the poor, water to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, a boat to those who don't have it'. The essence of Buddhism lies in the teaching on compassion, on its end for all living beings, on mutual compassion. These instances of centuries-old history provide a good example of analogies and similarities of religions, putting aside their nature — whether they were inspired by God or created by human hand and mind.

In December 2007 at the Conference in Kaluga, with the top representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church and Minister of Education and Science, the decision was taken to establish a secondary school educational domain 'Religious and Moral Culture'. This fact reflects the acuteness of the problem in the society. The idea is that the secondary school students should have a choice in the framework of the compulsory area, whether to study those problems as based upon the ideas of the Orthodoxy or some other Christian confession, Islam, Judaism or Buddhism. To study the problems of morals and moral behaviour within the framework of 'civil ethics' is another option. There has been a good deal of agreement on those issues so far, though the debates are still going on. But the main point is that this domain is a good site for a cross-cultural dialogue in the environment of education. I can put it in a more straightforward way: the whole idea will not be possible with a different approach, because it will divide, discriminate the children in a class instead of promoting social peace starting from early childhood.

Laws of Hammurabi and Solomon, the Domostroy (the Household Management Code) as well as different declarations that preceded revolutions or followed them (in France, the USA, Russia etc.) declared the moral norms: the values that included centuries-old practices. It is clear at the same time that state documents or laws and universal values are not identical. Even if we don't agree completely with the statement that a state is the will of the ruling class that has the value of law, even if we take social compact as the central idea, the fact remains: many values declared by a state are the values of the dominating group of population (class, elite etc.). This is also the problem that finds its solutions, partial though, within the framework of a cross-cultural dialogue. I can hardly imagine an oligarch and a tramp in a brotherly embrace, and though according to the law they enjoy identical rights, their practical potential is quite different. There is also a notion of social justice, and just envy, which is so human. But a cross-cultural dialogue gives an opportunity to achieve some understanding between people with different social, material and educational background.

A lot of countries nowadays face rather complicated issues of disagreement between ethnic groups. The instances of intolerance are quite common and cruel. From a historical point of view it is interesting to compare Catholicism, that was spread by force, and Orthodoxy, that was successful in avoiding the extremes. Here is the citation of an orthodox saint, Father Superior of Kiev-Pechorsky Monastery (later Lavra), Feodosiy, who wrote in 19th century about an overwhelming compassion: 'Show mercy not only to those of your own faith, but also to those other faiths: be he naked suffering a winter time, be he in trouble, whether he be a Jew, or a Saracen, or a Bulgarian, or a heretic, or a Latin, or a pagan; show mercy to them all, save them all the way you can.'

Yet another idea that is clearly defined in all cultures is the idea of patriotism, love for one's country. It is a truly universal notion, though the countries might be different. A glance at the history of a country's origin will suffice. A glance at the content matter of state symbols (National Flag, National Emblem, National Anthem) gives us the idea of some significant historic events, national heroes, national symbols that have been purposefully or randomly chosen

etc. A country's size or power is often of minor importance. Both vast countries, like Russia, and smaller or even tiny countries have their own patriotic songs, legends and customs. A voluntary wish to leave one's own country for good shows material or moral troubles in the country or/and in a life of an individual. In the course of a comparative analysis of legends, tales, epics of different countries, different idioms of foreign languages, i.e. drifting in the cross-cultural currents, an individual becomes a citizen of the world and a real citizen: a patriot of one's own country. If we use the word 'bias', a word that is somewhat dated in the political sense, then the bias towards either side comes out destructive. A citizen of the world changes into a cosmopolitan fond of 'the abroad', and a patriot changes into a nationalist.

In the light of all abovementioned it becomes obvious that a cross-cultural dialogue has a special importance for studying the humanities. It might be even assumed that without such a dialogue the studies of any branch of the humanities at any educational level would be incomplete or even misinterpreted. Some useful examples can easily be found in the history of this country and other countries as well. The innocent incidents are found in the joke about Russia as a 'homeland of elephants', when some fact are being deliberately corrupted to prove the superiority of one's own country, culture, achievements. Alas, not all the incidents are as innocent as this one. An individual (or a group) may deliberately exclude some significant information from another culture to praise one's own. Or vice versa, they may exclude some damaging (in a political sense) part of one's culture to be used for educational purposes, indoctrination and brain drain — the names ascribed can be various. So can be the tools. One could burn 'harmful' books, one could place them into special departments in the libraries with an access for a few people only (the so called 'special storage'), one could jam radio and television broadcasts. One can justify such actions by good intentions, for example, by the desire to bring up a patriot. In this aspect the Fascist Germany is a model example. J. Hebbels was not in charge of the Ministry of Propaganda, he was not the Minister of Propaganda. The full name of the notorious ministry was the Ministry of Public Education and Propaganda (Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda). There was also another ministry that was closely connected to the former, the Ministry of Science, Upbringing and Public Education (Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung). In correspondence with their goals, their activities were quite efficient. This system produced 'genuine Aryans' with a 'firm Nordic character' who were not burdened with doubts or knowledge about different ideas and cultures, who were convinced of the superiority of their own race, nation and culture. It was much easier to make such people act severely, cruelly and even inhumanly. We know the results.

I would like to think that we — the world — won't face such threats again. Nevertheless, some dangerous symptoms can be detected, not only 'somewhere over there', but also over here. The process of migration, low material status, especially in the environment of the crisis, the contents of mass media with their abundance of violence of different kinds, give rise to the neurotisation of the population, encourage the aggression in minds and deeds. The universal truth that crime and terrorism have no ethnicity can be often repeated. But one cannot ignore the fact that aggression will be partly exercised against those of an 'alien' nation, culture, location etc. It stands to reason that educational methods cannot solve the problems that law enforcement agencies are supposed to deal with. But in the long run it is a cross-cultural dialogue through education that can somewhat lessen the aggression.

Sometimes one thinks of a proverbial saying: when negotiations are in progress, when people talk, cannons keep silent. Given a more general interpretation of this saying, it can be assumed that a cross-cultural dialogue in the educational environment makes a valid contribution into the problem-solving process in the sphere of mutual understanding, global culture, national and social tolerance.

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Yu. S. Osipov<sup>1</sup>

### RUSSIAN SCIENCE AS A DIALOGUE OF CULTURES

Science is a most important and to a great extent decisive factor of the modern civilization which qualitatively changes its face and makes a radical impact on all sides of life of the modern society; it also provides social, economic, technical and spiritual progress of the mankind. Science today is an organic context of human objective reality, a major requisite for human thinking and behaviour, a factor of a person's everyday life which thoroughly influences a man's outlook and deeply transforms their worldview and perception of the world. A full-fledged, effectively developing science is a powerful factor of increasing the strength and potencies of a state and of a society. Science and scientific thinking become a peculiar paradigm of the modern culture and the modern consciousness. Scientific and technical, and then informational and computer revolutions radically change the form of the modern world and make science the decisive factor of socio-cultural development.

Science is the field of culture which is connected with the qualitatively determined activity concerning forming a system of knowledge about the nature, the human being and the society. Modern scientific knowledge is a gigantic universe of directions, schools, disciplines, different spheres of knowledge, each of them singling out a separate sector, a segment of reality, some part of the integral universal life world of the human being. The essence of science, its strength consists in the fact that scientific knowledge aspires to objectivity, to general significance; it is based upon experiment on one hand, and on theoretical models on the other hand, it requires logical validity and evidence. Science aspires to seeing the world as it is, as it exists by itself in all the range of definitions. It is not a mere chance that science as a social institution and a factor of culture appeared in the Modern Age, in the age of crisis of religious outlook, and it developed along with the increase in the need of the society for objective, conclusive, generally significant knowledge which can be applied in practice.

Science is a specific type of consciousness and activity, a special way of treating reality. Thus many sides of the life

of science and of scientific knowledge can be understood as a dialogue in culture and a dialogue of cultures.

The concept of a dialogue occupies an important place in the modern thinking. Dialogue to some extent is an inner, deep quality of the modern consciousness, behaviour and communication. We can speak even about the 'dialogue nature' of the modern civilization. It is no mere chance that the idea of a dialogue is represented in different fields of knowledge: in philosophy (A. F. Losev, M. M. Bakhtin, M. S. Kagan), in the history of culture (D. S. Likhachov, V. S. Bibler), in semiotics (Yu. M. Lotman), in pedagogy (V. A. Sukhomlinsky, A. O. Kurganov), in psychology (D. B. Elkonin). Dialogue and, first of all, dialogue of cultures is interaction, mutual attraction and mutual repulsion of two subjects, poles, intellectual phenomena, two mentalities aimed at achieving mutual understanding, interpenetration, creation of some single problem field.

In what sense can we speak about science in the context of the problem of dialogue of cultures?

First of all, science in itself can be seen as the most important form of dialogue of a scientist with the world of reality, an interview with it aimed at learning and comprehending, at eliciting its secrets. A scientist is moved by a thirst for unravelling the riddles of the universe.

The first Russian state figure who became aware of the decisive role of science, of its indispensable place in culture was Peter I. It was not a mere chance that the pinnacle of his grandiose transforming activity was the Ukase of the Governing Senate of February 8th, 1724 on establishing the Academy of Sciences and Arts. Making titanic efforts to withdraw Russia from the captivity of backwardness Peter, by his intuition of genius, understood the exceptional significance of science in public education, of increasing the civilization of the people, in the consolidation of the Russian state, of developing vast territories and countless riches, of modernization of the army and of the fleet, of the development of industry and trade. To learn all secrets of the nature and to place them to the service of the Russians, this was what Peter longed for. At that, what is important is the fact that Peter oriented science not only on applied knowledge, which is directly practically applicable, but, first of all, on fundamental, theoretical knowledge, which, by the way, was not understood by his contemporaries and associates.

From its first steps the Russian science did not appear as a timid apprentice of the world science, it appeared as its

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organic part, an equal participant of the worldwide dialogue of knowledge. Social structures were transformed, political regimes, ideologies and forms of government changed. But the Russian science and its recognized leader, the Academy of Sciences, was preserved and developed. In the hardest of times the work of prominent scientists in various fields of knowledge continued. At that, the Russian science has always developed in the context of the world science, of the live participation in its problems and tendencies. The dialogue of our country's and the world science takes on special significance today, in the conditions of economic, ecological, informational and cultural globalization of social processes of the modern mankind.

The Russian science is always an intense interaction, a dialogue of natural-science and socio-humanitarian knowledge. It is well-known that mathematics, mechanics, physics, chemistry, biology, geosciences, technical knowledge became brilliantly developed. Inestimable is the role of scientific-technical and natural-science knowledge in understanding the nature, in using its natural forces for the benefit of the human being. But the Russian science has always understood the exceptional significance of the humanitarian knowledge as of the most important element of the spiritual culture. Despite all the hardships and tragedies which the 20th century was so lavish with, humanitarian and social sciences in Russia continued their development and existence and formed intense spiritual and intellectual field of culture, time and again breathing new life into the ideas of humaneness and humanism. Recognizing all the significance of the science in whole, there is no doubt that it is the humanitarian knowledge which plays a decisive role in the formation of the spiritual world of a personality, supports and successively passes on the fundamental bases of the national self-consciousness of the people, and realizes the emotional and moral upbringing.

It is cooperation and the mutually important dialogue of humanitarian and natural sciences (let alone the fact that their opposition today is assuming relational nature) that is characteristic of the Russian science. Polymath, aspiration to the 'integral knowledge', the desire to embrace the world from different sides, from the points of view of different sciences, to build bridges between them – all these are characteristic of the Russian science. Therefore, it is quite natural that our country's science organically includes a number of names of scientists who were notable for the full-scale approach to the universe, who made outstanding discoveries in various fields. Certainly, the founder here is Mikhail Vasilyevich Lomonosov, another Russian genius. Pushkin had good reasons for calling him 'the first Russian university'. Mechanics, physics, chemistry, mineralogy, astronomy, history, philology, poetry... And all these spheres of knowledge were not separate fragments for Lomonosov. For him they merged in a single picture of the universe, orderliness and harmony running through this worldview, it being intrinsically coordinated and giving rise to delight and surprise at the perfection of the world.

Pavel Florensky was also encyclopaedic: a thinker and a scientist who died in Stalin's prison camps. He conducted research in physics, cosmology, soil science, was proficient in dielectrics, was one of the developers of the plan of electrification of Russia. And at the same time – philosophy, theology, arts. At that, problems of statehood, problems of science and of artistic creation were combined in his integrated universal outlook which organically connected the natural, the anthropological, the cultural, as well as the natural-science and the humanitarian. This entire variety awash with the ideas of life and creation was connected with belief in the single basis of all things, in the universal source being present in it. It is important to emphasize that the artistic world-view acted in a different role, a different realization of the image of the reality created by science and technology.

I recall V. I. Vernadsky, a biochemist, an astrophysicist, an anthropologist, a cosmist, a thinker. Vernadsky developed the theory of biosphere and noosphere. The living origin was understood by the scientist as planetary: a cosmic force, as a result of the vital activity of all organisms present on the Earth. At that, this unity of the natural-science and the humanitarian was seen as an essential community of the alive and the dead. A radically new origin is introduced to the world, according by V. I. Vernadsky, by the emergence of the human being. The new form, the highest phase of the development of biosphere when human activity gains planetary scale was called noosphere by Vernadsky. First of all, the noosphere is characterized by the development of scientific knowledge, its universalization, and the development of means of communication, and on this basis by the social and spiritual union and transformation of the mankind.

Sweeping the scientific thought of Russia we can call dozens of names of scientists who were not able to withdraw within the narrow bounds of one subject, who were capable of broad generalizations, of the dialogue with various fields of knowledge; while analyzing these or those problems they were trying to go out in the broad open of theoretical generalizations, in the entire multi-aspect space of human existence. They are: the founder of cultural-historical theory of human psyche L. S. Vygotsky, a historian of antique, revivalist and Russian aesthetics A. F. Losev, the author of the conception of the dialogue nature of consciousness and culture M. M. Bakhtin, a researcher of the West European Middle Ages A. Y. Gurevich, the founder of the semiotic school of Tartu Yu. M. Lotman, a biologist, historian and theorist of science, a scientist and a person of encyclopaedic knowledge A. A. Lyubishchev. And this list can easily be multiplied.

The most important part of understanding science as a dialogue is the dialogue of traditions and innovation within it. The true science is always dynamic; it is supplied with energies of creation and of courageous search. But at the same time it is traditional, the succession of conceptions, schools and generations is strong.

Its strength at all stages of life in Russia has always consisted in passing on the baton from coryphées of science, from experts in scientific knowledge to the young and the gifted. Science lives a full-blooded, full-fledged life only when this link is retained. Being the bearer of tradition the older generation fulfils a keen interaction of the past and the future.

The problem of tradition and innovation in science begins to involve a broader problem of stability and changeability in culture. The past of the culture is its roots, its bases, and its depository of the basic principles. In the past there are many answers to the problems of today. It is not a mere chance that one of the collections of works of Dmitry Likhachov is called: 'From the past to the future'. Why has this issue become so acute?

We live at the age of change. The world is at the crossroads. Not some details, but general trends of the development of the mankind, its geopolitical, economic, national and cultural strategies are being called into question and are being reviewed. The world becomes multi-polar. There is an illusion that the liberal-democratic, western way of civilization is the only one possible, this illusion being contradicted by the specific geopolitical and cultural dynamics of other regions of the world (Latin America, Japan, China, the Arab world). There arises a similar problem in Russia. The question seems to be as follows: shall we be able to fit in with the world order, with the planetary information, economic and political structures without sacrificing our originality, our traditions and peculiarities or shall we blindly and thoughtlessly adjust ourselves to western standards borrowing 'ours' and 'others' indiscriminately? It fully refers both to science and to the sphere of education.

The reforms of the '90s of the previous century revealed all the complexity and contradictoriness of the historical development, the different interpretations and the tragic character of lots of culture; it became apparent that there is no prospect in an uncritical transference of others' experience, in the mechanical borrowing of the western model. Culture was struck by it particularly painfully. 'The reverse side' of a free market with its principle 'everything for sale' and with the cult of profit, the disastrous effect of the slogan of 'self-contained freedom', the destruction and depreciation of the sense and the significance of non-utilitarian and non-pragmatic attitude to the world were boldly highlighted. For the consciousness of the intellectuals, in particular, for the brain-power cultural dead-ends appeared to be the most acute ones: taking the proscenium by the self-sufficient values of consumption, supplanting of the principle of a personality's self-realization by principles of comfort and pleasure, pragmatism and exceptional orientation on success, dominance of 'mass pseudo-culture', 'glamour', depreciation of the spiritual aspect of a person, ousting the spiritual nature to the margins of life practice. Interests and tastes of some influential part of the modern society, which denied the age-old humanistic ideals and traditions of Russia, objectively deprave the Russian science, make its necessity, its root connection with the Motherland problematic, call into question the ability of scientists for inspired and selfless labour.

The national security of Russia is put at stake, Russia being a multi-national country with a peculiar and to a large extent unique geopolitical position, with vast territories, with deep and old historical traditions.

The cultural tradition is a dialogue with the past. While we recognize the importance and necessity of economic, ecological, social, national and state issues, the problem of culture is of particular importance as a spiritual problem; because culture is an ideal spiritual and sense component of human existence.

We will try to single out some important values of the Russian culture, which have a direct relationship to science; it is necessary either to keep these values or to rehabilitate them.

1. The integrity of interpretation of the world. It has always been characteristic of the Russian thought to under-

stand the insufficiency, narrowness, one-sidedness of the 'differentiative' approach to knowledge, of the one-sidedness of absolutization of the 'subject division'. It is typical to aspire to thinking about the universum, to cognizing the whole, to keeping the general picture in mind. It is especially characteristic of human-studying knowledge. The image of a Human being, an integral, thorough, and seen from the positions of active humanism has always acted as an unseen precondition of the Russian science. At that, not only resources of scientific experience were used, but also the ones of artistic, philosophical and moral experience.

2. The specific humanitarian nature of the Russian thought, though understanding the immense role of science and technology is the denial of technocratic and positivist view of the aims and tasks of the human being, of their mission in the modern world. Concentration on the 'inner human being' and, first of all, on their spiritual and moral component – this is where the Russian thought saw the decisive side of human existence.

3. Emphasizing the essential role of culture in the life of society, understanding the fact that science, technology, civilization without culture lack sense, moreover, turn into the source of dangers and threats for the mankind. At that, it is characteristic to interpret culture in itself, first of all, as a spiritual essence, as an ideal and sense measure of the life of a society. That is why the creative component of a human being is so important for the Russian thought, and it is typical of our country's traditions to understand it as personal creation, 'self-building', 'clever doing'.

4. Finally, we can single out the original existentiality of the Russian thought, the sympathetic understanding of the human personality, of their pains and joys, of successes and failures, not just cognition, but sympathy with a human being, the deep vision of their problems. That is why the type of a scientist who is in close touch with the world, who is a person of high spirituality and morals, who feels the organic link with reality, with the nature and with other people has always been characteristic of the Russian science.

The Russian science is a living participator in the dialogue of human existence.

I. N. Panarin<sup>1</sup>

## RUSSIA AND THE USA: BALANCE OF INTERESTS UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF GLOBAL CRISIS

Relations with the USA are one of the priorities of foreign policy of Russia, and the important factor of international stability. Under the conditions of the global crisis, the key tasks involve consistent development of the relations within constructive and predictable channel, enlargement of the interest coincidence sphere, diminishing of the contradictory zones on the basis of seeking compromises with due consideration of each other's national interests.

In 1942, President F. Roosevelt in his message to the USA Congress wrote: 'Courageous resistance of the Russian people is an immense help to all other peoples fighting the Nazi military machine. This resistance has completely destroyed the Nazi plans and dispelled the myth of invincibility of the Nazi.'

At Stalingrad and Kursk, a turning point occurred in the great fight against the fascism, and in May 1945 the victory banner was already streaming over the Reichstag.

These historical circumstances determine the importance of the today rebooting and improvement of interrelations

between our great states. Indeed, the global world crisis is the main threat to the modern system of international political and economic interrelationships, to the level and the way of life of our countries' people.

In the Declaration on strategic frames of the Russian-American interrelations passed on 5 April 2008, the complex character of interaction between Russia and the USA was reflected for the main trends of providing stable continuity in future. In 2009, positive premises occurred for improvement of the dialogue between Russia and the USA.

It is desirable that this evident tendency should develop and strengthen, that a balance of mutual interests should be found in the conditions of the global crisis.

Here are the key theses related to determining the new possibilities for rendering a new impulse to the Russian-American dialogue.

1. The optimal ideological formula that would prompt successful implementation of the anti-crisis course of Russia in the nearest future, in our opinion, comprises the 'Integration of the Eurasia' formula based on spiritual-geopolitical views

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of Alexander Nevsky and the modern models of integration processes within the European Union. Eurasia is a great drawing-board for the orchestra of original civilizations capable of accomplishing innovation technological breakthrough. In this connection, gradual creation of the Eurasian Union by 2012 using the constructive experience of the interstate structuring of the EC, CIS, EURASES is a positive prospect in fighting the global crisis. The Eurasian Union could have two capitals (the northern in St. Petersburg, the southern in Alma-Ata). V.V. Putin must become the Sovereign of the new interstate formation.

2. Citizens of our country are warily regarding the enhancement of military power of the USA near the European borders of Russia. All the more so that the Russian military force in Kaliningrad Region has been by several times reduced which is exactly an example of a quite open and pragmatic approach to safety.

In Russia, 70 times as many people died during the 2nd World War as in the USA, therefore Russians perceive with extreme animosity the approaching of military infrastructure to the borders of Russia. And one can understand the citizens of Russia, too. It is just from the West that twice during the 20th century unbidden and cruel guests came to the Russian land. In this connection, the problem of making a new Contract of European safety 'Helsinki plus' is quite an urgent problem for Russia.

3. The necessity of joint Russian-American actions to overcome the world crisis has ripened. In our opinion, it would be expedient for the USA and Russia to unite their efforts to overcome the global crisis. In this connection, it seems expedient to discuss a few proposals.

(a). Development of a joint anti-crisis programme and proposals for the 'twenty' countries meeting in autumn.

(b). Joint analysis of the problems associated with the creation of a new international currency ACURE and introduction of the rouble into the IMF 'basket'.

(c). Gradual and smooth transition to new mutual settlement between our countries (50% roubles, 50% US dollars).

4. Joint analysis of the 200-year Russian-American diplomatic relations.

May I remind the participants of the Likhachov Conference that Russia did more than any other world state for appearance of the independent American State. During the liberation war of Americans for their independence from the Great Britain (1775–83), the Russian Empress Catherine the Great refused Englishmen and did not send to America a Russian expeditionary corps for suppression of the insurrection against the English King.

And during the Civil War in the USA (1861–65), two Russian squadrons for three years stayed in New York and San Francisco protecting American shores from a possible armed intervention by the English fleet on the side of the Southerners. So, Russia twice made a decisive contribution to the issue of preserving the American State system.

In the 21st century, Russia can for the third time help the USA preserve its State system. May I briefly remind of my hypothesis of the possibility of the USA disintegration in 2010? It was first published in 1998 at the International Conference in Australia. I would very much dislike it if my long-standing prognosis comes true. The latest events in the USA, however (crash in the Wall Street, growth of unemployment, GM bankruptcy, declarations by the Texan Governor, etc.), cause a certain alarm in me as an analyst.

Under the conditions of enhancing negative tendencies in the American and world economy, the possibility of a constructive development of the Russian-American relations remains the most important factor of preserving the American state system. On just this mutual concern the

Russian-American relations can and must be construed in future.

5. Joint formation of anti-crisis (new) world elite.

The important condition of a successful fight against the global financial-economic crisis involves the formation of a new world political elite oriented to stable development of the world without conflicts, implementation of the strategic goals with maximal consideration of national political elites' interests.

One should emphasize that, at the end of the 20th century, the American political elite failed to formulate the optimal model of the world development after the disintegration of the USSR. The unique possibility of constructing a new model of the world development after the disintegration of the Warsaw pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance was, unfortunately, missed. The USA analytical centres, when analyzing the new situation in the world, failed to go beyond the frames of the 'cold war' stereotypes. The problem is that the American analytical centres went on acting as if the USSR continued to exist.

Stereotypes of thinking of some American analysts proved to be extremely enduring. In fact, they won the strategic game against KGB of the USSR and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But then they failed to go objectively beyond their actions in the course of fight against the USSR even though the world started to change dramatically. They 'remained' within the temporal continuum of the 1980s of the 20th century. They were unable to readjust themselves, to change their thinking in accordance with the changes occurring in the World. One should note that some efforts of constructing a new conceptual model of the world were undertaken by American political thinkers (F. Fukuyama, S. Huntington, T. Graham, etc.). Their efforts, however, have not succeeded. To react adequately in response to the world changes, to formulate the world optimal models under conditions of globalization, to seek jointly ways out of the global financial crisis — these tasks challenge today the political elites of the USA and Russia.

The important step in fighting the global crisis could comprise the creation of a special Russian-American Informational-analytical Centre for counteraction against the world crisis, with respective expertise-analytical and project-prognostic divisions. Just such a centre could propose joint actions to the leaders of our great States for finding another way out of the global world crisis. Its personnel must include, primarily, the scientists, analysts, journalists, and representatives of the civic society. Special analytical reports and prognoses of such a centre would be expedient in notifying the leaders of the countries-members of the UN Security Council.

For purposes of the development of a new stable model of the world it is possible to create a special international non-governmental structure (a five-sided Commission). An international mechanism of private-state partnership is now necessary, the mechanism duly considering interests of both the national states and the transnational corporations.

May I remind that in 1970s of the 20th century, a trilateral Commission (the USA – West Europe – Japan) was created. Prior to the disintegration of the USSR, it was an important instrument of coordinating the interests of the West national elites and transnational corporations. After the disintegration of the USSR, however, the world dramatically changed, and the trilateral Commission was unable to adapt itself to the world changes. The time has come to create new international structures. The future of the world, success of anti-crisis steps will be in many respects determined by the factor whether the intellectual elite of Russia and USA will be able to adapt itself to the real apportionment of forces in the world policy. The time demands creation of powerful informational-analytical

and informational-propagandistic structures. The point involves complex informational-analytical and ideological accompaniment of the project 'The Stable World 2012'.

The five-sided commission (participants):

1. the USA.
2. the Asia-Pacific Region (China, India, Japan).
3. Russia (Eurasia)

4. Brazil (Latin America)

5. the European Union.

In all: 25–40 persons

Dear participants of the Likhachov Conference! Finishing my presentation I would like once again to emphasize that Russian-American relations must develop in a constructive way for the welfare of our peoples.

V. F. Petrenko<sup>1</sup>

## DIALOGUE AND COMPETITION OF CULTURES

The International Likhachov Scientific Conference honoured by the name of Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov and dedicated to the dialogue of cultures has become a truly non-governmental forum of Russian intellectuals where ideas and values forming the basis of modern civilization are discussed. The published *Proceedings of the 8th International Likhachov Scientific Conference* make it possible to refer to the ideas expressed by participants, make critical remarks and express my own views in the development of these or those ideas.

Academician V. Styopin defines culture as a peculiar genetic code which sets the genesis and the development of the social organism. This metaphor appears to be quite heuristic and gives rise to a number of model analogies with evolutionary biology. In particular, in the development theory of A. Severtsev, I. Schmalhausen a development unit is considered to be not a single individual or a separate person but the whole of animals of a certain species. And though there is a severe interspecies competition along with forms of cooperation described by P. Kropotkin and A. Bogdanov, the struggle for existence of a species as of a development unit is seen as a struggle for survival and for genotype conservation, conservation of information matrix which causes morphophysiological organization and inborn behavioural reactions of an organism.

Biologically the mankind belongs to one species 'Homo sapiens' (it is indicated by the possibility of international and interracial posterity). Unlike animal world, the information matrix forming the consciousness and the worldview of a human being, is not genetically set, but it is set in the culture to which one belongs, in the language, literature, art, science, religion and in the historical memory of this or that people. And this cultural genetic code, which determines the mentality of an ethnos or a nation, also tends to preserve itself and to struggle for existence. From century to century waves of generations are changed, people, who make a contribution to the national culture, are born and die, but at all times France remains to be France with its unique French mentality, Russia remains Russia, and Japan remains Japan. To my mind, V. Rabinovich was quite right in his ironic speech about too optimistic expectations from the dialogue of cultures, which are supposed to join in 'love ecstasy'. 'The South is to remain the South, the North is to remain the North, and the monologue is to remain the monologue. And no dialogues! All the more so for dialogues between cultures

and civilizations' – he attempts to startle his opponents. Indeed, according to the prediction made by V. Popov 'if the current tendencies are secured, then in Europe, where Muslims annually increase in number by one million, about 40 million people professing Islam will have been living by the year of 2025, and after one or two generations Europeans-Christians will become a minority in Europe'. In such a scenario Europe will just lose its cultural identity because, as the events in the year of 2007 which took place in the suburbs of Paris showed, Arab immigrants of the second or third generation are not willing to become the French in terms of their mentality, and the ethnic tension does not decrease, but increases. From my point of view, with this prospect of development we should emphasize not the dialogue of cultures as of equal partners, but we should make agreements concerning obeying the rules of competition and restrict the extreme forms of the competition. As the competition of cultures has not been done away with, and turning a blind eye to it means executing an ostrich policy.

The human being is not only a pragmatic creature who aspires to satisfying their individual wishes and needs as much as possible; not only a social creature who aspires to occupying a worthy place in the society, where the sphere of 'me' expands to the nearest surroundings (to parents, children, friends, colleagues; to my city, to my country); the human being is a symbolic creature living in the world of the language, signs, symbols; in this world apart from economic and political scramble for resources and influence there is a competition in mental semiotic terms for dominating of significant symbols and ideas, for their own interpretation and version of historical events, in a word, there is an ideological battle for the domination of their own worldview, of this or that collective or individual subject. Finally, the human being is a transcendental creature who tries to be beyond their own 'me', to gain the point of their final existence relating to something eternal, who serves and works for the sake of something everlasting which is beyond their own life. My individual 'me' gains the meaning of their own existence through identification with the history of my family, clan, country, through identification with occupation, science and art which can be perceived as a form of service to something perpetual and everlasting. Finally, the religious belief (and not only religious), as the history of the mankind shows, is the most time-tried way of gaining the points of existence both by an individual person and by the mankind; it also gives a number of symbols which act as moral compasses of a human being in the world.

The thesis about the equality of cultures in the world also seems to be debatable to me. According to academician A. Guseynov, 'the attempts to neglect these differences, as if the cultures were really equal by their actual state, lead to the decrease in criteria and in fact have an anti-cultural meaning'. But further in order to meet the requirement of political correctness he decreases the potential of his own

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statement: 'The first ones could well be in the place of the second ones, as well as the second ones could be in the place of the first ones. Consequently, the cultures which are actually more retarded possess the potential which makes it possible for them to catch up with the advanced cultures. Seeing the model of the latter, and, in particular, getting support and help they might be able to do it faster and better.' I will beg to differ with the last statement. As, to my mind, Abdusalam Abdulkirimovich substituted the issue of the level of cultural development by economic development. It is possible to adopt technical innovations and even to outstrip the country whose inventors started this technology. But it is impossible, for instance, for Chinese culture to take the lead over Europe in the development of classical western music, as well as for Europeans to outdo the Chinese in the temperament of pentatonism. Besides, having adopted this or that technology from the country-donor it is not so easy to organize the 'production of people' who are capable of creating innovations invented in a different culture. Using the metaphor of J. L. Borges we can say that cultures are a garden of forking paths and every culture takes its own path. Certainly, there are certain invariants of different cultures, hence the 'unity in variety', there is cultural exchange and interpenetration of cultures. But it is the uniqueness and singularity of culture that constitutes its value, providing variety of the 'cultural gene pool' of the mankind, if we remember the biological metaphor of V. Stypopin. Nevertheless, the problem of assessment of the level of culture development does not disappear. Otherwise, we just do not have any criteria of development and we cannot assess the state of progress or regress of culture. And here, as a form of assessment of the level of culture, the theory of techno-humanitarian balance of A. Nazaretyan seems promising to me; according to this theory the exam for survival is passed by those cultures and civilizations which restrict the growing power of military and industrial technologies with the help of the development of cultural ways of regulation and control. The development of Axial civilizations (the term of K. Jaspers) and the appearance of world religions was caused by such a necessity. The Old Testament principle of 'thou shalt not kill'

which appeared in the period when bronze weaponry was replaced by relatively cheap iron weaponry made it possible to form armies of many thousands; though it did not cancel manslaughter, but through moral blame (which is present in the consciousness somewhere at the periphery) it restricted the genocide of the conquered. In the context of the theory of techno-humanitarian balance all history of the mankind is seen as a series of anthropogenic crises and disasters, of crashes of one civilizations or survivals of others under the condition of finding an antidote for their own might. The theory of techno-humanitarian balance requires highlighting the set of basic values which form the basis of every culture and estimation of the possible consequences of the development of these or those technologies and estimation of their risk for the survival of the mankind. And then again let us refer to the metaphor of culture as a genetic code of the society given by V. Stypopin. In the development of this model analogy A. Smirnov gives the role of elements of cultural genome to the basic system of categories of consciousness which was singled out basing on historical material by A. Gurevich. Gurevich quite convincingly showed that such categories of consciousness as causation, space, time, value, etc are culturally and historically changeable and different in different cultures mediating the variety of worldviews.

In our own research there was conducted a cross-confessional comparison of religious values. On the basis of fragments of sacral canonical texts containing axiological judgments (from Books of the Old and the New Testament, the Koran, the Judaic Book of Exodus, the Bhagavad-Gita, the Diamond Sutra, etc) and on the basis of their assessments given by representatives of religious cults (Orthodox and Roman Catholic priests, Buddhist lamas, Islamic imams, Jewish rabbis) there were built multidimensional semantic spaces which made it possible to single out the basic categories uniting and contrasting different faiths, each of which received its coordinates in the multidimensional space of a religious consciousness. The research has shown the existence of certain invariants in the value system of different religions; these invariants can act as a basis for cross-confessional dialogue.

**K. S. Pigrov<sup>1</sup>**

## ST. PETERSBURG AS DIALOGUE OF CULTURES

To raise the issue of dialogue on serious grounds, especially from such a non-conventional point of view as dialogue of cultures in the city, first and foremost, we need to apprehend several fundamental regulations of dialogue nature. Although in Russian national humanistic literature, inspired by the heritage of M. M. Bakhtin, dialogue is paid

much attention to, philosophical basis for theory of dialogue in its key essential issues still remain underestimated. In most cases, dialogue is treated as a form of subject-to-subject relationship during which subjects (serving as elements of a certain socium or multitude) influence and affect each other. But definitions like that leave aside and don't operate with the fact that category of 'subject' has a clearly defined meaning only in the Modern European tradition that follows the ideas of R. Descartes as well as ideas of transcendental philosophy of I. Kant, and of dialectical philosophy of G. Hegel. In this school of thought (let's agree to call it 'transcendental' in this paper) subject, after all, can only be one in number, that's why allegations like 'subjects' (in plural) or 'subject-to-subject relations' seem weird and chimerical. Within the frames of this traditional school of perceiving the reality, 'the other subject' can only be treated at its best as a secondary one, of lower grade, despite any attempts to explain it, no matter how reasonable they may sound. On thorough consideration if we try to extend further the conclusions of this concept we'll arrive at the point that there is no dialogue, but only a 'mortal combat' between 'subjects', where 'the Other' has no right to exist, where both claim to

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be the only one. 'Conflict is a primary-set existence-for-the-other'. [1] So dialogue here is a mere prelude for eliminating 'the other' and for monologue to overwhelm further on as the exclusive way of human existence.

If researcher endeavour to speculate on dialogue as it is, they involuntarily happen to advocate another Modern European tradition, which is almost opposite (though may complement) the first tradition. Western, especially German philosophical literature calls this tradition 'dialogical philosophy' (dialogische Philosophie). This philosophy isn't based on the primary-set subject ('Ego'), but rather on a certain interpersonal 'Between', in other words, on initially given relations of 'I' and 'You'. The theory of dialogical philosophy considers its ground as primary 'being-together' ('Miteinandersein'), which manifests itself first and foremost in interpersonal relations, basically in the language and speech. No surprising, then, that the key challenges of dialogical concept were provided by philosophy of language by Hamann and Humboldt. Later it was developed further by F. Jacobi and L. Feuerbach, while its final stage was postulated in religious philosophical concept by M. Buber. The latter interpreted 'sphere-in-between' (Sphäre des Zwischen) as an initial situation (Ursituation) from which and due to which 'I' and 'You' can experience mutual, really equal relations. [2]

It is well known that dialogue is a form for innovating activities, for artistic creation. Also it has been detected and proved that dialogue provides very high and specific efficiency, especially in its form of 'brain attack'. [3] Artistic work, which is impossible without imagination, exhibits new distinguished results. That's why the question about sources for imaginative energy arises. How does such energy appear? Why can the man imagine things? It is considered that in teamwork forms of innovations imagination becomes more active. However, this link is empirical and demands explaining. How does it happen that teamwork stimulates imagination?

Transcendental tradition provokes us to advocate technomorphic, mechanistic theories about sources of imagination. Such theories, when dealing with the issues of creating something new in imagination process, usually explain the matter as follows: the novel accidentally intrudes individual consciousness from outside, it is 'the alien sporadic'. After that a person analyses and finds sense and reasons for the alien sporadic, adopts it, thus turning 'the alien sporadic' into 'the own essential'. Such might be the pattern of creativity process. Consequently, from the viewpoint of such theories, any teamwork, any dialogue manifestations appear to be efficient only because 'the Other' performs the role of 'the alien sporadic'. In other words, 'the Other' in innovation dialogue is, actually, a specific object, whose 'fluctuations' promote creative work in my 'Ego'. These 'fluctuations' were categorised by Epicurus in his famous clinamens, 'sporadic fluctuations of atoms'. It is thanks to them that irreversible development in the world does exist. As a conclusion it can be claimed that a city as a place of intensive communication may promote creative work.

However, 'the Other's' external and sporadic promoting 'My' creative work may prove dangerous. Colleagues, co-authors, associates are, in fact, disguised foes, each of them treats the other as a rival. They are bound to each other because they see here a source for non-conventional ideas, but at the same time they are tortured by mutual envy and secret hatred. Such is the situation with Pushkin's character of Salieri, who can serve as an embodiment of Bible's archetype of Cain. Not only does it happen that any 'team for creative work' is a 'tangle of serpents'. Another challenge is that the creator or the team that presents their innovation to the society turns out to be antagonistic to the society. Because, if the source of novelty is accidental, sporadic, then innovation can easily

acquire pathological destructive forms. The mildest and most innocent features belong to the 'energy of error' facilitated by 'the Other', but it may possess more dangerous forms, for example, insanity or even crime. Imagination provoked by 'the Other' in the dialogue appears as devil's intrigues. Apart from that, hopeless 'tragedy of creativity' [4] perfectly clear presents itself. Likewise, a city as a place of intensive communication turns into the climax of hatred [5].

However, if we treat the basis of creative activities within the frames of dialogical philosophy, the source of human imagination can be explained in a principally different way. It originates in the 'sphere-in-between', mentioned above, say, in 'holy environment' (after P. Teilhard de Chardin). Dialogue appears to be a form of exchanging relations between 'I' and 'You'. Not only is this form interceded by the 'sphere-in-between', but the 'sphere-in-between' manifests itself only in this form, thus modelling it. As a matter of fact, this sphere provides the source for the novelty, the source of imagination, the source of innovation. But we speculate about complementary concept of imagination source rather than alternative one. It is perfectly clear that in the dialogue 'I' and 'the Other' view the source of imagination not in the 'sphere-in-between', but the source is personified, reified and embodied in the partner-in-dialogue. It is not a mere chance that 'the Other' serving as a source of the novelty is treated not as an enemy, but as a challenge that may enhance 'Ego', as a mystery, attracting 'I'. [6] If we admit fundamental nature of, so to say, 'primacy' of the 'sphere-in-between', we may also see that this sphere is well structured, its structure turns out to be the source of its development.

In order to understand clearly ontological nature of dialogues in the city, we should take into account the already mentioned complementary opposition of two ways to treat dialogue from the viewpoint of transcendental philosophy and within the frames of dialogical philosophy. Dialogues of any city, including St. Petersburg, are, on the one hand, a polemic opposition, a fight that periodically is reinforced or fades; but on the other hand, it is dialogue in love, love that is embodied in various forms of culture. For instance, on the one hand, dialogues of St. Petersburg from the very beginning became as a mortal fight, as death of thousands of people who gave their lives building St. Petersburg, as uprisings, as revolutions, as the Siege (it can also be considered as a certain polemic of the Russian 'window to Europe' [as St. Petersburg is called] and with some 'European phenomena' such as fascism). But on the other hand, dialogues of St. Petersburg are conducted in genuine culture of love, mutual initial 'being-together', where subjects appear from this love and this culture. These are dialogues in a respectable St. Petersburg secondary school, where subjects appear (as they are subordinate) from dialogues with talented and devoted teachers (mind you, that not only talented teacher educate their pupils, but the pupils themselves may teach the adults, thus making them really talented). These are dialogues in museums, theatres, where the climate of the subjects' mutual love, respect to human values and dignity appears from general love 'emanating' from masterpieces of art, science, culture. These are dialogues in temples of various confessions, where the cult of mutual love is based on love to God.

These dialogues, belonging to two types, or modes, (let's call them consequently, modes of polemics and love) are interrelated and interdependent, tangled with each other. These dialogues happen both in the space of the city and in its history. Dialogue of social communities of the city can reveal itself sometimes as a mortal dialogue during revolutions and wars, as a murder of a Tajik girl, or as insanity of fans supporting the football club 'Zenith'. Or dialogue can show itself as peaceful cultural curiosity that Russian people experience peeping into a Buddhist temple or mosque.

On the one hand, St. Petersburg is a highly developed industrial culture (plants and factories, ship- and dock-yards, heating systems, infrastructures and so on); culture of trade (as an example let's consider the role of Sadovaya Street as the central trading street throughout its history until the present time, or the market site locally called 'Aprashka' (Yard of Apraksin the merchant) and its forced removal to Rustaveli Street). But, on the other hand, it is also the city of spiritual life. St. Petersburg is the city of universities, temples, museums. The tension of dialogue between the spiritual and the material grows higher sometimes in the struggle for 'area for life', when for example, a gambling club or a boutique occupies the place of a famous book shop, or when in order to earn some money a university lets its offices to trading companies. St. Petersburg is also dialogue of cultures in time. Say, dialogue of the 18th and 19th centuries on Vasilyevsky Island or dialogue of both past centuries with the 20th century on the area of Petrograd side, close to Polytechnic Institute (as well as with growing 21st century). As another example we can take a strange, very vast place (resembling the 18th century) around the building of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences.

Sometimes it is very difficult to distinguish between the genuine humane and the alienated in the dialogue. Because occasionally love adopts very dangerous or even deadly forms. And visa versa, quite often polemics produces something very positive. Another crucial fact is that in the city it is absolutely, by all means impossible to keep only love and totally withdraw hatred, eliminate murder, polemics, war. If we can't eliminate dialogues of polemics, we have to learn how to endure them. In the history of Russia St. Petersburg played a significant role to settle this matter. The city taught tolerance to the country and manifested a lot of examples of tolerance itself. This is why a citizen of St. Petersburg possesses such typical for him features as politeness and reservation that many other cities of Russia lack. The only thing we can do in the struggle with vulnerable Dionysian element in dialogues is to provide Apollonian forms of tolerance and courtesy.

So, dialogue exists in two types, two modes, the mode of love and the mode of courtesy. It is true that St. Petersburg sometimes manifests courtesy rather than love, more civic-detached than united. Some can't approve of this fact, thinking that to be insincere, hypocritical, frigid. But such are circumstances under which this city was founded and created, such is its contribution to Russian culture and Russian social life.

Below we'll consider these typical features of St. Petersburg in various areas.

First of all, let's see how well aims and means correlate in St. Petersburg dialogues. Regional studies of the city from philosophical point of view might be useful, unfortunately this branch of studies hasn't been developed yet, although there are some attempts to originate it. St. Petersburg is the city of 'tragic imperialism' [7] and it reveals powerful and paradoxical tension of aims and means relations. Originally founded with a definite aim of serving as a fortress and a risky construction adventure, the city was totally out of place not only on the Finnish land and environment, but in the cultural space of Western Europe as well, where St. Petersburg with its golden spires strove to obtain its own area, straining every nerve and exerting every effort. In such a situation polemics dominated: rigorous and uncompromising fight with the Swedish; unconditional dislodging local tribes, the co-called 'Chukhonians'. Thousands of Russian peasants found their death here, as a result the soil of St. Petersburg was 'fertilised with bones', if not soaked with blood. In the dialogue with ancient Russia, St. Petersburg cried out something cruel, evil and unforgiving.

But in the course of time original aims were forgotten. Nobody intends to 'threaten Sweden' from St. Petersburg.

But the means remained stable and unchanged, they grew deeply rooted. St. Petersburg with its challenging architecture became end in itself. And the challenge vanished. But up to the present time we have been living with a heroic effort to try and preserve this heritage of forgotten means floating freely from our hands, imprudently we even enlarge this heritage.

As to dialogue with local nature St. Petersburg is a battlefield with anarchy of water. The battle rages on the surface of dark-grey leaden waters of the river Neva, as well as in the dark and deep underground canals, where invisible on the surface streams erode tunnels and break pipelines, washing them away. The anarchy of water, glorified as an archetype by F. I. Tyutchev, is as dangerous in St. Petersburg as the anarchy of fire was hazardous for ancient wooden Moscow. St. Petersburg comes over the anarchy by various means of engineering: ships and vessels are being made, bridges are being built, marshes and swamps are being drained and filled in with stones and sand, piles are being knocked into the ground. Building the much spoken about dumb round St. Petersburg in this sense can be interpreted as continuing the hopeless and adventurous story of the Bronze Horseman. And the bygone polemics about the dumb as the means and the end in itself only keeps afloat the past polemics about St. Petersburg as a 'deliberately built city'.

The strain of aims and means can be detected also on an existential level. In a late autumn rainy evening have a walk, or better still a bicycle ride around St. Petersburg or at least around its historical centre. The city will unveil its stony frozen polemics, and it will happen unexpectedly and truly, not like on bright coloured postcards where 'the skies are blue above the Neva river'.

This city is beautiful and terrifying. Being caught on the spot, it may unveil not only mysteries of its own life, but of life in general. First of all, it concerns the above mentioned polemics with water. The Bronze Horseman by Pushkin is worth mentioning here.

What is the metaphysical meaning of flood in St. Petersburg? The idea of water as a fundamental element appears not only in poems of many authors (like Tyutchev), but also in the works of Fales. The flood is a symbol of the Deluge, but the deluge missing the Noah's Arc. This city can't serve as Noah's Arc, because as the symbol of the state it is detached from the man-of-no-importance (such as the character Eugene in 'The Bronze Horseman'), and according to the Bible's myth Noah's Arc isn't detached. It's true that the State embodied in St. Petersburg serves as the defence form the chaos of water. It defends just like the Noah's Arc protected from the Deluge. The idea of the State is restraining the chaos. However, the State itself turns into a hand-made chaos as related to the man. Eugene dies during the flood; thousands and thousands of people like Eugene die in the name of merciless State during the Siege. Heavy ringing of hoofs of the Bronze Horseman is a symbol of science and technical progress, it metaphorically glorifies the means applied by the State. Actually, tank producing plants during the Siege or an endless construction of the Dumb as well as the circle highway around St. Petersburg continue the same story of the Bronze Horseman, combination of the State and science and technical progress on the one hand, designed to save the man-of-no-importance, and the man himself on the other hand: kind of dilemma of the saving and the crushing at the same time.

The idea of chaos in dialogues of St. Petersburg, a dialogue with chaos of nature, of foreign invasion or of the State itself drives the man-of-no-importance, Eugene, to the conclusion: 'Plague on both your houses'! Plague on both the State (represented by Peter the Great or some military leaders, say, the marshal Zhukov during the Great Patriotic War, who was ready to sacrifice as many people's lives as required to hold Leningrad), and plague on a miserable life

on a man-of-no-importance (like another character by Gogol, Akaky Akakiyevich), on hopeless and ugly life of tenement houses and yards or of featureless residential areas of Kupchino district, on infinite despair and grief of hostels for the Gastarbeiters (migrant workers from former the former Soviet Central Asian republics who often are forced to work as slaves). This miserable life embodies the ruined happiness of Eugene from *The Bronze Horseman*. Nikita Mikhalkov's film 'A Few Days From the Life of Oblomov' shows intended scenes in the ruined St. Petersburg. Here the director hinted at inner misbalance of St. Petersburg, its unnaturalness, so to say, its insincerity in its 'strive to stars'. The State is depicted as cold and pompous architecture of St. Petersburg. On the humanistic level another literature character named Stolz embodies the element of Peter's State, as this character enthusiastically adopted the emperor's laws. On the contrary, the character Oblomov in his dialogue with the State portrays an opposite idea, the idea of the man-of-no-importance, who advocates totally different fundamental principles of life in the world.

How to find the way out? As far as I am concerned, I see it in the life of culture. The solution to this challenge can be read in Pushkin's poem *From Piedmont*. The way out may be in restoring the old tradition of noble salons of Pushkin's time or literature salons of the Silver Age of Russian poetry. The way out is in following the life-style of a lonely dreamer and philosopher, the character of 'The White Nights' by Dostoevsky. The way out is in the heritage of the Public Library, museums, artistic studios. 'We are few that are the chosen, the happy and the idle'. The way out may be found in a tiny mansard of Eugene, in which a poor poet resides after Eugene's missing. Eugene's insanity is a tragic gap between the State and the miserable life, it is a deadlock; while poetry, spiritual life, artistic creation can be a real salvation and a perfect way out of this conflict. ('God forbid my insanity', the treat of getting mad always rises with the poet). The Intelligentsia despite all its vices and disadvantages couldn't block dialogue patterns that tried to break through to the genuine and true, that is to cultural life. Pushkin, who could vividly depict both Peter the Great (the symbol of the State) and Eugene (the symbol of the man-of-no-importance) serves as a golden mean (Cf. The quotation from the poet: 'I have erected a monument to myself not built by hands').

I don't want to say that the Intelligentsia way out is a universal and general one. Certainly not! This way is also the means to look into the eyes of death, the means just as common and conventional as any other in the eternity. An intelligent as every real human is eager to sacrifice himself in the strive to the supreme origin, that is higher than any separate subject in the dialogue. And it seems that the intelligent one's sacrifice will be taken.

Here a significant role belongs to materialised forms of culture, certain invariants, archetypes that establish ideas of future. An endless spiritual circulation around these forms provides new ideas. Like the seed stock that had been kept in the besieged Leningrad and appeared to be in danger much later, in relatively prosperous and quite period on the '90s.

Materialised forms of culture, symbolic in their essence, are the points to concentrate dialogue. Dialogues are held about such symbolic things as the temple of the Saviour-on-Split-Blood or a skyscraper for the headquarters of the GasProm company.

A monument is a very relative and unsteady embodiment of culture, but an absolutely steady embodiment of the State. To threaten to a monument or eliminate a monument is to threaten the State or eliminate the State. Remember, how willingly and joyfully revolutionary sailors broke crowns on double-headed eagles on patterned fencing of Petrograd! 'You, the bronze idle, will collapse together with me'. Demolishing

the monument to Dzerzhinsky in Moscow; demolishing monuments first to the tsars and then to Lenin in St. Petersburg is an ever-lasting threat of Eugene to the Bronze Horseman, just like claims and threats of intellectual community of early 21st century towards the design of GasProm skyscraper.

In the novel *The Yellow House* by A. Zinoviev, the author describes an endless ironical discussion about the monument to Marx in Moscow and seemingly serious and prudent advice to the city authorities how to protect the genius head of Marx from pigeons, staining it. Pigeons portray the conventional; they embody the growing entropy, autonomously increasing chaos that ruins the State. Compare the Bronze Horseman and the monuments in Alexandrovsky garden around the Admiralty, humanistic monuments to Glinka, Lermontov, Gogol, Zhukovsky. They seem to be absolute symbols free from criticising of posterior epochs, however in the post-soviet time another monument was added, the monument to Gorchakov, that doesn't match the cultural ensemble, there is no knowing how it will settle down.

So, the city is a circulation of aims and means, where they turn into each other, but the city possesses cultural life, too. Mutually inter-dependant aims and means in the city manifest constantly originating ideas that settle in materialised culture forms. These permanently appearing new ideas are the result of various dialogues of the city.

Speaking about the city dialogues producing ideas, I can't but mention the most sacred, mysterious, essential mythological side of these dialogues. [8] The point is, how the dialogue happens between the socium of the city on the one hand, and the topos, or landscape in which the socium resides? Processes (as well as conflicts) of settling and accommodating are very typical here. Accommodating is a material aspect. It is closely linked with property, thus it serves as acquiring and practical utilising the landscape, as the right to change it. But accommodating on the landscape also means an essential spiritual aspect. Generally, it can be called 'mimesis', it doubles itself in emotional images and ideas, scientific concepts and philosophical notions, religious dogmas, etc.

The most important for the dialogues are emotional images. Settlers form such images from their childhood. Every new generation receives a certain imprinting: their consciousness and sub-consciousness imprint the landscape that will be their home for all their life. For example, a young citizen of St. Petersburg has St. Isaac's Cathedral, the Admiralty, the sea view from the split of Yelagin Island, the temple of the Saviour-on-the Split-Blood, cyclopic reconstruction of the Kirovsky stadium imprinted as emotional images of his soul.

Architecture, monuments, city sculptures, everything becomes on integral part of our personality. Note that identification of 'native area' always comprises an emotional element that can't be analysed only with a rational discourse. These significant 'constructs of the first level' are naturally combined with mythology, with mythological dimension that can't be treated through rational concepts and categories, taught, say, at school at regional studies. The role of mythology in alliance with topos can't be overestimated, especially for cultural accommodation to the latter. However, it is very complicated to study.

Emotional accommodation to the native landscape adequately reveals as discovery and creation of mythology of this area. [9] Self-identification of socium with its topos is performed through genius loci. Landscape becomes adopted only when genius loci appears visible, when certain weird forces manifest themselves, such as spirits or other creatures that serve as a liaison between complex and mysterious city topos and our embarrassed and confused souls. Genius loci show the mood of our native area. The consciousness of a child easily adopts that in the water of the Neva river, canals, basements, attics and remote corners live ghosts and spirits of water and

house, mermaids, devils and witches, etc. It doesn't really matter that science and official religious confessions unite to anathematise all those sometimes funny and sometimes dangerous spirits as non-existing. What can they, these scientists and priests, know about fragile sophisticated relationships of every individual suffering St. Petersburg soul with their city? Only Gogol and Dostoevsky knew about it. The point is that no matter whether spirits of water and house really exist with a scientific proof, what really matters is that such a supposition is essential for emotional accommodation to our native city. Human soul is tolerant to contradictions with scientific data or religious dogmas. We are already used to deal with something weird, dark, intricate in our life, it is astrology, though it has no more 'scientific reasoning' than folk tales of St. Petersburg ghosts.

Mythology manifests itself, first and foremost, in the folklore, oral stories, but it can also be revealed in more civilized forms: we can detect elements of mythology in novels and stories (for example, 'St. Petersburg Stories' by Gogol). It roots in monuments and city sculpture, say, the miniature 'Siskin' on the Fontanka river embankment or strange sculptures of cats on the cornice of houses along Malaya Sadovaya Street. If we have adopted the mythology of the native area and have arranged contact and can co-exist with all these cunning, tricky and harmless creatures, we can be a little happy in the city. In this city, in my city, the best place in the world, everything becomes familiar and conventional, everything starts to help me.

This is where the dialogue on a mythological level arises, so to say, the dialogue amidst the haunted. Why was the Neva delta region pioneered for so long and with so much effort? Because since ancient times 'alien' ghosts had lived here: imps, fairies, etc. Innovations by Peter the Great attracted large amount of people who came here to work and brought their own mythological characters, which frightened the ghosts originally residing here. These Finnish spirits of house, wood and water that accommodated dark and remote areas of the delta had to escape from massive alien invasion, from noise and chaos that made everything topsy-turvy, so they started fussing, rushing about, playing tricks and spoiling things. They started quarrelling and fighting with Russian ghosts that involuntary had been brought here by Peter the Great and his men. Newcomers, first of all, craftsmen and peasants constantly felt fear, panic and anxiety on dealing with unfamiliar ghosts. This resulted in vain grumbling of the men-of-no-importance, who don't like and fear alien genius loci.

But gradually unfamiliar spirits of water, house, etc. partly expired, partly escaped, partly adapted. Typically Russian ghosts began to dominate. Slowly original genius loci get used to tenacious dogged obstinate new-coming ghosts, zealous and avid for changing. The ones remained don't play so many tricks and don't feel so angry as they used to. Everything settles down. Likewise, people get used too. They feel cosy and comfortable on this area. They are helped by their own native ghosts. And now, in the beginning of the 21st century, all these frightening forecasts and predictions that St. Petersburg 'might vanish' are not so acute and sharp, they don't scare anyone. (Though, you never know... What if the most treacherous ghosts remained, hid and are still waiting to attack?.. One can never be totally relaxed in this case... Somewhere on the fringe of consciousness there is a rumour that St. Petersburg may get back to Finland).

Progressing development of St. Petersburg mythology can be analysed even better with other examples, say, 'Kaliningrad'. Today this word can be spelled only with quotation marks. It can be considered as a mythological model of St. Petersburg in the early 18th century. Though 'the model'

itself is more problematic than its original. Because Königsberg in 1945 was better developed by the Germans than poorly populated delta of the Neva river in the late 17th century. Until now Russian speaking socium in Kaliningrad feels like at the frontier or battlefield. Russian mythology of the area hasn't been created, the landscape is still alien, German. From the very beginning of Russian settlement there the places were permanently re-named, which showed frantic attempts to accommodate the area. Genius loci related to original names are still unfriendly and alien, they are German. The shadows of forcedly removed citizens who had only 48 hours to leave their houses and whose property and the immovable were expropriated by newcomers are still floating over the place. These shadows are like remorse. Of course, once upon a time, the Germans themselves had been alien to the landscape, but they had created a new landscape since then. For this period of two generations of the Russian in Kaliningrad, Russian genius loci have appeared, but they are still weak and young. The dialogues of 'familiar' and 'alien' mythological spirits are of a Dionysian type, creative and fruitful, that have already taken our side in St. Petersburg, but not yet in Kaliningrad.

\* \* \*

In the conclusion we can say that dialogues happening in St. Petersburg are, in fact, ways of creating of and accommodating to the city time and space. Every city in its progress, in aims and means duality, in materialising cultural facts, in its everyday life exists in the humming of dialogues floating above it. St. Petersburg constantly conducts a dialogue with itself, and it helps the city to live and develop. Deliberate creative work of the Intelligentsia with city dialogues. Analysing them from philosophical, artistic and scientific viewpoints is an essential term for good and sound life.

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M. B. Piotrowsky<sup>1</sup>

## THE DIALOGUE OF CULTURES AS THE WAR OF STEREOTYPES

The dialogue of cultures is based on various mechanisms. One of them is the war or the exchange of stereotypes, of simplified and superficial notions of one another. These stereotypes are not isolated, they interact and influence each other.

My intention is to show some Western stereotypes regarding the Islamic society and vice versa.

A hostile attitude of the West towards the Islamic world emerged, was updated and upgraded at the time of the Crusades, particularly when the idea of the united Europe and Europeans called for the emotional 'image of an enemy'. This image was targeted at mass consciousness.

The main features of Islam viewed as an enemy survive to this day. They are as follows:

Islam is a pagan religion disguised in monotheism. Muhammad is not the God's messenger, but an imposter and pretender.

Islam is paving its way by sword and violence. Holy war is the main concept of Islam.

Islam is a religion of crude sensuality, it oppresses women and every individuality.

From the point of view of objective knowledge, all this is a total nonsense aimed at purposeful distortion of the reality. Islam is one of the branches of the religious concept of monotheism. We know far more about Muhammad than about any other religious founding fathers. His sincerity and talent of a political and spiritual leader are indisputable and have been acknowledged historically.

Islam is no more violent and aggressive than, for instance, Christianity. In its history, there are fewer religious wars than there were in the West. Classical Islamic society was characterized by a high level of religious tolerance. Islam is a sophisticated, highly developed theological and legal system which for centuries has contributed to rich and successful urban civilization, philosophical thought, religious mysticism, poetic and artistic inspiration.

The image of Islam in the West, however, affected to some extent the Muslims' vision of themselves and of their culture. This began when the Christian world became a notable and important factor for Muslims, which had not always been the case. The first signs of it were evident in Spain and Palestine, the sites of long or temporary contacts of cultures during the Crusades.

Christian hatred of Muhammad had stimulated quest for the legends predicting his advent. At the same time, the Quranic postulate of Muhammad being an ordinary and simple human had undergone some transformations. He began to assume the qualities of a 'perfect man' and turned into an object of worship. Even in fundamentalist Islam, which rejects such veneration, Muhammad is an exemplary figure in everyday manifestations, from his beard to his stride. Profanity aimed at the Prophet is deemed to be the worst of crimes punishable by death, be it a Muslim or infidel.

The examples of it are medieval Cordoba or 'the scandal over the caricatures of the Prophet' which incited violent response in the Muslim world not long ago.

Jihad is another example. It means a fight, and then a holy war for the sake of the faith. It includes different forms of concentration of human energy, from the fight against oneself to the sermon to good and kind acts. Military jihad, the holy war is only one part of this 'semantic nest'. When the Crusaders reached Palestine, they took jihad for something like a feudal war. Gradually, under the influence of Christian fanaticism, Muslim wars took on the features of 'holiness'. This image was enhanced by Saladin and his victories. In essence, jihad is a Crusade. Since then, Western policy in the East tends to be viewed as Crusade of a sort. The fact that this term was interpreted in Europe and America as the fight for the right cause, only added to this image. Jihad is an answer and a synonym to the incessant Crusade which goes on. Moreover, the fact that it is democracy but not the Holy Sepulchre on the agenda of the present-day Crusaders, does not change the issue.

Closer ties with the West, acquaintance with its culture, its system of education sparked a serious response. The criteria to view the West among the Muslims started to resemble the ones the Crusaders used. Now both traditional and new elements are applied to the debate. One should not forget that the founders of the system had got traditional Muslim and Western education (and many often studied in the West). Their audience is not only population of Muslim cities, but millions of Muslims living in Christian countries, who confront Western culture on a daily basis and often painfully.

So we get back a mirrored image:

Christianity allegedly betrays monotheism. The idolisation of Christ, the worship of the Virgin Mary, the idea of Trinity is the violation of a monotheistic tradition. However, even Christianity is not a dominant religion in the West. Most people have fallen into paganism and have no God in their hearts. Their moral decline is contagious.

The Western world is built on violence and plundering other peoples. It has been in constant aggressive war with the Islamic world. Colonialism, destruction of the Ottoman Empire, imperialism, neo-colonialism, the formation of Israel, the invasion into Afghanistan and Iraq, all these represent the essence of Western world and its incessant aggression.

The Western world has plunged into the material and worldly, ignoring both spirituality and morals. The image of the contemporary West is embodied in chase after gain, debauchery, gambling, alcohol and drug addiction.

A woman in this world has become a commodity and has been completely deprived of any dignity and respect.

The Western economic system, based on an immoral principle of usury, is leading to devastation and collapse.

The Byzantine writer of the 15th century, St. Simeon of Thessaloniki gave such characteristics of Muslims at the height of the war between Europe and Turkey, thus following St. John Damascene:

'And may no pious man be deluded at the sight of the blissful impious, carnal and lustful who enjoy themselves, oppress and conquer the devout believers, capture them and plunder their riches, take pleasure in enjoyments and outrage and at the same time who brag, rejoice, and consider themselves righteous, who intend to continue this lecherous life, and who not only persecute and kill devout men but abuse our belief.'<sup>2</sup>

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Deputy Chairman of the Council for culture and arts under president of the Russian Federation, Chairman of St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress, Chairman of the Union of Russian museums, Chairman of the board of trustees of the European University in St. Petersburg, editor-in-chief of the journal "Christian East".

<sup>2</sup> Byzantine writers on Islam: Texts, Translations and Commentaries / ed. by Yu. V. Maximov. Moscow, 2006. P. 213.

Today similar words, though with a reversed sign could well be said by Osama Bin Ladin or Ayman al-Zawahiri.

As is seen, a mirrored image is composed of the elements taken from the western evaluation of their own society; from the reality seen with the naked eye. Such mirrored patterns when put together reflect the present struggle of ideas. They can serve as a tool to understand and describe culture in its external ties. Not inside, not outside, but in reflections.

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What I said above is conclusions of a special research. Below, I take the liberty of proposing some guidelines for a detailed analysis of the Western vision of Russia and vice versa. A lot has been written about it. But if we follow the scheme outlined above, we get the following.

Characteristic features of Russia in Western mass consciousness:

Economic power and technological backwardness

Prevalent rights of the society, state or group over individual rights.

All-round traditional corruption, non-transparent financial flows.

Puritanical hypocrisy in morals and everyday life.

We, in our turn, emphasize such features which we consider to be inherent in ourselves:

Historical progress in some fields of economy and technology (mineral resources, transport, arms, metallurgy, power industry)

The basic idea of communal and serving life as the pillar of our historical psychology.

Among reactions to the Western reproaches, there is an increasing role of church, superficial piety and fear of committing blasphemy.

We tend to admit the drawbacks we are charged with, gradually turning them into our merits.

Simultaneously, we are ready with a 'mirrored' response, quite similar to the Muslim principle: first look at yourselves.

The Western economic system is rotten from the inside and leads to enslavement and poverty. That is why Western models fail when one tries to practise them in Russia.

In fact, the oppression of the individuality in the West is very harsh. It is, however, disguised by the illusory tricks of democracy. Western democracy is just an elaborate way of dominance over a personality.

The internal corruption is not only widespread in the West; it is the basis of its economics and ethics. It can be evidenced by numerous scandals and the current crisis.

Moral degradation of the West with its cult of material success and profit, with its crimes, drug problems and sexual spree are all signs of a decline concealed by hypocritical phraseology about morals and freedoms.

The said above is rather an invitation to a discussion than theses. I think that the war of stereotypes constitutes quite a dynamic model of reality. The fact that it resembles a similar model of the Soviet times suggests that history of culture tends to resort to more solid categories than the change of political regimes.

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## THE RUSSIAN DIASPORA ABROAD IN A GLOBAL DIALOGUE OF THE 20th CENTURY

The phenomenon of the Russian émigré community of the 20th century can be characterized by a number of features, the most important among them is co-operation between the Russian émigré community and various ethnic cultures in many of the world regions.

This co-operation is complicated and multifaceted and results from peculiar traits of the Russian émigré community, their social, professional, educational, demographic characteristics, their ability to absorb other languages and cultures along with tendency to keep their own cultural and language identity unchanged. Another element, not the least significant, is cultural peculiarities of host countries, their people's reaction, their public and governmental institutions' attitude towards Russian diasporas.

In the 18th – early 20th centuries the Russians abroad communicated with a foreign, first and foremost, European culture in a one-way direction. This mono-lateral communication was of an acquisitional type: they were educated

abroad, adopted artistic trends and received political manoeuvres experience, etc. Pre-Revolutionary Russian émigré community in the New World got partly dissolved in the common 'melting pot' and partly led secluded religious community life. At the same time, there are examples of active cultural influence of the Russian diaspora on the recipient country's community. One of them is Russian colonists' activities when they worked on constructing a railway in the pre-Revolutionary period in the Far East countries as well as a whole range of managerial, economic, cultural and educational attendant institutions. Another example is the missionary work of the Russian Orthodox Church in Japan, North America and in a number of other countries. The Orthodox element of the Russian culture got expanded throughout the world by means of Russian Orthodox parishes in the USA, Europe, the Middle East. Nowadays we can witness their second birth in the role of cultural co-operation centres between contemporary Russia and various countries of the world (for example, Orthodox monasteries in Jerusalem, in the city of Bari in Italy, etc.). Unique Russian culture was exported abroad in the late 19th – early 20th century by émigrés from the Russian Empire to Palestine, by refugees waves from the Caucasus to Turkey, etc.

Global cultural dialogue of the Russian diaspora abroad sprang off after the Revolution of 1917 due to considerable changes of Russian immigration flows that grew much more intensive and extensive. It is after 1917 that social and cultural co-operation of the Russian émigré community with the communities of the recipient countries acquired a complicated multifaceted character. Large groups that represented the majority of social and professional strata in the Russian society

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Member of editorial boards of the journals "Otechestvennaya Istoriya" (Russian History), "Vestnik arkhivista" (Archivist's Reports), member of the editorial board of the annual of the International society on history education, member of the International editorial board and deputy editor-in-chief of the international almanac "Notes on History."

were forced to live abroad, among them scientists, engineers, military officers, doctors, students, etc.

There is no need to go into details describing elite character of Russian post-Revolutionary immigration, its high intellectual level and artistic potential, its struggle not only to survive, but to restore its social status lost due to revolutionary turmoil. At the same time I'd like to emphasise that these traits of the Russian post-Revolutionary diaspora combined with multiple diverse migration flows, the variety of their directions to countries and regions of the world provided arising global social and cultural phenomenon of the Russian émigré community in 1920s–1930s, the importance of which cannot be overestimated and is still noticeable even in the 21st century.

The cultural dialogue of Russian émigrés with the communities in recipient countries varied in its intensity and mode depending on living conditions in the countries concerned as well as on distinctive individual features of a regional diaspora. The dialogue in the major centres of the Russian diaspora flourished in several directions simultaneously: arts, science, economy, every-day culture, language.

In the epoch of the classical Russian émigré community preserving every-day culture and language was promoted, first and foremost, by a diasporal consciousness. This peculiar way of thinking provided performing a scheme of systematic procedures to teach language and language culture to the émigré generations to follow. This target was possible to achieve due to a high educational level of the émigré milieu, and due to areas of compact habitation. In a number of such cases one could observe the phenomenon of Russification among foreigners involved in the life of a Russian community. For instance, K. Parchevsky mentioned the Russian language school for the French wives of Russian workers in La Rochelle in the 1930s. [1]

In some countries Russian émigrés served as conductors of the European culture in other countries. Well-known examples of such cases are forming regular army and a range of administrative institutions in Paraguay by former Russian citizens; creating ballet on Cuba that was based totally on Russian ballet traditions, etc.

The cultural dialogue between the communities in limitrophe states and Russian diasporas in these countries between the 2 world wars was mostly subject to pre-Revolutionary traditions. For example, despite the negative attitude of the Polish authorities and the majority of the Polish society towards the Russian émigré community, a unique mark of a Russian artistic and literature colony in Poland was close co-operation with the Polish artistic community, among which were such prominent figures as Julian Tuwim and Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz. Artistic co-operation with Polish poets performed in literature societies and artistic clubs of the Russian diaspora created a peculiar intellectual and spiritual climate, that latter was defined as 'Slavonic contact phenomenon' in the terms of new Polish political situations when the country became independent. [2]

The Russian cultural impact in Lithuania is also worth noting. Émigré information sources of the 1920s–1930s as well as the latest scientific research on the topic are unanimous defining the status of the Russian diaspora in Lithuania. Among its typical traits were: loyalty of local authorities and population; widely spread Russian language and cultural traditions along with a very low social activity of Russian population. In 1932 in the 'Russki kalendar' magazine ('Russian calendar') it was pointed out: 'Russian social life in Lithuania after the war developed in its original ways, different from the life of the Russian minority and their ways of development in other Baltic countries... Theatre, books, newspapers, magazines, school life, every-day common life were not alien to Russian culture and language. At that, Russian speakers representing

the Russian culture turned out to be of a Lithuanian origin and other ethnical groups of the country rather than Russians themselves' [3]. A contemporary researcher of the Russian diaspora history in Lithuania A. Kovtun emphasizes that unlike other Baltic countries, where Russian population preserved 'cultural achievements, belief in their abilities and in the future of the region to reside', the Russian culture of Lithuanian cities, namely, Kaunas, flourished mostly due to the fact that the Lithuanians, Jews, Poles of the Russian origin who 'were educated in Russia because of certain historical conditions' [4] took an active part in cultural life of the region.

In China, Africa, other remote parts of the world Russian émigrés, as a rule, displayed an active interest in culture, arts, nature of the countries to reside. In literature and fine arts of the Russian émigré community in China we can detect a considerable influence of orientalism [5]. At the same time a historian researching the Russian émigré community in China, E. Aurilene marks the following feature of Russian Intelligentsia in China: they grew extremely interested in religion, which was a counterbalancing element of the Russian mentality opposing the oriental cultural influence. [6]

One of the elements of adaptation process for the Russians abroad was acculturation, the process for an émigré to overcome his conscious or unconscious opposition to changes in his attempt to protect his cultural uniqueness. [7] Adaptation abroad despite the time and reasons to leave the country meant inevitable forced or voluntary acculturation of an émigré, that is rejecting certain norms and traditions typical of his native ethnic culture and adopting the culture of the host community. [8] An almost complete cultural and language assimilation was typical of a certain part of the Russian émigré community between the two world wars, not only in Europe and the USA, but in the regions more alien to the Russian culture. For example, a former Minister of Finance for Kolchak's Government, I. A. Mikhailov, who for the Japanese later became Senior Counsellor on Russian Affairs in Harbin, totally acquired Chinese manners of behaviour, from table etiquette to life philosophy. [9]

Despite the Soviet culture, émigré cultural influence went along the same lines with the European culture, though it was perceived differently in various segments of a foreign milieu depending on their mental, psychological and political fashions. For instance, France, the USA, England turned out to be very susceptible to such phenomena as the Russian ballet, music, fine arts, and it shouldn't be treated only as a fashionable mass culture trend. By means of a universal language of music and dance, emotions and ideas of Russian and foreign cultural layers got 'tangled', which was followed by more specific cultural and intellectual impacts. In 1923 'Russia' newspaper, in an article devoted to the publication of 'The Slavonic and East European Review' magazine describing recurrent triumphs of Russian actors, ironically said: 'Russian refugees are starting to contaminate Europe with a unique Russian influence that goes as far as Slavonic nationalism. It started with ballet, followed by the interest in Dostoevsky, Blok, and it may lead to the Russian social consciousness dominating' [10].

Large-scale events in cultural life of Prague and Belgrade became Russian fine arts exhibitions or exhibitions of a single artist, for example, Boris Grigoriev, whose works were a great success with the Prague audience in 1926. [11]

A list of the most prominent exhibitions arranged in the National Museum in France in 1947–1970, whose participants were M. Chagall (1947), O. Tsadkin (1949), A. Revsner (1956), V. Kandinsky (1957), G. Lipchitz (1959), N. Goncharova and M. Larionov (1963), doesn't only manifest that Russian émigré artists were on equal terms with others in artistic life of the post-war Paris, but it also shows that the Russian art had a long-term influence, it became a constituent element of the world artistic sector in the 20th and 21st centuries. [12]

On the one hand, fine arts, music, ballet turned out to be a universal form of communication between the Russian émigré community and the world community; they became a manifesting means of direct influence on the world culture. On the other hand, Russian artistic and music elite easily joined international artistic life in France, the USA, Great Britain.

In Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in the 1920s–1930s a number of talented Russian architects used to work, who contributed greatly to developing and mastering house-building principles in the countries concerned. [13]

Worldwide fame was won by ensembles of folk dances and songs that were organized by Russian émigrés in the 1920s–1930s. The priority belongs to the Cossack choir conducted by S. A. Zharov. It is worth noting that in 1981 Zharov was ceremonially introduced to the Russian American Glory Chamber, founded by Russian congress in America to ‘glorify prominent Russian figures, who contributed greatly to science, industry, literature and social life in the USA’. [14]

The destiny of the Russian émigré literature was more intricate, there were two ways out: either to be isolated within the frames of the diaspora, or start ‘speaking’ foreign languages. Here expanding political, philosophic and literature influence was promoted by periodicals published by émigré communities. A number of periodicals were issued in the language of the recipient countries. Translations of Russian authors into foreign languages published in the press also played a very important role. It was works published in periodicals that promoted awarding I. Bunin with the Nobel Prize in literature in 1933.

In regard with all said above, I’d like to point out that émigré fiction and journalism played a significant role in accepting the Russian émigré community by the world community, in understanding their problems and demands, their right to participate in a social, political and cultural dialogue. It also affected developing the image of the Soviet Russia abroad, tended to influence the public opinion of the residing countries in the right way.

In the 1920s Russian émigrés abroad propagandized Russian classical literature works, namely those by A. Pushkin, M. Lermontov, F. Dostoevsky and many other novelists, poets, composers.

A core element of a cultural dialogue development was acquiring and interpreting Western culture by Russian community and later by émigrés. This culture returned to European and American communities by publications in the foreign press, by public speeches, monographs of Russian scientists, literary works. Russian political opposition and intellectual elite brought up on patterns of European philosophy and social ideas imported to Europe a great many of original trends, from the Russian Marxism and Trotskyism to philosophical quest of S. N. Bulgakov, S. L. Frank, N. O. Lossky, L. Shestov, N. A. Berdyaev, [15] and works by V. Nabokov and A. Solzhenitsyn, etc.

During the Second World War publications by Russian émigrés contributed greatly to the international anti-fascism movement, appealing to provide the necessary aid to the USSR, to launch the Second Front as soon as possible.

In the 1920s–1930s it was typical of France and Slavonic European countries to start joint ventures with Russian émigrés: institutes, societies, clubs. In France, as a rule, it was initiated by scientific circles or artistic and intellectual community, while in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia it often was the government who initiated arranging such institutions. [16]

Several educational and enlightenment institutions created mostly by Russian émigrés became international cultural centres of communication and co-operation. For example, foreign students attended Russian Law School in Prague. [17] Russian émigrés contributed tremendously to organizing such institutions as Slavonic Library of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

in Czechoslovakia [18] and the ‘SLAVICA’ Library in Finland [19].

Activities of Russian scientists, engineers, military officers depended, first, on the necessity to survive, to adapt socially and economically, and secondly, on the desire to be required in professional sphere, which was closely linked with activities in a foreign language and cultural medium. Russian émigrés, adapting in the world of foreign science and business, brought in traditions of Russian higher education, corporate culture. In a number of cases they promoted forming centres of the Russian Diaspora, as it happened on I. I. Sikorsky mills in Stratford, the USA.

In the 1920s–1930s the Russian scientific impact in the USA started evolving distinctly. S. P. Timoshenko pointed out that ‘sound education in mathematics and basic technical subjects gave Russians a great advantage over Americans, especially at solving novel, uncommon tasks’ [20]. This researcher also stated that Russian scientific elite in the USA had to work a lot to improve technical education in America. He wrote: ‘Pondering upon the reasons of our achievements here in America, I come to the conclusion that education provided to us by the Russian Higher Engineering Schools played an important role in it’ [21].

In the period between the two world wars new centres of professional co-operation for Russian historians appeared in New York, Chicago, Boston, California. They worked in close relations with local university communities, started co-operating with American Historical Association and other centres of the humanities in the USA. Leading historians in the Russian émigré community of America, such as M. Rostovtsev, A. Vasiliev, G. Vernadsky, M. Karpovich taught and conducted researches in American universities for years. [22]

The Russian émigré community served as the main stimulus to develop international Russian studies, that not only proved the significance of the Russian culture and language, but also provided database enormous in quantity and quality for studies, as well as directly took part in developing Russian and Soviet studies, interconnecting of which resulted in forming the image of Russia in the 20th century as viewed by a foreign community. [23] A good example of such an activity is the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies. This institution, actually, co-ordinated and supervised Soviet studies and research in the USA. Its chairman was G. V. Vernadsky, a Russian scientist, an émigré of the post-Revolutionary wave.

So, the Russian émigré literature, philosophy, arts in the 20th century became one of the elements in spiritual and cultural space of foreign intellectual elite in various regions of the world, became an integrate part of diverse cultures of the world.

The tendency to preserve their own cultural identity, typical of the Russian émigré community, provided certain émigré activities in this field: they were persistent and selfless in arranging Russian schools, libraries, publishing houses, theatres in Paris, Berlin, Prague, Harbin, San Francisco. At the same time, coerced living abroad triggered enjoying European literature and arts and an inclination to cultural universalism dominated in the Russian intellectual elite in the pre-Revolutionary period. In the 1920s–1930s Russian professors delivered lectures to Russian students in French in Sorbonne, in Czech in Prague University, in Bulgarian in Sofia University. Students of Russian schools and people’s universities had excursions to the Louvre, tours to the castles on the Loire, etc. Undoubtedly, assimilation processes, especially in the young generations of émigrés, were inevitable and quite intensive, but simultaneously a unique multicultural world was developing in the Russian émigré community, the world that combined linguistic, mental, behavioural characteristics of the Russian émigré community and foreign communities.



Nowadays one can witness that some representatives of the third and forth Russian émigré generations, who were born abroad and educated in European and American universities, speak Russian fluently, with no accent, and even try to retain some elements of their ancestors' appearance unchanged (for example, a representative of the Mamontovs, who repatriated to Russia in the 1990s, is a successful entrepreneur and wears a broad merchant-type beard).

Russian immigration in the 1920s–1930s created a certain springboard and accumulated experience of cultural interaction with foreign communities, which was a great aid to the migration waves to follow. Political and religious émigrés from the USSR in the 1950s–1980s aimed at active assimilation in Western social and cultural space. The former direction of adaptation process was kept almost unchanged: successful assimilation of musicians, ballet dancers, artists into a foreign artistic community (R. Nureyev, M. Rostropovich, E. Neizvestny and others); targeting at Russian speaking writers, politicians, philosophers; quick assimilation of economic émigrés.

In the areas of dense Russian influence, for example, in Paris, the topic of Russian émigré community became a separate branch in national historical and cultural studies. It is worth noting that in the 1990s new phenomena in political and cultural image of contemporary Russia and its inclination towards the Russian émigré community influenced the fact that this topic was re-discovered by a number of countries: Finland, Austria and others, to say nothing of the former socialist states (the Czech Republic, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria), where just like in Russia the topic of Russian immigration sprang off swiftly after the ideological bans had been abolished.

In Japan, in the early 20th century intellectual elite was greatly interested in Russian culture, especially in the works by Leo Tolstoy and other classical writers. Later this interest resulted in creating scientific, social and cultural centres dealing with history and culture of the Russian émigré community in the Far East, such as 'Russia and Japan' society (1978) and the Japanese Association for Studying the Oriental Sector of the Russian Émigré Community (1995).

Talking about counteractions of Russian, European, American cultural elites, one should remember to mention that Russian émigrés formed their own system of countries and cultures images that were partly adopted by a foreign community, for example, the American phenomenon in the works by Yuri Ivask. [24]

In the post-Soviet period Russian diasporas abroad almost lost their role of political opposition to the metropolis. At the same time, their role of Russian cultural brides, partners in the dialogue between Russia and the world community keeps developing and flourishing, adopting new forms and directions.

As an Australian Russian Mark Stemmer wittily remarked, the Russian émigré community 'has a talent to adopt the culture of European countries and to preserve the national Russian heritage. It allows them to love both the country of residence and the motherland' [25]. This feature allows Russian diasporas to be common 'ambassadors of good will' from Russia to the globalizing world whose integral part Russia is.

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V. V. Popov<sup>1</sup>

## ON THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE WESTERN AND ISLAMIC WORLDS

Mankind is experiencing a crucial phase in its development. Within the next 5–7 years major changes in alignment of forces will take place on Earth, followed by an increase in the role of some civilizations and decrease of influence of the rest.

In spite of the greatest science, technology and information breakthroughs, the 20th and the 21st centuries nevertheless demonstrated that the world community did not learn to solve contradictions accumulated in a human society. They try use force to solve them, as in the case of the First or the Second World Wars, and the dreadful act of terrorism on September 11, 2001, not to mention numerous bloody regional and local conflicts which number increases.

Academician Nikita Moiseyev on the eve of his death at the beginning of the 21st century warned that a maximum of 30–40 years were left for a quiet development of mankind because of an extremely immense damage to nature. Climate warming, infectiousness of large cities, fading away ecology, these are only singular symptoms of this ill-being. In addition, it is relevant to mention here an enormous stock of weapons of mass destruction which is several times enough to destroy the world. It is significant that a destruction of chemical weapons will cost much more than its development. Under the present international circumstances a possibility to use these weapons is not excluded, although it runs counter either the common sense or the logic of the development itself.

The world today is the world of transition from dominance of the western (West European) civilization, that started almost 500 years ago, to a gradual increase of the role and influence of other civilizations. There is an obvious redistribution of forces, power and potentials on the planet.

In the West the results of ‘cold war’ were falsely estimated: disintegration of the Soviet coalition has been evaluated by the USA neo-conservatives as a triumph of the Washington policy and as an evidence of its eternal supremacy, but it proved to be an illusion.

In the end of the 20th century it became obvious that the West having determined the process of the world development by numerous significant factors in the most fields and spheres had already passed the peak of its influence and now faces with a deep crisis in socio-economic, spiritual and other areas.

If at the beginning of the 20th century the countries which now constitute the ‘seven’ controlled approximately 60 per cent of the world output, then today according to IMF their share has decreased to the point of 42 per cent. At the same time, the gross domestic product of the USA which earlier amounted to 35 per cent of the total world GDP has now fallen to 20 per cent (even Z. Brzezinski, the national security advisor of the USA President, acknowledged that the ‘single super state’ was in a deep crisis).

During the last two decades the countries located beyond the industrial West develop at an impressive speed. For today

not seven, but twenty countries have become the backbone of world economy including Asian and Latin American states.

In 2007, two thirds of the global economic growth fell at the developing world; it does become the leading force in the global export.

The Indian scientist Kalki Gaur in his books titled *Global Clash of Races* (2006) and *Diplomacy of Civilizations* (2006) arrives at a conclusion that the 21st century will become an age of Asia, China being the leader of the continent.

Today the most powerful investment fund is located in Abu Dhabi, the film industry is in India and the Chinese People Republic is gradually taking the first place in the motor-car construction. Every day more and more evidence appears demonstrating that the western scientific and technological achievements are intensively used by the countries of the East.

As early as 2006 the total GDP of the developing countries for the first time exceeded the total GDP of the industrial powers. The USA have lost their superiority in fields related to labour productivity and are surpassed by some European countries, particularly Norway; a gap with Asian states, first Japan and South Korea, being noticeably shortened.

Against the background of the retreat of Eurocentrism one can observe negative and sometimes destructive processes which make future of the industrial world questionable enough. There is a gap between achieved here impressive scientific and technological progress, a level of productive forces development and a capacity of the society to apply the latter properly and adequately for the general welfare on a global scale.

The most acute problems are the control over the weapons of mass destruction, the forthcoming warming of climate with its ecological and other effects, risk of man-caused disasters and natural cataclysms. Revolutionary discoveries in the field of biotechnology, genetics, particularly cloning of living organisms, challenge the human incapacity to realize and recognize clearly their moral and ethical consequences.

The West experiences the most acute moral and spiritual crisis. In well fixed and replete societies, an obvious degradation of social bonds and basic ethical values may be observed. Cultivation of hedonism, consumerism mania and increasing aloofness of people have become hypertrophied. A crime wave, dissolution of morals, system decline and narcotization of the society are proceeding.

Every third child in the USA is born out of wedlock. Unisexual marriages are spreading more and more.

Fading away of the role of the modern West is clearly expressed in the current demographic tendencies; and the so-called ‘Golden Billion’ is being actually turned into the states of aged people where a portion of youth decreases from year to year. In most European countries and in Japan birth rate has decreased to such a low level that the population in these states (in absence of inflow of immigrants) is expected to reduce in the 21st century. Against the background of acute demographic problems of the industrial society the galloping birth rates in the Third World countries look contrasting.

According to the numerous indices, the present economic and financial crisis throws by its characteristics the Western community far back. There are opinions that current processes may become the beginning of the end of capitalism in its present state. (In *The Guardian* of December 22, 2008 it was noted that the ‘prevalent economic model of last thirty years has been actually broken down in the course of the present crisis just as the Social Democratic model did not justify hopes after the Second World war.’) According to many economic

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He is decorated with the highest award of the Council of muftis of Russia – the Order of Al-Fakhr.

indices a share of the West in the world economy has been decreasing distinctly, especially over the period of the present global crisis. This gave an opportunity to some analysts to declare that China with its continuous economic growth will be able to leave the USA behind not in 2025–2030, as it was expected, but much earlier.<sup>1</sup>

Present unhealthy shifts in the alignment of forces on the globe are connected with a demographic factor, i.e. with the reduction of population in industrial states against the baby boom in the developing world. It has happened so, that at the present stage of the development it is the Islamic world that has become the most important antipode to the West. This process has been followed by a series of large-scale terrorist attacks, in particular by that of September 11, 2001 which shocked the planet. Since then the confrontation of the West and the Islamic world has just been increasing. In spite of all the undertaken measures the number of terrorist attacks does not reduce, although the number of victims has been a little bit decreased. Islam has become not only the most fast-growing religion, but also a faith with an increasing number of followers. According to the prognosis of the American Carnegie Foundation, by 2023 the number of Muslims will have exceeded the number of Christians (at present the number of the prophet Mohammed's followers amount to 1.5 billion, and 1.8–1.9 billion people regard themselves as Christians of different denominations).

Against the background of a well-defined tendency of the Western civilization to decrease its influence, the process of the Islamic world consolidation looks especially bright. First of all it manifests itself in the fact that solidarity of believers in different Muslim countries acquires new and quite effective features. The striking example of this is an increasingly growing activity of the 'Islamic Conference Organization' which will celebrate its 40th anniversary at the end of 2009. During the last years within the ICO they have undertaken quite a number of attempts to strengthen the coordination of Muslim activity all over the world. In essence, the ICO becomes a sort of an umbrella-type organization like the UN; along with which the Muslim states have also created such institutions as the Islamic Bank of Development, the Islamic Organization for Science, Culture and Education (IOSCE), the Organization of the Red Crescent, etc. Islam proved to be the single religion to create its own intergovernmental organization. The ICO, uniting 57 states (beginning with 2005 Russia has a status of an observer here), successfully struggles against islamophobia and takes drastic measures in the protection of the interests of Muslim minorities beyond the Islamic world.

It is important to note a special role of the Islamic countries in the production and export of energy carriers: actually more than two thirds of oil and gas resources of our planet are located in the states of the Muslim East. Those oil exporting states have a strong bankroll. Today amid the economical crisis Saudi Arabia and some other states of the Persian Gulf have significant cash resources, so it is not surprising that the Western countries woo them insistently. It is noteworthy that the 'twenty' of the countries having to determine the fates of current world economy include three Muslim states – Indonesia, Turkey and Saudi Arabia (and do not include such a state as Spain, for example).

During the last two or three decades new elite appeared within the Muslim world which is not inferior to the Western one by the level of its education. A lot of its representatives graduated from European and American universities; they

are well aware of the Western culture and at the same time have deep knowledge of traditions, customs, values and achievements of the Muslim civilization (sometimes many Western politicians lack this). Even American political scientists recognize that in some cases statesmen of the Muslim world look much stronger than their Western colleagues.

During the last years the Western policy led to a radicalization of the Muslim youth which shows up in such frightful and terrible events as terrorist attacks that cannot be justified. Nevertheless, it is necessary to understand the roots of this phenomenon. Humiliation and despair from which the Muslim people suffer, make some of them commit violent acts, although Islam like any other monotheistic religion does not propagate a cult of force at all. Under the conditions when the Western states are attempting to impose their opinions and methods on other peoples, a lot of despaired young persons from the Islamic world embark on the road of extremism as they do not see any other way of resistance.

A confrontation of the Western and the Islamic worlds also appears in the intensification of conflict situations between them. Today it is appropriate to mark out four basic problems evoking frictions between the USA, other Western states and the most of Muslim ones.

First, there is the Palestinian problem. In spite of Israel's military supremacy, last years have demonstrated an impossibility to solve the problem through the use of force. As a matter of fact Israel lost two wars: in 2006 with Hezbollah in Lebanon and at the turn of 2008/2009 with Hamas in Gaza. In the Near-Eastern conflict which is of a temporal origin a religious aspect has been growing stronger for the last years. This factor is a strong irritant for 1.5 billion Islam people as well. Many objective observers arrive at a conclusion that if the Arabic-Israeli conflict is not solved in the nearest 5–7 years, the existence of Israel with its six-million population in the midst of the three-hundred-million population of the Arabic world will be placed in jeopardy. In other words, time doesn't work in favour of Israel and the West.

Second, the problem of the American invasion into Iraq. This formerly powerful Arabic country hardly survives as a result of actions of the USA and their allies. The declared withdrawal of American troops planned by 2011 can lead to serious civil conflicts in the country which represents one of the principal centres of modern civilization.

Third, there is persistent tension around Iran, especially in connection with the nuclear programme of that country turning now into a strong regional power.

Forth, the Afghanistan–Pakistan focus: there is direct evidence of the progressing process of strengthening of the Taliban status in Afghanistan, as well as strengthening of radical elements in Pakistan, the only Muslim country possessing nuclear weapons.

In addition, there are a number of other conflict situations where the Western and Islamic attitudes are extremely diverse. First of all, it is appropriate to mention here the situation in Darfur and the International Criminal Court decision to place under guard O. al-Bashir, the sitting president of Sudan, who has been accused of war crimes. Another trouble zone is Somalia where the situation is quite far from stability.

It is recognized that there is a tension around the Muslim community in the Western Europe. Today a number of Muslims in the EU countries is estimated as approximately 20 million (after the Second World War there were less than half a million people). In such states as France, Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands and others, the Muslim minority is being active enough in particular regarding assertion of their rights that gives rise to strong frictions. An antagonism against people of different cultures leads to strengthening influence of the right-wing parties and movements with their anti-immigrant and often xenophobic slogans in numerous

<sup>1</sup> During H. Clinton's visit to Beijing the USA suggested thinking over joint proposals for the "Twenty" in early April this year in London. With that end in view Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs was invited to Washington. Of course, it does not mean the creation of an American-Chinese condominium, but many people estimate this as evidence that the USA recognize the growing role of China.

West-European countries. Bearing in mind that the birth-rate within the Muslim communities remains high and that the process of family reunification continues, a lot of analysts predict a rapid increase of Muslim population in Europe and their activity. At present governments of many West-European states have to make decisions about the Near-East situation taking into account the opinions their Muslim minorities. This process will be gathering further force.

Because of unreasoned actions of the USA, and first of all their venture in Iraq and their total support of Israel, radicalism is spreading widely among the Muslim youth. It is important to bear in mind that among the 40 poorest countries a half is the Islamic states. Just here the greatest potential for a burst hides since a concentration of social injustice, disorders and poverty approach a critical mark. To some extent, Islam reflects exasperation of the whole Third World.

The above-listed irritants in the relations between the West and the Islamic world are of an objective character; this made some French scientists drive at a conclusion that the next stage in international relations will be a kind of Cold War between the West and the Islamic world and the winner in this war, in the long run, will be China and, in a wider sense, other Asian states including, above all, India: the states with strengthening positions in world policy and economics.

I would like to share some ideas about the unfolding crisis, and also to express my thoughts about what kind of world Russia has entered and what steps should be undertaken in its framework.

The first point is crisis. If someone says he or she prognosticated that the crisis would be exactly the way it is now, and that it would involve the whole world, do not believe the person. It was a totally unexpected thing. Now many upstarts and braggarts, if you want, are saying *post factum* that they knew already a year or some years ago that this was inevitable. It was not so. This crisis is of a systemic nature. Don't believe those saying this crisis indicates the total crash of capitalism and the crash of dollar. In fact, this is the crisis of the capitalist model that existed and was developed in the United States. According to Marx's formula, the triad characteristic of capitalism is 'money – commodity – money'. In the United States this formula has developed into another one: 'money – money – money'. Not the production that the capitalist used to get his profit from, but money – money – money. And, generally speaking, this has created a brand-new background for market relations that predetermined unlimited loan freedom, freedom for monetary funds and speculative monetary operations without the control of the state. This is what banks have been doing. All this established financial bubbles which burst, and cancer has developed, and its metastases have probed from the USA into other countries.

Russia is also among those involved. Some people here were saying that we would remain an island of stability in the

In this situation the mediatorial attempts of Russia become more and more essential and actual for the détente in the relations between the West and the Islamic world and in the search for peaceful solution of local conflicts.

There are objective prerequisites for this. Due to its geopolitical position and history, Russia, the great Eurasian power with immense territory located at the turn of West and East, Islam and Christianity, has a unique experience of interconfessional relations with the long history of not only co-existence, but the interaction between the Orthodox and the Muslim believers.

Other arising civilizations, like Chinese and Indian, are less inclined towards this role because of their internal problems with Islam. It is especially evident in the case of India where the Islamic community amounts to 150 million and continuous conflict with Pakistan contributes to the development of nationalistic tendencies. In China the problem of the Muslim minority is not so actual, but it becomes quite acute at times.

Russia has solid grounds to position itself as a pole of containment and peace-making, to open its large constructive potential to facilitate compromise and balanced settlement of various conflict and controversial problems taking into account interests of states belonging to different civilizations.

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## **RUSSIA IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD**

storm of the crisis. We could not make it. The sea of the crisis is over us. This happened because Russia has plunged deep into the course of events that predetermine the world economic development. But this is not the only reason. The document on the anti-crisis programme presented by the Prime Minister Vladimir Putin to the State Duma says that the crisis in Russia has its own particular characteristics. These characteristics are connected with the situation before crisis, when a number of points of imbalance developed. And this must be stated openly. One of these points is that 40% of the gross domestic product is made up by the export of raw materials. At this stage some people say: 'China is in a better condition. They are doing much to overcome the crisis quickly.' This is true, indeed. But we cannot follow the Chinese model. Why? Because though China's gross domestic product is also formed by export, just as ours, but it is export of goods, not of raw materials. And what we export is raw materials. With the dramatic cuts of export, China decided to redirect its unsold part to the internal market, to improve people's purchasing capacity, to encourage investments, and to overcome the crisis just like that. Such a scheme cannot work for us, because the structure of our economy is not changed. It is based on raw materials. We cannot re-direct the flow of raw materials that is not consumed abroad to the domestic market. And the improved purchasing capacity within the country will only increase export. Thus, unlike China, we are limited in our manoeuvres; and this point should be clear. This is the result of the imbalance developed before the crisis struck.

Yet another point of imbalance is that long before the crisis a weird situation developed, when the nature of Russia's main source for economic development was foreign. It was abroad where cheaper credits were gained. I remember the meeting of the Competition Council working under the auspices of the Head of the Government. Mr. Zubkov was the Head of the Government then. And the discussion was unfolding like that. We had paid 90 billion dollars to cover those credits and loans that were borrowed by the USSR and Rus-

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sia. It was made quite easily by the accumulated funds from high prices on oil and gas. We did it and this is great, indeed. But at the same time our corporate debt to foreign loan institutions raised to 500 billion. Our domestic companies and our banks were compelled to get credits abroad. This was the reality. I don't think it was totally the right thing to do, because much funding was invested into small joint-stock packs of different companies and never returned to Russia again. But this is not my point at the moment. I just want to say that when the funds raised from high oil and gas prices were not invested into our domestic money corporation to improve its capitalization, our banks and companies were forced to get loans abroad. Regardless of the reasons and motives they got those loans, it led to a huge new debt. And this debt equals to national debt. Why? First, because it was primarily public companies that got credits and loans. Second, those loans were covered by state guarantees. Thus now this debt is our burden. And this is how we entered the crisis. This is a crucial aspect of the crisis situation here that must be considered by the governing body. Everything possible should be done to get the debtor companies to pay back themselves. The state cannot totally cover their debts. It is not critical if the debts are partly paid by the assets. By all means, I don't mean strategic companies.

My next point is the measures the government is taking. I believe that Vladimir Putin was right to back up the monetary and fiscal system for the first place. It was necessary to allocate funds into the monetary system to prevent its instability. If the monetary and fiscal system had become unstable, the whole economy, and not only the economy, would have crashed. People keep their funds in banks. Can you picture the situation we had ten years ago when bank deposits were frozen? We could not let it happen. That is why funding was given to banks to strengthen them. But together with that the funding that was given to banks, the budget funding, the funding from the reserve stock were supposed to have yet another function. The second function was turning the part of the funding into credits of banks to the real economy. Banks didn't do that. It led to the currency buy-up and to money transfer abroad. Although a simple denouncing of the banks' actions is impossible. The banks were just trying to bolster their liquidity, to increase their capitalization, to get more strength to live through the crisis. But at the same time now, after some months, we are about to do what, I think, should have been done from the very beginning. The point is that when banks operate the funding received from the budget, their commercial nature is lost and they become the government's or the budget's or the state's agents or whatever you may call them. The money is lent out to banks at a certain interest. What we are talking about is 8 per cent. The further instructions could be: keep some interest money as their own profit, and lend out the rest of it at a certain interest to the real sector of economy. This is the situation we have reached by now. Nowadays it can make the situation in the real economy easier. At the same time, launching of 'the second front' (as Vladimir Putin put it): state purchases, tax benefits, state loans etc. directly in the real economy is of great importance.

Let us consider the anti-crisis pattern now. What elements should it contain? I think, it should be a combination of three tasks that we need to fulfil. And I would like to emphasize the fact that these tasks are interrelated. The first task is to minimize the losses inevitable in economy and social life within a crisis period. Much is being done to manage that. The second task is to determine the points of progress, to organize them in hierarchy and to find an appropriate way for the economic recovery. And finally, the third task which results from the state programme presented to the State Duma is to establish a new model for Russia's economy. It should not copy the model that we used to have before the crisis. A new model

should be developed today, and it should be based on Russia's innovative development. There are a lot of things to consider in this respect. Only 10 per cent of enterprises concern themselves with innovations. Russia's share on the science intensive market is less than 1 per cent. At the same time the share of China is 7 per cent and that of the USA is 37 per cent. There is a lot to think about in this respect. Probably, the name of N.D. Kondratyev is familiar to many of you. He is an outstanding economist (who, unfortunately, shared the fate of his numerous contemporaries: he died in prison in 1938). Kondratyev is the author of the theory of long waves. According to him, there is an ascending wave during 40–50 years period of market economy, and then a descending wave follows and then comes an ascending wave again. And a new ascending wave brings a new technical and technological level. This system is understood by many. We should also realize how it works, bridge this gap in our mind. For example, financing of science in the USA increased by 3.2 per cent in 2009. The same parameter with us is decreasing, unfortunately. The quotient from the national budget is a little bit higher than last year, though if compared to the inflation, there is a cut. Indeed, innovations and development of science is what we have to care more about.

Now I would like to consider a different point. The crisis has emphasized once more that there is no unipolar world order. This is so because the world leadership cannot be performed by one source. The issue of unipolar world was a theoretical one. Don't take it as if I am drawing a comparison between the fascist Germany and the Soviet Union. That's not my scene. But a unipolar world could be organized according to Hitler, when he wanted to conquer the whole world, as well as it could be organized according to the Soviet Union, when we wanted to unite the whole world within our framework. After the Cold War was over and the Soviet Union collapsed, the USA decided that being the most powerful state in the spheres of economy, military forces and political influence they constituted a unilateral world. So they started to act as if the world had already become unipolar. Yet the objective context shows this conclusion has nothing to do with the reality. China is developing six times and Europe one and a half times quicker than the USA. India is rapidly growing. Multipolar world is expanding dramatically. I think the main trouble of the US government was to take their strength at that stage as a marker for the unipolar world. And it was not only that they theoretically made an equation, but they also started to behave according to the doctrine of the so-called unilateralism. What is the core of this doctrine? The USA makes independent decisions – without any resolutions from the Security Council, even without their own allies – on where to start their war machine, where to launch a war campaign, which regime to overthrow. This was the pattern of the US actions in Iraq. As a result, Iraq turned to be a ground which proved that the unilateralism doctrine contradicts the very idea of progress for mankind. Together with the reasonable criticism of Saddam Hussein, it should be said that under his leadership Iraq was a secular state. All political parties represented at present in the parliament are religious. There were no religion-based clashes between Sunnites and Shiites (two branches of Islam). And after the American occupation a real war broke out between them. Al Qaeda (the main international terrorist organization) had no presence in Iraq, but after the American occupation it shifted to Iraq. The United States somehow settled the Al Qaeda issue when they provided the tribes in 'Sunni triangle' with weapons and money. But it didn't mean the end of Al Qaeda in Iraq. And finally (and this is crucial), the US military campaign interfered with the balance that existed in the Middle East. The counterbalance for Iran ceased to be there. And Iran has become a big regional state. At present, a real settlement of any problem in the Middle East is impossible without Iran.

And this is not a complete analysis. Relations between Kurds and Arabs can also be considered. I was in Kurdistan a while ago. My biography that you have heard here was incomplete without the fact that I used to work as a correspondent for *Pravda* in the Middle East, and I lived for 5 years in Egypt and Lebanon. Being a correspondent for *Pravda* I went many times to the northern territories of Iraq with special missions. We were trying to do something and we actually did some things to reconcile Bagdad and Kurds. At that time I developed very good relations with Mustafa Barzani, the leader of the Kurdish Liberation Movement. Prior to that, after World War II, Barzani spent 12 years in the Soviet Union and spoke some Russian. The first time I met him was in 1966, when I was accompanied by two Iraqi officers. Despite the ongoing hostility, Kurds let me pass up to the mountains. One of the officers had a brilliant command of Russian. He didn't show that, but when the Soviet interpreter who was with me, told me a joke in Russian, the officer burst into laughter and thus got himself unmasked. I told Barzani that one of the officers knew Russian, and the other one was the Defence Minister's brother. And Barzani, being very cunning, in the presence of these two people tells me in poor Russian that all ministers in Bagdad (except the Defence Minister) are 'thieves' and 'racketeers'.

So, when I came to Kurdistan a while ago, most naturally I met with Barzani's son who is now President of the Kurdish Autonomous Region. When I was in Northern Iraq, when his father was still alive, I met Massoud, a 17-year-old who was in charge of a radio station. In an open conversation Massoud Barzani told me that though there was a tendency of separatism, Kurds were not planning on separating from Iraq, they didn't want to. Why? Massoud explained it the way his father used to explain: if we leave Iraq, both Iran and Turkey and Syria and Iraq will unite against us. In this context Kurds want to keep their autonomy within Iraq, and to influence its policies through Bagdad. But not long from now the borders of Kurdish autonomy will be defined. Kurds have claims at Kirkuk region. In this context clashes between them and Bagdad government are starting already.

I am trying to say here that the United States are leaving without having pacified Iraq. On the contrary, they are leaving Iraq in a mess, in a long-term antagonistic spirit, which will show up in the long run...

Let me give you another example, Afghanistan. You may have read something about the Russian-American 'Group of Wise Persons', which has former state leaders as its members. The US is represented by the former State Secretaries Kissinger and Schultz, the former Secretary of Defence and Secretary of the Treasury, and also by Sam Nunn, a famous senator. And I am in charge of the Russian representation. I asked my American colleagues at a meeting: what are the US targets in Afghanistan? What are they trying to achieve? Maybe, it is elimination of terrorism? Then, why are there no large-scale military campaigns on the territories of the Al Qaeda headquarters? Maybe, it is drug traffic control? Why, then, areas under poppy have doubled twice and the production of heroine has grown considerably since American and UN troops entered Afghanistan. It happened this way because the Americans are not trying to get it under control being careful not to get antagonistic reaction from the peasantry. And the latter live on it... And I said: 'Maybe, you are increasing your military presence to save face when you leave the country?' My interlocutors (and it was a friendly discussion) smiled. One way or another, but the Afghanistan context remains ambiguous.

Iran is a tremendous concern, Pakistan is also a tremendous concern. Musharraf, when Pakistani President, was

a dictator, but he had the situation under control. Yet now military intelligence, which generated the Taliban, is all over everything. Islamic opposition organizes protest marches. This is a very dangerous situation. Nuclear weapons may fall into the hands of terrorist groupings.

The whole world is facing a great number of issues, not just the ones that I have mentioned here. That is why I would like to emphasize that some subtle positive signs made by the new US President, Barak Obama, must be taken seriously. For instance, I take as a sign that Obama hasn't got neo-conservatives in his team, who were the fathers of the unilateralism doctrine, who were the ideological leaders of the former administration. So now, Obama's positive signs must be taken seriously. Rhetoric must be stopped on both parties, I think. There is no place for provocations. For example, when our TV says Obama belongs to a Masonic lodge, I believe it is harmful for the situation. Even if the information is valid, it's not the right time to infect the society with such emotions.

Among those problems that we could solve together with the USA, I would like to mention just the situation in the Middle East. Peaceful settlement in the Middle East is the problem of primary concern for all. Why? The Middle East incubates terrorism. If the Arab-Israeli conflict is settled, international terrorism will be considerably shaken, as well as the very tendency that provokes confrontation between two civilizations, Islamic and Western. With a successful settlement in the Middle East, balance in the Middle East, together with Iran, will be guaranteed. Mr. Bush Jr. had a discussion with President Putin on a prospective meeting in Annapolis, initiated by the USA. They wanted to initiate some steps towards peaceful settlement in the Middle East. I was sent on a mission to the Middle East to make the meeting in Annapolis possible. We were assisting the Americans especially because we longed for the settlement. Besides, I think, Russia has a lot to do with it. I was not the leading character in this story, of course. The main figures were President Putin, foreign Minister Lavrov and his deputy Saltanov. But I was sent to the Middle East on the mission to meet the Israeli leaders Olmert, Barak, foreign Minister, and Mahmoud Abbas, the Palestinian leader, and Egypt's President Mubarak, and Syria's President Assad, and the leader of the League of Arab States Musa. The Americans proposed a successive meeting in Moscow. This would have ensured a non-stop character of the settlement process. And such kind of integrity is exactly what was needed. Finally, many people came to Annapolis, and everything went smoothly by. But a Moscow meeting never happened. The USA explained to us that Israel was reluctant; the Israeli said the same thing about the USA. One way or another, there has been no meeting in Moscow till now. As the result, the Annapolis elaborations haven't been implemented.

My message is that with President Obama's cooperation with Russia and Europe, certain achievements can be made. But now a new obstacle has appeared: the new Israeli government. By the way, Foreign Minister Lieberman, who is the main obstacle in the way of solving the problem, originally comes from Moldavia; and he has a brilliant command of the Russian language. A while ago Lieberman made a statement that Israel should prevent any changes in the demographic picture of the country's population. What he meant was not even the occupied territory, but Israel itself, where the Palestinians are rightful citizens, like others. He declared that the Israeli government will prevent any changes of the ratio between the Jews and the Arabs living in Israel. How are they going to prevent it?

There are a lot of problems to solve, with proper consideration and with keeping in mind the urge to cooperate with all the states that strive for peace and stability.

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## ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATIONS IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW WORLD ADMINISTRATION

In a few months it will be five years since the Prime Minister of Spain mister José Luís Rodríguez Zapatero gave a speech at the annual meeting of the General Assembly of the Organization of the United Nations and suggested creating the 'Alliance of Civilizations'; it will also be a little over four years since Kofi Annan, who was the General Secretary of the UN at that time, got into the spirit of this idea and turned it into an initiative within the Organization of the United Nations. Since that time and up to the present day great changes have taken place on the international arena; what at that time was seen as a keen approach to the problem of removing the threat of 'collision of civilizations', as Huntington called it, and what many people at that time called a naïve and utopian suggestion has turned into a perfect working tool for modulating the new world, the cornerstone of which is supposed to become understanding. Alliance of Civilizations has turned into an operational reality, gradually involving more and more participants and integrating more and more undertaken actions for advancing in the dual dimension: in the extension of consensus around the paradigm of mutual respect as a basis of the modern International Community, and in the resolute defence of multilateralism as the best system for maintaining peace and progress in the multi-polar and diverse world.

Speaking about the existence of this objective reality we should mark the historical landmarks of the development and consolidation of this initiative, mention the programs which are being realized, and analyze the ways of extending perspectives, given to us by the Alliance on our way to the formation of the new International Order.

The beginning of history of the Alliance of Civilizations was laid by the suggestion of the Prime Minister of Spain; this suggestion was made during his giving a speech to the General Assembly of the UN on the 21st of September 2004. The new government, which had originated from the ballot stations of Spain in March 2004, from the very beginning tried to give the priority in their international activity to achieving the prevailing role of the Organization of the United Nations as a source of international legitimacy, as well as to the turning of understanding and world diversity into the cornerstone notions of international relations, as contrasting to the practice of their underestimation and to the one-sided approach to regulating the international relations demonstrated by certain forces, which, in their attempts to maintain security and prosperity of the world, have laid the foundation of destructive dynamics. The suggestion of the composition of the Alliance of Civilizations takes root in the depth of principles of international morals, along with observance of legitimacy and human rights. The ethical heritage, which formed the basis for the speech given by the Prime Minister of Spain to the General Assembly of the UN and his determined position in favour of strengthening the system of the Organization of the United Nations are apparent from the words pronounced by him. While introducing the offered proposal he remarked:

Security and peace will only spread with the strength of the United Nations, with the strength of international legality, with the strength of human rights, with the strength of democracy (...) Thus in my capacity as a representative of a country created and enriched by diverse cultures before this Assembly I want to propose an Alliance of Civilizations between the Western and the Arab and Muslim worlds. Spain

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wants to submit to the Secretary General, whose work at the head of this organization we firmly support, the possibility of establishing a High Level Group to push forward this initiative.

The Proposal of Prime Minister Zapatero was followed by the agreement of the Prime Minister of Turkey in June 2005 to give joint support to the Alliance. Then, on the 14th of July of the same year, the Secretary General Kofi Annan formally announced its establishment, and a few weeks later he appointed twenty members of the High Level Group, whose Terms of Reference were confirmed on the 25th of August. From 27 to 29 of November in the city of Palma de Mallorca the first meeting of the members of the Group took place. In 2006 there were some more meetings: in February there was a meeting in Doha, in May the meeting took place in Dakar, and on the 13th–14th of November the meeting took place in Istanbul, where the Report was made. On the 1st of January 2007 Ban Ki-moon took over from Kofi Annan in the position of Secretary General of the UN. On the 26th of April he appointed Jorge Sampaio as High Representative for the Alliance, following one of the political recommendations contained in the Report, thus expressing his institutional support to the proposal. On the 14th of June the High Representative delivered his Plan of Actions for the two-year period of 2007–09 to Secretary General. On the 15th–16th of January 2008 the 1st Forum took place in Madrid, which was also recommended by the High Level Group. On the 20th of March last year doctor Sampaio delivered his annual Report to Ban Ki-moon, who handed it over to the Chair of the General Assembly on the 2nd of May. This report embraces the main events which took place within the framework of the Alliance from May 2007 to April 2008; all these events were concluded by 1 forum. The First Forum was followed by the second one; the latter took place on the 6th–7th of April 2009 in Istanbul. This was the conclusion for the period of establishing of the Alliance of Civilizations. The Third Forum is to take place in Brazil in 2010, the Fourth is due in Qatar, and the next one is expected to be held in Austria in 2012. Portugal and Morocco have proposed to hold the next Forums in their countries.

In Madrid five important projects were accepted: Rapid Response Media Mechanism in crisis situations (<http://www.globalexperfinder.org>); Fund Silatech dealing with Youth Employment in the Middle East (<http://silatech.com>); Project concerning Media Literacy Education (<http://aocmedialiteracy.org>); Alliance of Civilizations Media Fund and Youth Solidarity Fund. Also it was announced about the confirmation and the beginning of implementation of several National Plans and about making Partnership Agreements with international agencies and organizations; there were held some high-level political meetings aimed at pushing forward the Alliance of Civilizations; there was submitted an offer about establishing of a net of philanthropic and private sponsor organizations; an agreement was reached with the Global Compact of the UN about creating The Guide to Corporate Sector and, finally, a declaration calling the youth to solidarity and mutual compromise was accepted by a group of religious leaders.

During all the process special efforts were constantly made to accept 'National Strategies'. The governments of countries-participants of the Group of Friends were gradually developing national plans, and international organizations and institutes were making 'Partnership Agreements' with the Alliance. At present 22 governments have confirmed and begun implementing corresponding national plans or have started developing them. They did it, undoubtedly, because

they were governed by the reasons of their geographic position, history, culture and the structure of their society. At the 1 Forum the plans were delivered by Spain and New Zealand. They were followed by Bulgaria, Great Britain, Romania and Turkey. In Istanbul it was formally done by Albania, Algeria, Brazil, Slovenia, Qatar, Malaysia, Montenegro and Russia. The development of National Strategies of Czech Republic, Croatia, Greece, Hungary, Portugal, Macedonia and Serbia is under way; Bosnia and Herzegovina will soon join these countries. At the same time during the 1st Forum in Istanbul seven more organizations joined the international organizations which had signed 'Partnership Agreements', and there became 18 of them: ALESCO, the United Cities and Local Authorities, the European Committee, the Community of Portuguese speaking countries, Commonwealth, the Council of Europe, Anna Lindh Foundation, Francophonía, ISESCO, the League of Arab States, the Organization of Islamic Conference, the International Migration Organization, the International Labour Organization, OSCE, Secretariat General of Ibero-American Community, UNESCO, the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the Latin Union.

An important display of the way covered by the Alliance is the Group of Friends, which, having an informal and spontaneous nature at the beginning, was gathering momentum and now it numbers 104 members, 86 of which are governments, and 18 are organizations and institutes of international importance. This group contains all the permanent members of the Security Council, with the exception of the United States of America; the European Union in a body, and other big countries of all the five continents. There are 23 Asian, 40 European, 11 African, 10 American countries and 2 countries of Oceania in this group. The Group of Friends serves as a notable proof of the universalism of the Alliance and, consequently, of the United Nations Organization.

According to the aims pursued, national and regional plans, the High Representative in his time offered the members of the Group of Friends to appoint so-called Focal Points, who could become sort of coordinators and participants of the dialogue concerning such issues. The establishment of a net of such responsible coordinators aims at making the collaboration of the members of the Group closer to achieve better mutual understanding, to form the 'public spirit' and to provide free exchange of experience, thus making the adoption of necessary strategies and of practical decisions on the local, national and regional level. The first plenary meeting of the coordinators was held on the 2nd and on the 3rd of October 2008, and the second meeting took place on the 8th of April this year in Istanbul.

The 2nd Forum of the Alliance was marked by a breakthrough quantitatively and qualitatively compared to the meeting in Madrid. This, certainly, was something much more than just a step forward in the process of consolidation and institutionalization, as it is characterized, from my point of view, by the end of one stage and the beginning of a new period, which, apart from anything else, will be characterized by a certain inclusion of the Alliance of Civilizations in the system of the United Nations. It will go on along with its adaptation to the globalized world. As in 2010 the centre of the Alliance will move to Brazil this organization will for the first time exceed the limits of the Mediterranean context. In Brazil the prospect of analysis will become even broader, which will make it possible to implement a new perception at the 3rd Forum, thus enlarging and extending the political, cultural and religious area, where the Alliance of Civilization functions.

In Istanbul, as well as in Madrid, besides discussing different ideas about the future work of the Alliance, new initiatives were launched. In total there are ten of them: Global youth Movement for the Alliance of Civilizations, Dialogue

Café, which is a high-technology innovation project aimed at creating a world-wide community of ordinary citizens; Restore Peace, Rebuild Bridges together with Euro-Mediterranean projects in cooperation with Anna Lindh Foundation for promoting peace after the crisis in the Gaza Strip; managed by young leaders Alliance Fellowship Program; youth festival of films concerning migration topic Plural+; Doing Business in a Multi-Cultural World together with UN Global Compact; Mapping Media Education Policies around the World in cooperation with UNESCO concerning the issues of media education; Mecanismo de Respuesta Rápida (Rapid Response Media Mechanism) together with Anna Lindh Foundation and the European Council for support of mass media in the Mediterranean region; the launched program The Alliance Research Network with 12 universities participating all over the world; the Education about Religions and Beliefs Clearinghouse – an information centre studying religions and beliefs.

All the abovementioned confirms that a long way has been covered and great efforts have been made; it also proves the strength of the 'Alliance of Civilizations'. Now we should extend its call for action and community so as to properly concentrate on the essence and specifics of this Initiative.

'Alliance of Civilizations' appeared as a proposal to act in the dimension of politics and security, as well as in the dimension of culture. This double dimension and the call for action makes it special and distinguishes its work from all others in the sphere of mutual understanding and mutual respect in the field of international relations, as, for instance, in case of the 'Dialogue of Civilizations'. 'Alliance of Civilizations' has a clear political dimension, as it pursues the aim to promote the proper administration of the complex, diverse and multi-polar world by way of using three big axes of action: (a) establishment of fair and integrating international order; (b) establishment of peace through strengthening of understanding, the search for peaceful solutions for problems and, consequently, struggle with terrorism in all its forms; (c) support of effective multilateralism. These three axes of action, undoubtedly, determine the 'roadmap' for headway with the guarantees for all the definite integrating norms in ruling of the dynamic global world, where plurality and diversity are perceived as factors promoting enrichment and life, but not as factors which distort one-sidedness and reductionism.

However, 'Alliance of Civilizations' also has a steady cultural dimension. It is about maintaining the call for mutual respect, respect for another person and for the existing diversity in the consciousness of people. As opposed to the reasoning of those who promote stereotypes and simplification, which lead us to intolerance and confrontation, the Alliance tries to reinforce the voice and influence of those people who understand and protect the complex diversity and, consequently, the inter-dependence and cooperation. With this aim the Alliance distinguishes four priority groups: (a) the youth; (b) mass media; (c) migration; (d) education. In all these four spheres the Alliance will support those initiatives which will be offered by the society and governments and which will promote rooting of values and of the attitude which contains the grain of mutual respect.

This complex of the problems of the Alliance should be considered with the account of the perspective of achieving an ambitious goal. The Alliance appeared as an initiative with a world-wide aim – it is based on the aspiration to become an instrument of the world in its integrity; the Alliance appeared under the aegis of the UN and it aimed at establishing a new International Order, which was to be created in this century for accepting all societies and for the societies' union. The last aspect requires some additional consideration, and I would like to devote my closing remarks to it.



In the establishment of the mentioned new, more equitable and integrating international order everybody will take part to the extent practicable, but, certainly, each of them will be meant to play the most important role – the great poles of the world dynamism and the so-called young states. Nevertheless, within this complex galaxy a special role might be played by what I would call ‘Integrated Europe’, where Europe is understood as a assembly of civilizations which have been in the centre of the creation of the new time of the Mankind. This Europe, which could be formed by contemporary countries of the European Union and Russia, bears the germ of complex diversity. At the end of the 20th century European countries managed to get the deep wounds of the 20th century closed. We only have to create the common history of Western Europe and Russia again, and for this both countries have enough vital capacity. Europe needs Russia just as well as Russia needs Europe. And all of us have to continue development in the future for the international order, which will be established gradually, to be filled with our values and principles to the uttermost. We should unite our efforts to create a big, safe, prosperous area and to strengthen the integrating viewing of the international scene.

In this restrictive activity, which ‘Integrated Europe’ could fulfil on the international arena, its contribution could undoubtedly play an important role in the main problem, which lies in the centre of tense relations between the West and Muslim world, and specifically in the problem of Palestine. It could play an important role in the way in which it is stated in Section 5 of the Report of the High Level Group concerning General policy recommendations, it is emphasized that there is ‘the growing urgency of solving the Palestinian problem, which is the determinant factor in the appearance of the recent crack between Muslim communities and the West’. Further it is stated that ‘without equitable, proper and democratic solution, based on the will of peoples involved in the conflict, without making all possible efforts, the recommendations given in this report for rebuilding bridges and suspension of hostility between societies are likely to be only of restricted success’. In the same Section it is explained how the Palestinian-Israeli conflict affects all of us – because ‘it has gained a symbolic meaning pervading cross-cultural and political relations of the three basic monotheistic religions, spreading beyond geographical borders’.

Here we should repeat: what we really have to reach again, however this time with everybody taking part, is a new world agreement, a New international order, as well as norms of behaviour which should manage it. Let us unite the energy on the old continent and restore the vital activity, action and leadership of our societies, and let us advance in our cooperation with the help of forming a big common area, the

basis for the United Europe and we should become the central figures in the process of consolidation.

However, for this new world agreement to begin bear fruit, it is necessary that all its participants, and not only one of them, be ready for co-operative existence and for peaceful competition in the context of behaviour in the relations with one another on the global level according to the jointly established and accepted rules of behaviour, which are free from coercion and discrimination. The world agreement which provides not only co-existence, but harmony and cooperation in the world that is getting more and more inter-dependent. In this sense here we can favour an aspiration to certain utopia. It is this code of norms of co-operative living which lies in the footing of the principles on which the doctrine of the Alliance of Civilizations is based; by the way, it is the very same system of ethic norms which Spain follows in its foreign policy at present and which is contained in the Policy Recommendation of the Report of the High Level Group:

A renewed commitment to multilateralism (...) It is therefore incumbent upon states to reinforce multilateral institutions – particularly the United Nations – and to support reform efforts that will strengthen the capacity and performance of these institutions. A full and consistent respect for international law and human rights. Polarization between communities grows when universal human rights are defended – or perceived to be defended – selectively. Coordinated migration policies consistent with human rights standards (...) Combating poverty and economic inequalities (...) An Alliance of Civilizations can only be fully realized within an international framework that includes the commitment of all countries to work toward the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (...) Protection of the freedom of worship. Freedom of religion and freedom of worship are fundamental rights of a human being.

So, the task is enormous, but so are the global consequences of the success or defeat of our task: the point in question is our ability or inability to construct the world, which from all its starting points will move forward towards cooperation, and thus comprehend the creative abilities and the readiness to make a contribution to the common cause, which we, billions of people of the mankind possess.

And let me conclude by mentioning the fact that since the 18th of November the Alliance of Civilizations has had a premise that worthily represents it: Hall XX of the Palace of Nations in Geneva. This is the Hall in the creation of which there were combined the attempts to unite Dialogue and Art through work of a Spanish artist Miquel Barceló; he created a work of art of a big size which changes according to the change of the sight angle; this work is a living example of ideology of the Alliance: combination of politics and culture in the name of defence of multilateralism and diversity.

**Alexander Rahr<sup>1</sup>**

## NEW RELATIONS BETWEEN WESTERN COUNTRIES AND RUSSIA

Nearly 20 years have passed after the end of the Cold War between the East and the West. In the United States, Europe and Russia, practically no active political figures remained who survived the Cold War while staying in leading positions.

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Author of the biographies of M. S. Gorbachov (1986), V. V. Putin (“A German in the Kremlin,” 2000), the books “Russia Floors the Gas” and “Putin after Putin. Capitalist Russia on the Threshold of the New World Order” (2008).

Expert in political culture and political elites of the CIS and Russia, Professor emeritus of Moscow State Institute of International Relations.

After a brief phase of rapprochement that, under different conditions, may have led to the integration of Russia into the West, the Americans, Europeans and Russians again started to quarrel. Now some observers in the West even speak of returning to the Cold War times. The West encounters a choice: either to assume the attitude regarding Russia as a disturber of peace in world politics and trying to keep it in check with the aid of the remaining arsenal of the cold war, or to resign to absence of compatibility of the value systems in the West and Russia and to include Russia in a joint union through strategic partnership.

The George Bush Administration, staying under influence of more and more authoritarian style of Russian internal politics, used the position of its advantage in implementing the politics of containment ('lulling to sleep') of its former main rival. The elements of this strategy comprised placement of missile armament in the Central Europe, the attempts to extend the NATO in the Ukraine and Georgia as well as the attempts to undermine the Russian monopoly for transporting gas and oil to the West. The present USA President Barack Obama who obviously sees no solid argument for unleashing a new cold war with Russia, could make some concrete constructive proposals for cooperation. In the case that Russia will not be further regarded by the White House Administration as a potential partner in coalition at the global level, the European Union will have to independently conduct the rapprochement with Russia at the European level. Russia remains an essential factor if not for the whole world then for the peaceful coexistence on European continent (peaceful policy).

There is no doubt that Russia remains a difficult partner for the European Union. The Russian ruling circles have not yet completely overcome the collapse of Soviet empire that occurred nearly 20 years ago. Now the West is openly reproached of using the difficult period of Russia's economy in the beginning of 1990s in order to put the country to economic dependence and to deprive Moscow of its traditional sphere of influence. Russia claims to be a leading great power on the European continent that would like to take part in future construction of economy and safety of Europe and does not wish that the European Union forces it out to Asia. As a counter-evidence to the West opinion that Russia is still economically weak country Moscow reminds that Europe depends on Russian energy supply. The recognition of Abkhazia and South Ossetia during the Georgian conflict in August 2008 prompted the rise of fears in the West associated with Russian neo-imperialism.

In September 2008, during the meeting with international experts at the Discussion Club 'Valdai', the Russian President Dmitry Medvedev said that the West could have included Russia into the NATO in 1990s, that then it would be possible to avoid present conflicts on the territory of the former USSR and that today, just as 10–15 years ago, the Russian ruling circles do not wish anything but to be integrated in the Western system. Meanwhile the construction of a European architecture on the basis laid by the NATO and European Union has been advancing still further. Some of the former Warsaw Pact members have been included into NATO and European Union, and a principle decision has already been made to include Ukraine and Georgia in the Western union. The future of Europe will be construed strictly on the main statements worked out by NATO and European Union, whereas Russia, being the largest European country by its territory and the number of population with all its treasures in the soil which are necessary for Europe for its future economic stability, turns out to be in isolation regarding the institutionalised new European order.

The striving of Russia to change its position and the attempts to self-assert at the European continent are the main reasons for the current tensions between Russia and European Union. The European Union assumes a rather ambiguous attitude towards Russia. Some European states do not believe in the possibility of joint peaceful coexistence with this country. Intra-European controversies became obviously manifested in the issues of NATO extension over Ukraine and Georgia, the placing of the missile armament, the energy alliance with Moscow, and in respect of the attitude towards the recent Georgian conflict. Many states of Central and Eastern Europe supported by Great Britain and Sweden demand working out a clear position against the 'neo-imperialist Russia'. And in order to maintain this critical attitude towards Russia they demand solidarity of all Western Europeans.

Other European countries like France, Italy and Germany in no case wish to create a future Europe either against the interests of Russia, or without Russia. Many Western European states see the fault of Georgia in unleashing the war in South Ossetia and stay aloof from the initial solidarity with the imaginary victims of Russian aggression. Now, the old states of the EU demand solidarity from the Eastern-European countries and more confidence in their policy of reconciliation with the post-communist Russia. One cannot rule out the fact that, if this state of potential conflict lasts too long, then the Europeans will tire of the argument around Russia and get divided into 'old' and 'new' Europe.

France, during its chairmanship in the EU, after difficult diplomatic efforts tried to reconcile these contrary points of view. France has achieved the point when Russia is proposed by the EU a new agreement of partnership and cooperation that promises prospects of close collaboration in economy, science, culture in case the Eastern neighbour does not stray farther from the European value canons. But Russia at the same time must once and for all reject the attempts to create its own spheres of influence and aim at the establishment of collective European policy of good-neighbourliness. The French President Nicolas Sarkozy could justly boast that in respect to the EU attitude towards Russia during the Russian-Georgian war his six-point plan was able to prevent the worst development. If at that moment not the French but, for instance, the Polish had held chairmanship in the EU, then there would have been a rather high probability of Europeans passing punitive measures against Russia. During the German chairmanship in the EU in 2007, the Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel failed to overcome the Polish veto regarding the PCA and to start new negotiations between the EU and Russia. Nearly two years ago this issue was frozen. Therefore, the EU task involved, in the first place, finding a coherent single political line in respect to Russia.

In 1990s, Russia declared its consent to make a Partnership and Cooperation Agreement subject to conditions of the West because then, under conditions of fighting for existence, Russia saw its only anchor of stability in the economically powerful EU of Europe. Today, Moscow has other priorities. Instead of reaching for asymmetric partnership with the West, Moscow demands equal partnership with the EU. President Medvedev demands a new pan-European dialogue on safety that would result in formation of a new unique organisation for all European institutions. Russia would like to make an 'eternal peace' with NATO and EU, to include both organisations in this extended union where the West and Russia could together stabilise the European continent on the principle of coexistence.

When the USA, East-European and many West-European countries declined the dialogue with Moscow, the French President in the end of France chairmanship in the EC declared his willingness to conduct dialogue with Moscow.

The Czech Republic, being the Chairman of the EU, seems to again keep aloof from the Sarkozy's activity in respect to Moscow. During its chairmanship, Prague wishes to attain a greater rapprochement of former soviet republics Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia with the West. These states receive ambitious proposals to become associated members of the EU. The form of the new eastern partnership development could be readily interpreted as an attempt to push Russia off the West and South of the Hemisphere. If the above CIS countries take advantage of these proposals of partnership extension, they will rightfully expect from the West a strong support in democratic and economic market process of transformation and integration in the EU. The eastern partnership contains also a new package of proposals on energy safety for all neighbouring states that are dependent on Russian energy carriers. The strategy does not

conceal that the eastern partnership is based on the EU solidarity with the states that are supposedly threatened by the imperialist Russia. The Czech chairmanship differs from that of France in that it establishes again the politics of limitations in respect to Moscow. The theme of 'punishing' Russia for the recognition of both breaking away Georgian provinces, Abkhazia and South Ossetia, may again become an urgent question.

The next country that will keep chair after the Czech Republic in the European Union is Sweden, and in 2011 – Poland. Stockholm is in sympathy with eastern Europeans keeping the critical attitude towards Russia. The eastern policy carried out by the East European countries differs from the traditional German-French one that focused on Russia, and may lead to new problems in relations with Russia.

How is it possible to reach an agreement on the issue of joint policy between Russia and the European Union? In spite of development of the new joint agreement on cooperation with Moscow, the European Union must find new concrete forms of interaction with Russia as an answer to Mr. Medvedev, the forms concerning these ten areas where the USA will be necessarily involved:

- The concept of a joint missile defence against theoretically possible aggression of a potential enemy, the defence being able of equally protecting America, Europe, and Russia. A joint space research in order to prevent the space arms race (in three-power treaty together with the USA).

- Creation of a western energy alliance with Russia aiming at long-term uninterrupted supply of energy carriers to the West and complementary to it, the development of western technologies for modernising the Russian energy complex. Prevention of war occurrence through joint management of energy carriers in Eurasia, by means of western and Russian energy enterprises' formation of a gas consortium (in bilateral order).

- Close interaction in reforming such international organisations as the UN, countries of the G8, OSCE. Creation of comprehensive 'Partnership for peace protection', for instance, NATO-Shanghai Organisation of Cooperation (three-power treaty).

- The concept of Siberia modernising plan submitted by the European Union and Russia will in fact serve for strengthening the target orientation of the energy alliance. This

plan would prompt both the economic cooperation and the strengthening of Russian resources strategic significance for future prosperity of Europe (in bilateral order).

- Restoring the cooperation within the frames of non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The concept of joint global 'safety doctrine' that would for a long time unite Russia, USA and the European Union in their fight against international terrorism (in three-power treaty).

- Creation of an active mechanism of interaction between the European Union and Russia that would not be dependent on agreement of all 27 members of the European Union. The long-standing Triple Alliance of Germany, France, and Russia evokes too much discontent in the countries of the Central-East Europe. The idea of foreign policy representative of the Christian-Democratic Union Eckhart von Klaeden in respect to forming a group of states responsible for the policy of EU-Russian relations must be implemented (in bilateral order).

- Joint efforts in the area of climate and environment protection. Russia, European Union and the USA could plan creation of 'an ecological alliance'. All the sides could develop joint requirements and possibilities of interaction in various areas within the frame of the Kyoto process (in three-power treaty).

- The next steps for creating joint spaces between the European Union and Russia, primarily in the area of free trade zones, elimination of visa limitations, exchange with scientific experience, creation of European-Russian peace missions both in the post-soviet space and in Africa (in bilateral order).

- Extension of the area for activity of the G4 (USA – European Union – Russia – UN) in the fight for establishing peace at the Near East and over other conflicting regions as, for instance, Iran and Afghanistan. In recent years, Russia acquired new political weight owing to development of economic contacts with the Arab world countries that could be used in the interests of the West.

- A joint program to fight against poverty in developing countries. The global crisis manifests itself in three areas: finance, energy, and food. These will soon change the world economy. Consequences of this crisis may lead to mass migration and war for treasures of the soil. Today's Russia, thanks to profit from export, is able to allot means for social needs, which shows its growing responsibility in face of the world economy.

Peter Roell<sup>1</sup>

## THE IMPORTANCE OF CROSS-CULTURAL COMPETENCE: SIX MAIN EXAMPLES OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHINA AND THE WEST

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great pleasure for me to attend the 9th Likhachov International Science Conference in this beautiful city of St. Petersburg. When I had my first thoughts about the importance of cross-cultural competence and fundamental patterns of cultural differences, a statement by Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) came to mind: *Investment in knowledge pays the best interest rates.*

Due to the fact that in our institute we combine scientific knowledge with demands from business circles I would like to restrict myself in my presentation on business aspects of cross-cultural competence and if we define culture covering

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the whole social heritage, consisting of knowledge, of beliefs, of habits and moral values, it is already obvious that we can observe a lot of cultural differences within the western hemisphere. This leads me to my thesis:

The global financial and economic crisis will require the international business community to understand even more about cultural differences and the importance of cross-cultural competence.

To recover from the dramatic international financial and economic crisis it will not be enough simply to improve and restructure the global financial system. Without a renaissance of human and moral values and if we neglect cultural differences between the East and the West, we will not be successful in stabilising the global financial and economic system. In neglecting these fundamental necessities we are also jeopardizing global security. What we are facing now is a fundamental transformation of our societies! This leads

me to the necessity to identify the main cultural differences between China and the West, the two major global trading blocks.

#### 1. *Different approach to relationships and rules*

Whenever Westerners travel through China they often hear the word Guanxi. Guanxi means relationship, network. For example with good Guanxi you will get a seat in an overbooked airplane, you will get access to high-ranking business people or politicians. Of course, also in my country, Germany, people use their network in the private sector and in business relationships. But in the Chinese culture, the bilateral interdependency goes much deeper. Characteristic for the Chinese Guanxi is, that this obligation for bilateral help – seeing the family as the core element – will exist forever. This traditional behaviour guarantees on one hand excellent access and personal benefits but on the other hand it is also a breeding ground for corruption.

#### 2. *Different communication styles*

Chinese people have the tendency to differentiate between „we“ and „others“, between their own group and outsiders. This separation and the division into „inside“ and „outside“ has a significant impact on communication behaviour. In the Western hemisphere polite behaviour primarily helps to make relations between strangers easier. On the other hand, Chinese polite behaviour is mainly reserved for people one knows, for relatives, friends or business partners but never with completely unknown people. For Westerners, the Chinese behaviour in the outside communication sometimes seems to be distant and cool, sometimes even aggressive and rude.

#### 3. *Different attitude towards conflict and showing emotions*

What can Westerners do – already at the outset of a relationship with Chinese people – to avoid conflicts? We should always keep in mind that for Chinese people the creation of harmony, of a good atmosphere and keeping face is very important. The concept of „face-keeping“ is also known in the West but in China it has deeper consequences in private life and business. Westerners should learn that a Chinese „Yes“ can have many meanings. It could mean „Yes“, it could mean „I understood it“ or it could mean „I didn't understand it at all“. Take your pick! Only with understanding and sensitivity, with experience and the willingness to understand the motivation of the Chinese partner will it be possible to find – in time – the right interpretation.

Regarding emotions, in the Chinese culture people don't openly show their emotions. Instead, they control their feelings, and aggressions are repressed. But sometimes we Westerners are surprised when suddenly suppressed feelings break out with screaming and even attacking a person. In such a situation it is advisable to be quiet and keep face. To establish harmony is more important than solving conflicts openly or to be „right“.

#### 4. *Different decision-making style and hierarchy*

In our Western thinking, that all human beings are equal and must be treated equally, does not exist in Confucianism. Therefore, in the Chinese culture, it is very important to define the status of a person. Persons of higher rank expect more respect, have more authority and their word has more weight. But in this kind of society, the higher-ranking person also has more responsibility towards the subordinates and he is also responsible for their well-being. In the Chinese decision-

making process hierarchy is very important and it goes top down.

#### 5. *Different approach to time and completing assignments*

One of the great differences between Western and Chinese business people is the approach towards time. For example, we Germans have already a detailed business plan and we want to sign a contract as quickly as possible. The Chinese first want to create harmony, a good atmosphere. They want to know their counterpart. To complete an assignment in due time depends also on the capabilities of the managers and the motivation of the employees. In the West, a manager should have the capability to create conditions under which competent, responsible, creative employees, who are also capable to handle conflict situations, work together and have room for personal development.

In China, a good manager must have a different competence which is similar to our authoritarian management style. He should have higher education, influence and power. He should not make mistakes and he has to give very clear instructions to his employees what they should do when, how and in which order.

To motivate a Chinese employee with the objective to fulfil the targets of the company, differs from the West. The delegation of responsibility and decision-making competence is not so appealing for Chinese employees. Chinese react more to social incentives, collective premiums and other incentives, including social assistance and privileges.

#### 6. *Different approach to learning*

Since the times of Confucius there has been a special importance in the teacher-student relationship. It is worth pointing out that Confucianism has little or nothing to do with religion in the Western sense. The Chinese word for teacher, Lao-she, does not describe the rank or the function of a teacher, but shows respect for a person who is educating and who has knowledge, wisdom and education. In China – and that's another difference to the West – active and independent learning is not in the foreground, but to listen, to copy, to reproduce is important. Originality and creativity are not as important as the perfect knowledge of the things learned. To copy a masterpiece is considered to be a work of art – even if it is a Mercedes!

The Chinese have learned a different style of negotiations. The Westerners have learned to explain their objective, their aim, to sustain it, to defend their thesis and to make only a few concessions. The Chinese think that this view is not appropriate. You should not mention your objectives at the beginning of talks. You should define them during the negotiations. Firstly, you should know your partner, his strength and weaknesses, then you might be able to deal with him.

#### *Conclusion*

What is the conclusion? If we Westerners want to be successful in China, and vice versa, the knowledge of cultural differences is an important and increasingly indispensable element to build trust, friendship and a better common understanding. It will be a permanent process and a challenge for both sides. Under the conditions of the dramatic financial and economic crisis it will be wise to be willing to learn from each other and to listen to each other with a higher degree of understanding of the other partner's agenda. But a Chinese proverb could put us on the right road:

Even a journey of 10 000 miles begins with the first step.

K. O. Romodanovsky<sup>1</sup>

## TOLERANCE IN RUSSIAN SOCIETY

Migration processes appear to be a very important element of economical, political as well as cultural, demographic and civilizational development that can affect social life and the State.

One of the targets for the Federal Migration Service to achieve is to provide and sustain human rights in the migration sphere, namely, the right to free migration and choice of the place to reside. Apart from that, the Federal Migration Service performs a significant national mission of migration processes regulation, which seems especially acute with respect to unfavourable demographic prognosis for the nearest future. Migration enables to keep a positive balance despite population decrement due to ageing and low birth rate. Nowadays migration increment compensates for population decrement up to 71%, while figures for 2003 were 40%, for 2006 22%. It promotes economical growth and development; migrants work out up to 8% of Russian national gross output, as statistics show.

Thus, a controlled legal status migration entitled to all rights is a mutually beneficial process both for the visiting and the host parties. However, migrants value can't be estimated in money only. Such prominent culture figures as Ivan Turgenev, James Joyce, Albert Einstein, and Thomas Mann were migrants and even involuntary transmigrants. Henry James, who had spent years of his life deprived of his native country, became a founder of a new trend in American literature: novels about Americans in Europe. As far as politics is concerned, I can name here President of France, Nicolas Sarkozy, whose father immigrated from Hungary and grandfather on mother's side from Greece, to say nothing of the USA, where all establishment are immigrants' descendants. Talking of sport, I can't but mention Guus Hiddink, a Dutchman, and his contribution to the Russian football, he is also a kind of labour migrant.

In contemporary globalizing world life and fate of migrants have become the core subject in novels by a famous British writer Salman Rushdie (Indian Muslim in origin), this idea is also important for the Spanish writer Juan Goytisolo who made an African labour migrant the main character in his novel *Makbara*. In Russia we don't have such a large-scale cultural phenomenon yet, but the topic interests many people; suffice it to remember Eduard Bagirov, a writer, and his famous novel *Gastarbeiter*.

A number of culture figures, migrants, contributes to the world culture with their own unique and original ideas and worldview. Migration phenomenon gives a chance to see a common everyday life from outside, with alien eyes, that also permits the natives to see their own life in a different way, because traditions and social conventions of an alien life strikes only a stranger, while the natives pass by without noticing changes in their own life, their glances never go below the surface. This is the value of an 'alien', namely, migrant perception: it goes beyond usual borders, it isn't automatic.

Russia is a very beneficial country for labour migrants due to economical, social, historical and other factors. In 2008 among labour migrants working in Russia, citizens of former Soviet republics were in majority: from Uzbekistan there were 642 thousand people; Tajikistan 341 000; Ukraine over 245 000; Kirgizstan 184 000; Moldavia 122 000; Armenia 100 000; Azerbaijan over 76 000 people.

Initially common past and origin simplified the challenge of adapting and integrating foreigners into the Russian soci-

ety: they spoke the Russian language, were educated in Soviet schools, their cultural values differed little from Russian ones. But the new generation of migrants makes us consider the problem of adapting in Russia, because in this case we come across some difficulties: they have to study Russian as a foreign language, to say nothing of a growing gap in cultural and social values. That's why in order to promote integration process in the countries of CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) Federal target-oriented programme 'Russian Language 2006–2010' was adopted.

To regulate migration flows and at the same time to create positive and favourable conditions for migrants adaptation the National Programme on Assisting Voluntary Transmigrating Compatriots from Abroad was developed, now it has been successfully operating. Within the frames of this programme we tried to make conditions for correlating migrant compatriots potential and labour resources requirements in the country regions. Nowadays there are 12 pilot regions operating in the National Programme that covers only 4% of the Russian territory, so we still have a vast field to operate on.

It is worth noting that labour migration flows have lately started to be re-directed to the Urals, the Far East and Siberia. This process has a beneficial impact: while on average in Russia a small decrease in visiting migrants number can be spotted, in the regions mentioned above the number of work permits and temporary residence permits has grown more than one third.

With respect to this fact, a necessity arises to improve ways of adapting migrants in the Russian society. Obviously this problem has two sides: it is essential to provide, first, the most favourable conditions for migrants in residing, labour terms, social security; second, the medium to adapt in (the host community, the natives) don't always behave hospitably towards aliens. It often happens that this hostility turns into its radical forms, tends to originate nationalistic groups, turmoil, murders on national grounds.

Relations of migrants and host community are a real challenge. These are relations of those who came to a country to seek for a better life and those who treat newcomers as impostors appropriating local merits and occupying work places, etc. I suppose, there are several reasons for disloyal attitude of the natives towards migrants:

- migrants are often poorly qualified and illegal labour force, they are eager to receive very low wages, thus competing with well-qualified native experts who demand high salary;
- migrants' national diasporas appear, that enables them to live in isolation, without mastering the language and adapting to moral and ethical norms and values of the host society; apart from that, such diasporas take control over certain spheres of economy (for example, market trade, some services, etc.) which makes work in these spheres available only for national migrants.

It seems that a positive solution for this challenge can be found on the basis of mutual respect and mutual adaptation of migrants and host community. Well-educated, law-observing migrants in Russia will be able to implement all their skills to the best extent, and to make their original contribution to Russian civilization development. Integration process into Russian society can become the easier, the better they will know and respect the basis of Russian culture and national Russian traditions. On the other hand, Russian people have to know and respect mentality and culture of migrants. Tolerance and mutual respect promote fruitful development, while hatred, intolerance, nationalism and national pettiness lead to degradation and collapse.

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Yu. R. Ryzhov<sup>1</sup>

## MASS MEDIA IN A CHANGING WORLD

Mass media in Russia of the 21st century has gone through fundamental changes in comparison with the mass media in the years of perestroika (1986–91) and in the 1990s of the 20th century. If the period stated above was marked by a genuine revival of the free mass media after a no-freedom decades in the country, when it was turned into a means of informing the public and a means of one-sided connection between the country and the authorities, the first 8 years of the 21st century redirected the newly started process of mass media formation in their essential meaning dramatically, reversing it to the traditionally Soviet role of 'a propagandist and agitator' of 'the one and the only rightful' way appointed by the authorities once again positioned above the people.

The creation of the (internal as well as external) enemy image has always been the main concern of the authorities who tried to consolidate the population. Mass media has always been one of the tools of such creation, alongside with the behaviour and actions of the authorities; mass media in its different manifestations that have been changing together with the growth of technology starting with print to electronically based media – radio at first, and now television. Television today is the most powerful source of manipulation of public consciousness (and not in Russia only). The system of power established in the 2000s, being aware of this fact, has strategically put this instrument under the control of the 'axis of power', which basically meant not only control over the federal channels, but also over the local ones through the liquidation of election of local authorities. The traditional mass media – radio and printed media – were not at all ignored either. The attempts of the latter to loosen the control were suppressed by the ruling powers in different ways, including violence and assassinations of editors and journalists.<sup>2</sup>

In the process of the internal enemy image creation through adopting anti-constitutional laws, displaying non-profit organizations as paid agents of the external enemy, the West, the ruling authorities set the goals for the controlled mass media to unite the nation in such a vital business.

On government-controlled television the citizens, enthralled by the TV-box, can see how the country is 'rising from its knees', 'shedding tears over fiction' in endless serials and is slightly irritated with glamour and ostentatious merchant aplomb of the newly rich representatives of the minority in our extremely separated society.

On the TV screen we see that our military power revives in the face of the external enemy: strategic bombers TU-160 and TU-95 patrol over the western Atlantic, the remains of the Soviet Navies visit the Latin American allies of Russia, show its flag in the Mediterranean and even threaten pirates of the 21st century in remote gulfs.

Intelligence services regularly uncover the spies enlisted by the external enemy and the western diplomats who carry out 'activities incompatible with their status' when scattering archaic hiding place on Moscow lawns.

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Author of fundamental works and articles on mechanics as well as a number of publications on the Pagwash movement and social and political issues.

Chairman of the Russian Pagwash Committee at the presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences, member of the Council of the International Pagwash movement, Chairman of the Scientific Council of the Russian Academy of Sciences "History of World Culture."

He is recipient of the State Award of the USSR in science and technology, of the Zhukovsky award "For the best work on the theory of aviation" and of the award of President of Russia for outstanding merits.

<sup>2</sup> Kholodov, Shehekochihin, Politkovskaya. The latest victims are the editor of Khiminskaya Pravda and a trainee of *Novaya Gazeta*.

We are being demonstrated the success of the country which at last have pulled hard on high technologies, first of all on the ever so fashionable 'nanos'<sup>3</sup>. The promised 'nano'-money has excited quite a number of vigorous citizens who were not at all aware of nanotechnology, so that they start to push away teams and experts who have been engaged in the process for decades from the 'nano'-feedbox.

We, who have lived here long enough, do remember the 'national programmes' propagandised by the power and its mass-media: maize, virgin soil, BAM...

Today let's return construction teams, voluntary police helpers from the oblivion and show them on TV... As the saying goes: feel the difference (if there is one).

Mass-media, by means of the power and self-censorship of the 'statesmen' involved, have returned to 1930s–1980s which has complicated, if not eliminated, the dialogue of cultures, so important for the development of a civil society<sup>4</sup>. Alongside of this process of degradation of mass-media as a feedback mechanism (the parliamentary mechanism has been destroyed as 'not an appropriate place for discussions') there appeared and grew, between the ruling power and the society, the Internet that was brought from the West and is hard to supervise as a means of mass communications. Here, like anywhere in the liberated printed media at all times and in all countries, it is full of slops, indecent and antisocial stuff, including fascist sites and blogs, and simply gibberish.

But like in old days the reasonable analyses are presented together with discussions on economic, political, cultural problems which you know where are not appropriate. And there where they are not appropriate the hardly literate 'servants of the people' inexperienced in the field of modern information technology, are busy inventing a stranglehold for this Internet. They point out at China and the North Korea where they seem to have invented it. Actually the only way remaining is to destroy physically all this hardware in the country, thus returning it to the informational Middle Ages.

And now with the crisis, this diversion of the external enemy who has decided to freeze his own ears to spite mom, having run into a deep financial and economic collapse. And he has done this so dexterously that the depth of the crisis in the West has appeared not so deep as what we are experiencing. So dexterously that we have not noticed it at first. Mass-media informed us on their pitiful state, and on our blossoming one, as the isle of stability, of no devaluation, of peaceful sleep. And now we have woken up to learn that the devaluation is more than 50%, share indexes fell by 75% (in the USA by 40%), slump in production with half of it in metallurgy, the enterprises stop, dismissals happen etc., etc.

At the same time the Government that had relieved itself from the responsibility to co-ordinate the budget of 2009 with the rudimentary Parliament, built the budget based on the dollar price of 24.7 roubles (today it is more than 36 roubles), planned gross national product growth of 6% (with a possible recession of 2%) and the barrel price of 95 dollars (while today it is about 40). And instead of the predicted proficiency of the budget of 3.7%, they admit its deficiency of more than 7%.

How are the mass media getting ready for the spring-summer season of 2009 when the financial crisis that began in the autumn turned now into an economic and is bound

<sup>3</sup> The share of Russia in world high technologies is 0.3%, and that of the USA is 40%.

<sup>4</sup> Thank God for the Culture channel and a modest 'information ghetto' on REN-TV.

to turn into a social one? It is just the proper time for 9th International Likhachov Scientific Conference of 2009 to include into the plenary and workshop sessions topics of mass-media in the changing world (Mass-Media in the

Changing World: Dialogue of Cultures in the Medium of Mass-Media).

The mass media today is a very mighty power, and it's important to know who employs it!

A. L. Safonov<sup>1</sup>

## THE CULTURE OF SOCIAL AND LABOUR RELATIONS IN RUSSIA: PARADOXES OF THE TRANSITION FROM SOCIALIST RELATIONS TO THE MARKET SYSTEM

Social<sup>1</sup> and labour relations constitute an important component of any social community. They go through certain stages of their development reflecting the conflicts between different groups just as all other relations do. The Russian Federation is not an exception in this sense, however, as it is a country whose economy is fulfilling transformation to market relations, a number of events which seemed paradoxical at first glance were inherent in it: privatization, a dramatic decline in living standards, mass violation of labour rights of employees in the early '90s of the previous century did not result in any significant growth of social conflict.

There were several important reasons which promoted this situation:

- the absence of a definite social structure in the society;
- high level of the state's participation in the resolution of social and labour problems;
- the well-established model of the low level of business's social responsibility when it came to the realization of their obligations concerning employees;
- the immaturity of the trade union movement.

Let us try to consider the above-mentioned reasons in a certain historical context.

The social and labour relations of the modern Russian society appeared as a result of the transformation of the historical, economic and cultural heritage of the former Soviet Union. Hence, we can state the fact that the history of social and labour relations did not start in 1990 when the political status of the Russian Federation as of a state intent on building market relations on democratic principles was determined. The social and labour relations root from the country which served as a basis for the formation of the Russian Federation, from the Soviet Union.

What kind of labour relations were there in the Soviet Union? The USSR had a centralized planned economy with the overwhelming impact of the state which acted as the employer. It was quite natural that the socialist type of production endowed the social and labour relations with certain characteristics, the principle of the common social equality being the most prominent of them. In those conditions the social and labour relations lacked the acuteness of the social conflict between the owner of the means of production and the employee. This peculiarity became apparent in all fields connected with social and labour relations:

- in the system of the remuneration of labour;
- in the conditions of labour and leisure;
- in the labour protection;
- in the retirement and social insurance.

For instance, the remuneration of labour was based on the distributive approaches. Such an important element as the

process of negotiations between the owner and the employees was absent. The wage rate was fixed by the government decrees in a centralized way. In this context the wages reflected not the importance of an employee as of one of the participants of the production of value, but their place in the social hierarchy.

The state used wages as an instrument to decide not only the issue of reproduction of workforce but also some political issues such as the support and development of social groups determining the political landscape of the society. In the Soviet Union the wages of workmen were higher than those of the engineering corps or the agricultural workers.

Besides, with the help of the differentiation in the remuneration of labour the state decided the issues connected with the geographical settlement, the encouragement of internal migration, the development of certain branches of economy, etc.

This situation naturally affected the type of social dialogue: trade unions to a considerable degree were state supervisors of state managers. This status was confirmed in the Labour Code which was in effect at that time. Besides, the mechanism of conducting negotiations concerning socially acute issues did not exist. It led to the fact that the institution of labour arbitrators capable of resolving social conflicts was not formed.

Thereby, the essence of social and labour relations in the Soviet state can be defined as the relations between the state (its institutions) and employees concerning the place occupied by them in the social, political and economic system. This type of paternalistic model determined the behavioural motivations of an employee: the high degree of economic dependence on the state, the low level of social initiative and of spirit of enterprise. Only the extreme degree of dissatisfaction with their position (which was close to a borderline one when the issue in question was survival itself) could cause the appearance of a group social conflict and the state. At that, the type of these conflicts deviated from the theme of social and labour conflicts and switched over to the political sphere. To prevent such crises the state used a harmonious system of political propaganda and even police pressure when it seemed necessary. In this context there did not exist a special state system of resolving social conflicts between employees and employers in the Soviet Union.<sup>2</sup>

This type of relations was rather comfortable for the majority of employees as it did not require any serious efforts

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<sup>2</sup> In developed capitalist countries unlike the Russian Federation the state had an age-old history of acting as a mediator in terms of labour relations. At that, it initially was not the main employer and performed this function only for the public sector of state services. For instance, as early as in 1838 in the USA President Martin Van Buren facilitated a settlement of a strike by shipyard workers. And in 1947 again in the United States there was created a special Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service which was given a mission of preventing or minimizing the impact of labour – management disputes. Director of the Service is appointed by President of the USA and reports directly to President. The Service has 10 regional and field offices and 69 departments in 43 states. In Great Britain in 1896 a special Conciliation Bill was approved; this bill regulated the role of the state as of an intermediary in the settlement of labour disputes. In England in 1975 there was created the Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service.

of theirs to provide the material well-being. It was enough to enter a certain social stratum (through obtaining qualifications) and a certain level of financial support was guaranteed.

The seamy side of this situation was a low interest in the increase in productivity and in the accumulation of material welfare.

The early '90s of the previous century started a new stage in the development of social and labour relations of modern Russia. The state set a task of transition from the centralized (pre-planned) to the market economy. This inevitably gave rise to the transformation of the relations of ownership, to the formation of a new subject of labour relations, those of an entrepreneurial class.

Having transferred the property to the possession of entrepreneurs the state stopped acting as an employer. In order to increase the economic efficiency of business management the new owners began actively to review the whole set of social obligations to employees. They began to transform the system of remuneration of labour concentrating on encouraging employees to be more professionally efficient. This caused the beginning of the processes of stratification within work collectives and paved the way for the appearance of a new type of social conflict – strikes and political actions. It was the first time that the employer and the employee had found themselves on the opposite sides of barricades since the period of the Soviet economy.

The intensity of these processes can be described by the following figures: in 1990 the number of organizations where strikes took place was 260 and the number of participants was 99.5 thousand people and in 1992 there were respectively 6273 organizations and 357.6 thousand people.

As has been mentioned above, the development of social and labour relations in the Russian Federation in the early 1990s was characterized by innovations and peculiarities. While the new class of owners, of a new employer was forming, the state quitted taking direct part in the social and labour relations as an employer. In this sense it was interested in the creation of legal mechanisms traditional for market economy which presuppose the equality of sides in social and labour relations. At the same time at the initial stage the state had to uphold the priority of the formation of a class of employers, private owners. Without this social and political institution the functioning of normal labour relations was impossible.

This situation naturally affected the formation of legal foundation: it was in the '90s when the regulations giving trade unions administrative rights in personnel management (in the procedure of dismissal, in determining the system of remuneration of labour, etc) were removed from the Labour Code.

Other fields also became subjects to a serious transformation. Particularly, the institution of common employment was terminated (according to it labour was made compulsory by the Criminal Code, and the placement of graduates of secondary and higher educational establishments was obligatory). The state began to openly speak about the possibility of unemployment, it being one of the components of market economy. It was at the beginning of the '90s that to make up for the negative displays of the labour market the legislation concerning the assistance to the employment of the population of the Russian Federation was formed and a placement service as a federal body responsible for helping the unemployed citizens was created.

Relations in the sphere of pension scheme also changed significantly: the rate of pensions of working people started to be dependent on the amount of their previous earnings.

In this way most serious transformations of social and labour relations were started. However there is one question that remains to be interesting: why did the beginning of

the '90s not lead to a high level of confrontation between employers and employees as it did in other countries of the former socialist camp? Even during the uneasy 1992 (it was marked by a significant level of inflation, by the decrease in GDP, by the growth of unemployment, by the decrease in the real income of citizens) only 352 thousand people out of nearly 60 million people working for hire took part in strikes.

As we have already mentioned at first this situation was promoted by a number of reasons. The first reason was the absence of a strict social structure of the society. What hindered this structure from assuming clear contours?

First, undoubtedly, it was the type of privatization of the state property. The process of creation of the institution of private property was a gradual one, that is why in the early '90s no division of the society into quite clear social strata took place. Business executives as well as employees were still hired workers, i.e. members of one team. In terms of this, a social conflict between them was absolutely unlikely to appear.<sup>1</sup>

Second, the transformation of socialism into capitalism was accompanied by a serious structural transformation. A considerable number of branches were not needed by the new economy. Machine building enterprises, a number of mining sectors, science, etc. did not manage to provide profitability in a short period of time. As a result there was a gradual cut on production of goods and services, decrease in the level of income. It concerned employees, managers and owners.<sup>2</sup>

Third, in the books of entity of these enterprises there still remained some units of social and cultural establishments (kindergartens, schools, holiday centres, dwelling houses, etc). Private enterprises had to continue financing these units (before the transfer to municipal authorities) and retained some elements of the remuneration of labour through the 'public consumption funds' which were identified by workers as elements of socialist (state) system of remuneration of labour.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is well-known that the formation of private property in Russia was conducted by means of privatization of state enterprises. In terms of these privatization processes many members of work collectives became owners of certain shares in these enterprises. At that, as many directors aspired to retaining their status, privatization mostly took a course which made it possible for the work collective to get the control stock. In its turn it allowed the administration to retain control over enterprises by way of using the votes of the work collective.

<sup>2</sup> This situation can be seen in the dynamics of two factors showing differentiation in income of the population of the Russian Federation. For instance, in 1992 when there was the peak of striking movement, the Gini coefficient was 0.289, and the fund coefficient was 4.5 times, which shows a comparatively low level of differentiation of income. By 2000 the state of affairs had dramatically changed: 0.395 and 13.9.

<sup>3</sup> "However by the beginning of the reforms the major part of the departmental social infrastructure (by the volume of the assignable services and the costs calculated on one employee) was represented by social establishments whose activity was not conditional to industrial needs. They were: dwelling houses (including halls of residence), preschool establishments (nursery schools, kindergartens and country cottages for pre-school establishments), child and teenager summer camps; establishments of health care (outpatients' clinics, hospitals, maternity hospitals, ambulance and hemotransfusion stations, sanatoria – preventoria), educational establishments (vocational schools, branches of institutes of higher educations and technical colleges, branches of technical secondary schools, night and distance comprehensive schools, educational and training complexes, boarding houses for children), shops and hairdresser's, establishments of culture, rest and sport (palaces of culture, clubs, libraries; stadiums, gyms, swimming pools, sport grounds, holiday centres, sanatoria, recreation centres, hunting and fishing centres, tourist centres). Social establishments traditionally are the ones which perform (completely or partially) the functions of units of municipal services and community facilities: boiler houses, heating systems, public transport, wastewater systems. It was – quite recently – a special, financed by branch channels and being under the authority of enterprises and organizations world of social services ranging from a bed in a factory hall of residence to a ballet school in a "closed city", and from a suburban "recreation zone" to luxurious sanatoria on the south coast of the Crimea. In 1989–1990 in addition to municipal social establishments big enterprises and organizations of Russia at the expense of their own social infrastructure provided:

– floor space for workers who have no accommodation of their own, on average 10–12 square meters per one person. At that, almost everywhere there was a "deduction" of floor space in departmental houses: 10 percent in favor of local Councils for providing military men who were transferred to the reserve



Fourth, the behaviour of workers in old collectives was managed by the generally accepted norms which were based upon traditional social values. Values of traditional communalism were the footing for the indicated norms.

So, in the first half of the '90s, on one hand, the process of detachment of the production owner – the classical employer – was not finished and finally shaped, on the other hand, the workers did not completely realize themselves as hired workers.

In this context the dissatisfaction with the personal position, income, professional prospects was directed towards the state. It was the state that was still perceived to be the basic bearer of ideology, the part responsible for material and social welfare of an employee and of the collective. And managers were perceived as members of the work collective.

In these conditions the role of the state as of a subject (the direct participant) of social and labour relations did not weaken. On the contrary, it quite abruptly rose!

Nevertheless, the government was step by step solving the issue of liberating the sides of social process, both the trade unions and the state, from an exceeding concern about the lot of the worker; the government was trying to 'break' the traditional model which existed in the centralized planned economy, to overcome paternalism.

This approach had certain advantages and disadvantages. Among the advantages we could mention the fact that the free labour market was formed, where every individual decides for themselves where and on what conditions they want to work. Market economy is a really flexible mechanism which is fast creating and cutting inefficient workplaces. If the development of social and labour relations had been tardy this could have become a serious barrier on the way of the development of market economy in our country. In this context the main emphasis was placed on the creation of legal basis for the development of market principles in the management of labour resources following the pattern of Western countries.

and their families with accommodation; 10 percent in favor of building organizations or local Councils if the enterprise financed the house – building in the form of share holding; 6 percent in favor of local Councils for relocation of citizens from houses which were subjects to demolition; 2 percent in favor of local Councils for workers of housing and communal services and 2–4 percent in favor of the Ministry of defense for military men. On average about one third of living space in every departmental house was inhabited by citizens who did not work at the corresponding enterprises;

– Places in halls of residence on the basis of about 6 square meters of living room per one person (one room in a hall of residence per 3 people) with the average norm of 2–3 places in a hall of residence per every thousand people from the staff on the payroll. This norm was increased to 100 places at enterprises which used the workforce on conditions of temporary residence, employment "by limit", etc.;

– Places in pre-school establishments for children (nursery schools, kindergartens); these establishments were used by 10–60 percent of the enterprise workers' children; the departmental sector was also used jointly with other users;

– From 20 to 40 places in summer camps for children per every thousand of workers;

– About 60 places in clubs for every thousand of workers; besides in the library stock of enterprises and organizations there were from 7 to 10 editions (not counting periodicals) per every reader (a worker of the enterprise or a member of their family);

– From 2 to 8 places in holiday homes and boarding guest houses and almost the same number of places in summer and tourist recreation centers per every thousand of workers;

– Medical service in outpatients' hospitals on the basis of 26–35 visits a day per every thousand of workers (in a number of branches – on the basis of 40–44 visits) and 12–13 beds in hospitals on the basis of every thousand of workers;

– 5–10 places in sanatoria – preventoria per every thousand of workers. . .

By the beginning of introducing reforms on the territory of modern Russia in the dwelling houses (including halls of residence of enterprises and organizations) there lived about 60 million people; departmental nursery schools and kindergartens were attended by over 5 million children, about 3 million children had rest in departmental sanitary camps for children annually, over 30 million people visited departmental outpatients' clinics and hospitals, more than 10 million people used the services of the cultural and sports facilities, recreation centres, etc." See: Leksin V. N., Shvetzov A. N., *New Problems of Russian Cities and Municipalization of Social Facilities: Legal and Financial Solutions*. Moscow, 1998. P. 27–29.

At the same time in the 1990s the social attitude to the conducted reforms became more strained. Many decisions were painful. The vast majority of people demanded that the state care and confidence in the stability of their position be preserved. But the society was to become different, was to become aware of the fact that every member of it was a personality who makes decisions and bears responsibility for those decisions. It turned out to be rather difficult psychologically for the overwhelming majority of people to transfer to this model of the development of the society.

That is why in the early 1990s the state made a large number of decisions aimed at the creation of the so-called 'social pillow'. On one hand the process of forming of owners and capitalist relations was going on. On the other hand the state was forming a number of protecting mechanisms which consisted in the preferences,<sup>1</sup> to give an individual the confidence that they will not be left one-on-one with their problems and the state will take care of them.

The active participation of the state in the social protection to a certain extent supported the blurriness of the employer's responsibility for the fulfilment of social and labour relations preserving all the previous concepts of workers.

As has been mentioned before one more reason which affected the minimizing of the acuteness of social and labour conflicts during the Post – Soviet period was the well – established model of the low level of social responsibility of the business in the realization of their duties concerning employees.

This model appeared in specific conditions. On the one hand, the development of this model was promoted by the destruction of the socialist corporate culture (the appearance of new owners, the low level of managers' legal literacy, etc.), on the other hand, it was promoted by the state itself which preferred 'not to put the pressure on' employers at the initial stage.

Besides, in the sectors of new economy (first of all, in the banking sector, in insurance, in commerce, etc.) the employers had a possibility of paying a salary which was much higher than in traditional sectors. High earnings acted as a peculiar compensation for the risks of non-observance or undisguised violation of the Labour Code regulations. During the first years the new sectors of economy showed steady growth, which guaranteed stable employment and high income, even in case some certain employee lost their job with a certain employer. In this context the employees agreed to the absence of non-regulated labour relations and preferred to express their disagreement with the owner not by way of social conflict but by way of searching for another job.

Thus, a peculiar social consensus between 'new' employers and 'new' employees was formed. Despite the existence of some informal labour relations both sides were absolutely satisfied with the actual situation.

As has been mentioned before, at first the state in an attempt to support the development of business did not rigorously insist on the latter's observance of obligations concerning employees. This became apparent in different aspects.

Instability and informal type of social labour relations are extremely dangerous both from the social and the economic point of view. This is so because the risks connected with employers' not fulfilling their obligations concerning employees are automatically shifted onto the state. The absence

<sup>1</sup> Among these was the system of allowances for low-income groups, subsidizing of prices for housing and communal services, preservation of social benefits for certain categories of employees, which were expressed by allocation of free accommodation, rights for free travelling to holiday places, etc. In Russia at that time there were about 150 different types of social benefits. There were over 200 categories of citizens who were eligible for allowances and social benefits. By different estimates about 100 million people could claim them.

of the labour contract, the defaulted payments into the system of social insurance lead to the appearance of the state's obligations at the same time not creating any adequate sources of fulfilling these obligations. Moreover, this practice shifts the expenses of social provision onto law-abiding entrepreneurs and creates unequal conditions of competition, i.e. contradicts the basic principles of market economy.<sup>1</sup>

Another factor which promoted the decline in the number of social and labour conflicts in the Russian Federation was the immaturity of trade union movement as of a specific institution, which was supposed to protect workers' rights first of all at the level of a particular enterprise or organization.

At first sight, this statement looks paradoxical: even in the Soviet Union there existed such a powerful organization as the All-Union Central Council of the Trade Unions. However, this organization was in fact formed, as has been mentioned above, as an instrument of state policy. Quite naturally, all the experience of their previous work (in the first turn their functionaries' work) was based upon following leading instructions from state structures (the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the USSR Council of Ministers) and bringing those instructions to the employees' notice.

The membership of employees in the socialist trade unions was connected with the trade unions' opportunity to re-distribute public funds (sanatoria or holiday centres vouchers, allocation of accommodation, places in pre-school establishments, etc.). All the previous experience stated that a labour conflict, from the political point of view, was an inadmissible form of resolving disputes. On the contrary, the trade unions acted as active assistants of the administration.

In the new conditions the role of trade unions changed: they found themselves on the opposite side of the 'barricades'. But they lacked experience in battling for work collectives' interests in the early '90s.

Actually, trade unions were supposed to determine their new role without the state's support, as the main priority for the state was the formation of a class of new employers. But this was what turned out to be the most difficult part of it.

While the new labour relations are forming and the modern market economy is developing in Russia the political recognition of the positive, socially significant power of trade unions and other public organizations protecting citizens' labour rights must be supported by regular discussions; these discussions should concern the questions of improving of labour relations and of other relations, closely connected with labour ones; these discussions should be carried out between the Government of Russian Federation, the employees' and employers' representatives. Simultaneously, there should be promoted all conceivable development of the direct dialogue between trade unions and associations of employers.

In the Decree of President of the Russian Federation No. 212 dating back to the 15th of November, 1991 'On Social Partnership and Labour Disputes (Conflicts) Resolving' there were planned, for the first time in Russia, the ways of organizational and legal support for the formation of the system of social partnership; there was introduced the institution of negotiation process. There were created trilateral committees – All-Russian and trade ones – to prepare and conduct negotiations, as well as to make the General and trade tariff agreements.

It should be remarked that an important role in the establishment of social partnership in Russia was played by

Russian and regional trilateral committees aimed at regulating social and labour relations.

The Russian trilateral committee aimed at regulating the social and labour relations (SLR), a body of social partnership at the federal level (formed by the Decree of President of the Russian Federation on the 24th of January 1992, No. 45), became the arena for cooperation between the Government of Russian Federation and bodies of trade unions and employers.

The main task of SLR is to work out the social and economic policy and general principles of regulating labour relations. The results of the cooperation of the sides are 'confirmed' in general agreements.

At the regional level the process of institutional formation of the system of social dialogue was established in the course of the activity of territorial (district, town) trilateral committees according to the regulatory acts of the subjects of the Russian Federation.

One of the main directions of the activity of trilateral committees is taking measures aimed at realization of regional trilateral, district and town (territorial) agreements, trade agreements, collective agreements in organizations of all forms of ownership.

A most significant indicator of the development of social partnership (the maturity of the trade union movement) is the number and the quality of collective agreements at the local level. The practice of social partnership at present includes 61 trade agreements at the federal level, 200 thousand collective agreements, as well as 9.6 thousand agreements in republics, districts, regions and autonomous areas of the Russian Federation.

Along with this, the task that remains complicated is the task of implementation of collective and contractual form of relations between employees and employers in enterprises of small and private business, in government bodies of all levels, in commerce, in the sphere of tourism, in agriculture.

According to the information of the labour authorities of subjects of the Russian Federation the vast majority of small enterprises, individual entrepreneurs, enterprises of mixed forms of ownership have no collective agreements.

Among the main factors which hold back the development of collective and contractual regulation of labour relations are the following:

- the absence of initiative on the part of the sides, first of all in newly-created organizations including organizations of small and middle business where the representative bodies of social partnership have not been formed.

- In a number of organizations employers still adopt a formal attitude to the collective agreements concluded in the organizations. At private enterprises the contractual forms of regulation of labour relations and relations connected with them are underdeveloped;

- the inability of the sides of social dialogue to coordinate interests and their unwillingness to compromise;

- the social passiveness of employees, lack of aspiration to uniting and to collective protection of their interests, their underestimation of the role of the significance of the collective agreement which could provide their legal and social protection;

- the absence of primary trade union organizations at many enterprises.

According to the bodies responsible for labour in the subjects of Russian Federation the highest number of collective agreements (approximately 60 per cent) is made at enterprises of state and municipal forms of ownership.

Among the branches of economy the highest number of collective agreements is made in the sphere of housing and communal services, health care, education.

<sup>1</sup> The bare figures of statistics show that, for instance, in January 1999 the overdue arrears of wages (i.e. non-observance of one of the most important obligations of an employer – to pay wages for labour) constituted over 77 billion roubles. In fact the state was supposed to indemnify for this sum of money in this or that form to provide the employees' survival. By the 1st of January 2001 the arrears of insurance dues to the state off-budget funds constituted 300 billion roubles (150 of these being fines and penalties).

Thus it can be concluded that in the '90s of the previous century, because of the transition state of the economy, the social and labour relations were unable to assume a character which was adequate to market economy. And this predetermined the

peculiarity of the form and dynamics of the social conflicts between employees and employers, which in the first turn was expressed in the significant level of participation and involvement of the state as a quasi-employer.

**J. Sampaio<sup>1</sup>**

## RESULTS OF 'ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATIONS' ACTIVITY

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

This year, in the aftermath of the Second Forum of the Alliance, which was held in Istanbul 1st April, let me summarize the progress we have made in achieving the Alliance's goals and share with you some thoughts of the way forward.

Dear participants. And you may remember, the Alliance of Civilizations was launched by the Secretary General of the United Nations in 2005, under the co-sponsorship of the heads of governments of Spain and Turkey. It is underpinned by *a dream, a vision and a strong will* which are in my view the three major ingredients in a success of any political initiative of these kind. A dream that when the people will live in peace, in respect for equal human dignity, because after all, this is the overwhelming aspiration of all individuals. A vision of the society that is free of devise and fault lines, based on the paradigm of mutual respect among peoples of different cultural and religious traditions. A strong will to make that dream and that vision a practical reality by helping to mobilize concert action toward this end.

In my view, the coalition of these three vital components explains the bulk of the Alliance's success in spite of the major difficulties of the task ahead. Dear friends, you may be wondering, what has the Alliance of Civilizations achieved so far? I will summarize will pleasure in three points the main achievements of the Alliance since I presented its first action plan through 2007 to 2009 aimed at implementing its founding text, the *Report of the Alliance of Civilizations*.

Firstly: an enlargement and consolidation of the group of friends of the Alliance made up of countries and international organizations. For our first Forum held in Madrid in January 2008 to our second Forum which took place a few days ago in Istanbul we have enlarged the group of friends from forty to more than one hundred members.

Secondly: enlargement and consolidation of our network of partnerships and cooperation both with international and regional entities and organizations of the civil society, foundations and private sector. All together these partnerships form an increasingly dense platform of synergies for collaboration which allows us to benefit from expertise of our partners in their own fields of competence and to make them benefit from our political leverage and to develop joint initiatives.

Thirdly: promotion and end of development of conflict projects and initiatives on the ground. Among these initiatives let me highlight the national plans and regional strategies for intercultural dialogue that I asked countries and the group of friends to develop and implement and a few other concrete projects.

Let me start by making a few points of national plans for intercultural dialogue. In the economy of the Alliance of Civilizations national plans are our major political tool. I really believe this wholeheartedly. Education, youth, migration and the media are the fields of action of the national plans and for the national plans. In view of the preparation and implementa-

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tion I have asked member states to appoint national coordinators to be responsible for this task. Let me stress, that in face of the diversity of specific circumstances such plans cannot be devised according to a single model. However, they must in a medium term address the fulfils of action of the Alliance mentioned earlier and include core measures and practices that represent the minimum standards of good government of cultural diversity.

I was very happy to learn that the Russian Federation has announced its national plan in Istanbul. I want to congratulate you for this step forward and to stress that I very much look forward to learning more about it.

As a final point: it must be pointed out that besides the national plans the Alliance has started to work on the launch of regional strategies. The latter constitute an important complement of national plans and enable the development of a joint approach to shared problems by groups of countries. The aim is to foster, on the one hand, to organization of regional initiatives, and on the other, to encourage collaboration and stimulate the implementation of true regional strategies embracing procedures to be jointly put to practice, and to devise a regional coordination method of good governance of cultural diversity.

In Istanbul two regional strategies were launched: one for the Eastern European countries and the other for Euro-Mediterranean area. And the third one, for the Iberian-American countries, was also announced. In this regard, I would like to underline that the *White Paper* on cultural diversity published by the Counsel of Europe is a very useful basis for the preparation of a truly regional strategy of the Alliance of Civilizations for intercultural dialogue in Europe within the framework of the principles and values enshrined in the conventions, declarations about the relevant reference texts of the Counsel of Europe. That is one of the challenges I wish to leave you. In my view, the recommendations of the *White Paper* geared to the democratic governments of cultural diversity, participative citizenship, education and apprenticeship of intercultural competencies, the management of spaces for intercultural dialogue, and international relations, cover really quite a full range of perspectives that make up the model of good governance of cultural diversity which must be deepened and consolidated in the future.

Now regarding other concrete projects on the ground supported or developed by the Alliance itself, let me underline, that like Madrid, the Istanbul Forum was firmly actually oriented, with an emphasis on delivering concrete projects and practical outcomes, of course. There are a number of high profile initiatives.

A highly innovative multistate holder-led project that lies at the unique intersection of youth, media and city diplomacy called the Dialogue Café. Another one, a cluster of Euro-Mediterranean projects aimed at restoring trust and rebuilding bridges in this region. Another one, an Alliance's fellowship program to facilitate meaningful exchanges of young leaders across North and South, as well as East and West, will be revealed by the Alliance's network of philanthropic foundations and private founders.

Further, major expansions in three ongoing projects of the Alliance were made public. There is to say, the AoC rapid response mediate mechanism and the online resource featuring experts on intercultural issues who in the media can term to in times of international crises. The Alliance of Civilizations Clearing House, and on-line educational tool of multiple issues aimed at improving cross-cultural understanding. And tool-new clearing houses on education about diversity of religions and beliefs and on the global initiatives to mobilize young people toward advancing intercultural understanding. All these will be launched.

The results of the Alliance's Youth Solidarity Fund were also showcased. Innovative youth-led projects aimed at building bridges across diverse cultures.

Dear friends and participants,

I would not like my words to sound as if everything has been easy, and that it means that all is for the best in the best of all worlds, for the Alliance and its high representative. Most, unfortunately, it is not. This lecture, in fact, takes place at the crucial moment of our global history. The turbulence of finances and the global economy. The persistence of a number of conflicts with no resolution inside that jeopardize world stability and security. The constant terrorist threat. The climate change, the world's imbalances, and role of poverty and inequalities in fostering hatred and violence, all these realities are in themselves reason enough for worry and for alarm. Not enough alarm, however, for us to embrace the dark predictions of the clash of civilizations widely reflected in the press and in some mind sense, but rather to underline the sense of urgency. This urgency is required, because the worst in world economic situation is likely to take a huge toll on the poorest and the most vulnerable, thus fuelling the sense of iniquity and discrimination, which in turn may be linked to patterns of radicalization and violent conflict.

Urgency is also needed, because generally speaking, the social pact behind every society is showing signs of illusion, and this can be observed almost everywhere. In the world of poorest borders, where migration and the mobility of populations are a driving force for economic and social development, our societies face new identity fears, discriminations and divides related today increasing cultural diversity. All communities have a sense of belonging, their members need to feel that they are part of the common destiny and the shared fu-

ture. But for different reasons this basic feeling is at risks in most societies.

Urgency also because of some political conflicts which are becoming veritable fault lines between societies and communities and are a major factor in the widening rifts between, let us say, Muslim and Western societies.

It is against this spectrum, ladies and gentlemen, of urgency that the Alliance of Civilizations has a role to play in building peace in the broad sense of the term, as well as in helping find answers to our huge current and shared difficulties of living together as equals but in different and in dignity. This is why the main task of the Alliance is to deal with good governance of cultural diversity. To dress it, as I have already stressed, national plans and regional strategies for intercultural dialogue dealing with education, youth, migration and media issues are our major key political tools. We need a new thinking. We need new policies to be pursued. We need innovative action. We have to inspire global leaders, our next to our neighbours, our friends. We have to inspire the entire world to come on board. Inspiration has to be a drive behind innovative ideas, innovative solutions and innovative ways of dialogue and cooperation. We need do develop a sense of dialogue which above all means knowing how to listen, how to understand, how to accept and how to respect different points of view. It is also about knowing how to build road for constructive dissent. Constructive dissent means that we can disagree of a certain issues, and that disagreement does not trigger an arise of tensions or any conflict. Constructive dissents means that we can cope with cognitive dissidents, that it does not stop contenders from doing things together. Moreover, doing things together does not mean that different people must be unanimous and they have substantive views. Again, media can play a critical role in building constructive dissents, respect and tolerance, or on the contrary, in polarizing debates, in aggravating tensions and conflicts.

It is proven that investing in the culture of peace, in education of human rights and into good governance of cultural diversity would pay off many times over in countries worse hit by tensions and conflicts, confirming that economic benefits of a preventive approach are far greater than the costs, not to mention the incalculable social and human toll of any conflict.

This the Alliance's main task ahead. I count on your cooperation to advance in our goals. All the best for your work.

**Mekhdi Sanai<sup>1</sup>**

## DIALOGUE AND MULTILATERAL ORIENTATION: THE NECESSITY FOR PEACEMAKING

The dialogue of civilizations, cultures and religions is the only way to establish peace in the modern world. The development of the theory of a clash of civilizations in the 1990s and such events as the terrorist act of 11 September, 2001 (according to the suggestion of Seyyed Mohammad Khatami, who at that time was the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, UN recognized 2001 year as the Year of

the Dialogue of Civilizations), probably, would make some people lose their trust in the dialogue of civilizations as the way to solve international problems. Although experts in the problems of clash of civilizations adduce arguments and evidences of this kind, but in the frame of this brief lecture I would like to speak about the necessity of the dialogue of civilizations.

The dialogue of civilizations is a good motto (if it is understood correctly) which will point at the necessity of its realization. A number of bitter realia, struggle and strives on the world scene are not only the subject of the dialogue of civilizations, but they also emphasize the necessity of such a dialogue, as there is no other way to get rid of the series of crises and problems. Mankind with its especially vigorous and powerful aspirations should make every strong-willed effort to realize this motto. Some time ago, a relative order in the world was provided by absolute supremacy of geopolitical factors,

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however, since this epoch is over, it cannot be any longer the right way to establish peace and stability at present.

Various events at the end of the second and at the beginning of the third millennium, including the collapse of the USSR, show that the balance of forces and the Cold War do not meet the contemporary requirements of establishing order. The bipolar system of establishing order became outdated, however, a unipolar system after a decennial one-sided attempt also failed and triggered more intensively than before a problematic situation in the world. The final crash of the one-sided approach is obvious for everybody today, so in the field of world politics there is the only right way now, the way of the dialogue.

Poverty and hardships enveloped the entire world, as well as ecological problems and obstacles to sustainable development are other obvious factors that make international problems directly depended on setting up the dialogue of civilizations.

In any case, at a certain time we were affected by dominating geopolitical principles and might and power of states. But over the period of the Cold War the geopolitical theory fell under influence of a new international order and a new ideological system arose on the world scene, as one half of the world was in the hands of Marxism, and the other one was under the influence of liberalism, so all the events in the world of this period are the result of the clash of these two doctrines. However, by the end of the Age of Realism two main analytical parties have been formed. Representatives of one of the parties were convinced that although the geopolitical theory was covered with the ice of Marxism and liberalism at least for some time, especially during the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union showed that the geopolitical factor was still a principal distributor on the world scene. In general, according to the geopolitical theory, besides a state power it is sources and stores of energy that play a significant role in determining an overall situation in the world, not to mention that energy is the main engine for politics. However, representatives of the other party consider that the claims of followers of the geopolitical theory are nothing but attempts to justify it, while the logical analysis of the international situation will only be possible in the context of the behavioural theory.

The Second World War buried utopian aspirations at the international level. After the War, new realistic theories based on indisputable role of force and politics have appeared. Strong arms races, strengthening of different feuds and animosities resulted in crises and caused the fact that history and culture were no longer considered as stable factors of international politics. The end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the USSR, as well as transformation of the principles of international relations, globalization of culture and emergence of the world culture concept have become three main factors in the modification of former attitudes and in strengthening the role of culture in the field of international relations.

The collapse of the Soviet Union has resulted in disappearance of the bipolar world system which had been a governing one in the political fate of the world for the last few decades. This situation enabled actors of the world scene to rely more on the role of culture in determining different aspects of their international politics at the 'people-state' level.

On the other hand, the disintegration of the USSR strengthened the situation when it was necessary not only to define a cultural role of politics and politicians, but also to bear in mind that neglect of religious features, beliefs and traditions of various nations adversely affected the process of culture building. Dissolution of this super-state made it obvious that creation of a new socialist people unity and disregard of religious values, as well as purposeful increase of cultural level of the Soviet nations was not a correct political

tactics. It became clear that the people were not deprived of their religion, traditions and beliefs, but on the contrary, during decades they sought to preserve their national features by all means.

The reforms in the field of international relations psychology are among the most serious historical and cultural factors in the context of modifications on the world scene. From this viewpoint, international relations are not limited to political and economical interaction between states. On the other hand, behaviour of the players on the political scene cannot be assessed without taking into account the overall situation within a certain nation they belong to. In the opinion of ethnographers, culture that determines spirit, aspirations and behaviour of different peoples, is directly connected with state foreign policy. Thus, according to some authors, a foreign policy is the reflection of people's mentality at the international level. Let us have a look on a classification prepared by one of Iranian specialists.

From the perspective of sociology of international relations, an influence of culture on foreign policy can be analyzed at three levels:

(1) influence of the general on the general – in this case culture as a social phenomenon moulds the national consciousness and thus exerts indirect influence on state foreign policy;

(2) influence of the general on the special, that is influence of culture on persons who make decisions in the field of foreign policy;

(3) influence on institutions – natural influence of culture organizations on institutions taking part in the development of foreign policy.

The next issue to be considered is the necessity of the dialogue between religions in the modern time. With regard to incompatibility of religions and globalization, it seems that right now would be a perfect time to make the difference between various levels of globalization itself. Globalization as a sort of 'modernism' related to the philosophical sources of the period of modernization and its connection with religion, may be discussed from different points of view.

Another level of globalization that may be better titled as 'globalism' and that represents a specific project, is a sort of enculturation and 'export' of culture to other world regions: the process which takes place within cultural expansion. Here the theorists in the field of globalization come to a conclusion that for propagation of globalization and its progress they should be guided by the universal culture, i.e. by the world culture which will be attractive and at the same time will open ways for other elements of globalism and new standards in economical, political, social and military fields.

There is also a touch of civilization at this level of globalism which is actually a part of the project aimed at the creation of a new world order when neglect of other civilizations, religions and cultures prevails over respect for rationalism.

Actually, this level of globalism passes a national cultural management into the hands of pitiless capitalism equipped with high technologies. Divine religions certainly oppose this kind of globalism and what we see in the world protests against globalism is nothing but a movement against such aspects of globalism.

One could say that the views of Fukuyama and Huntington cover just that side of globalization which arouses protest of peoples, cultures and religions.

The role of religions does not decrease in the epoch of globalization (at first sight the fact is difficult to understand). On the contrary, religion attracts more attention, but in another form. On the other hand, the process of globalization gives broad opportunities to religions for propagation of their doctrines. In addition, one could say with satisfaction that

representatives of different religions, as well as numerous religious thinkers widely use new economic and technological opportunities in the field of communications in order to achieve religious goals and propagate the vital ideas of their religion.

Yet, the process of globalization increased necessity and availability of a dialogue between religions. New technologies lightened organization of meetings and intercommunications between representatives of different religions. After all, in recent decades the intensity of interfaith contacts has become incomparably higher than that of the previous period.

The spread of culture of toleration (which also has its religious roots) enabled the greater mutual understanding between religions and creation of the conditions when religious scholars would be able to carry on a broad discussion about the general and the different in religious systems represented by them.

I believe that in the age of globalization, besides the discussion of the philosophical and religious issues, which partly had been started earlier, two new areas accentuating the necessity for contacts and dialogue have been opened. In the modern world, these two areas represent a general problem shared by all Divine religions.

It is primarily about the relationship between tradition and modernization. All Divine religions face to some extent the question of modernization. This process has lasted for several centuries. In Iran such religious Islamic reformers as Seyyed Jamaloddin Asadabadi, Morteza Motahari, Mekhdi Bazargan, Ali Shariati, Seyyed Mohammad Talegani and others have elaborated the theme. The greatest Muslim reformer of our time is perhaps Imam Khomeini, who had solved the conflict between tradition and modernization in the framework

of concept of Islamic governing in Iran; he founded the Islamic Republic of Iran where the manifestations and symbols of both religion and modernity are brought together.

There is no doubt of the benefit arising from interchange of experience between representatives of different religions.

In the age of globalization, another topic for interreligious dialogue is a discussion of approaches to that part of globalization which has the character of a teleological project. Here we say about cultural aggression against the religious and national values. Divine religions could co-ordinate their approach to this aspect of globalization in order to reduce its impact.

Apparently, it may be said that in the modern world there is a great necessity of the dialogue between the leaders of Divine religions. To make this question clear let us note that there are two approaches to new world phenomena. Representatives of the first approach accepted heartily modernism and globalization, ignoring completely the role of religions in peacemaking and mutual understanding among peoples. On the contrary, the other extreme movement utilizes religious beliefs, bucking against all manifestations of this process and sometimes coming down to violence. Recently manifested terror and violence, on the one hand, and one-sided and voluntary actions of the USA, on the other hand, both have a religious character.

The silence of true religious leaders opens way for one-sided and radical ideas and actions. At present, recurrence to religion and revival of its role in peacemaking and establishing a universal mutual understanding through the dialogue between religions seems necessary. It is the dialogue that may prevent not only ungovernable and uncontrolled globalization, but also radical views.

**Peter Schaller<sup>1</sup>**

## **DIALOGUE OF CULTURES AND PARTNERSHIP OF CIVILIZATIONS**

I would like to thank you for this opportunity to share some thoughts with you on our topic, which is indeed a very important one. As active diplomat let me underline that I am going to talk on a personal basis and that my ideas do not reflect the official position of the German government.

We all agree that there is a necessity for dialogue and partnership between the world civilizations. On the other hand it is obvious, that a fruitful and harmonious dialogue is a very difficult undertaking. And there is often no dialogue at all but confrontation.

The intercultural dialogue has its deficiencies, but how can we improve it? More importantly: Is there a way to ensure that the younger generation, the future leaders, can be enabled to engage in this dialogue without being dominated by the actual disillusioning and ineffective experiences? A lasting solution cannot be found in political manoeuvres only. The real key to this change is education and values, self-restraint and confidence-building, the creation of stable living conditions for all peoples and limitation of power politics.

A dialogue, in the true sense of the word, requires a certain amount of equality. Equality of course cannot mean, that we deny differences. These differences exist, and they can be of a dramatic scale. But even if they are dramatic, they don't rule out a constructive dialogue.

We have, in principle, a very solid foundation. We belong to the same species, we share a fundamental set of values and means of communication. If you go down to the very core of world religions and their concept of man, you see identical features. In its essence it is the ten commandments, which form the basis of human society.

We have to accept, that each country has its own history, its traditions and values, its historical experiences and sometimes obsessions. Each society consists of individuals, but these share a certain amount of basics, which define them, for instance, as Russian or German. This process of building up your identity as a member of a specific nation, as a national, is a life-long imprint on our personality.

Cultural dialogue is basically a dialogue between people. This means, that we have to be aware of ourselves as individuals and as members of a national entity with all its restraints and possibilities. At the same time we have to understand our counterpart as a member of a specific national community. It is also imperative to accept that there is no culture, no religion which is „better“ or „worse“ as such. They all exist in their own right.

So a dialogue logically requires well-educated actors, with a high degree of self-awareness and self-assuredness. They have to be stable personalities, which can deal and creatively handle intercultural differences without turning them into conflicts.

This also implies that we cannot act as missionaries wanting to spread our religion across the world, especially not with the use of force. It is against the true understanding

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of a dialogue if we see our system, our set of values, our ideology as an example that everyone has to follow, as a blueprint for the rest of the world. This does not mean, that we have to keep silence when it comes to violations of the basic social principles that unite mankind. In a dialogue you have to convince your counterpart, not to force your will upon him. If we accept equality, there is no need to highlight differences and use them as elements of confrontation. It is a matter of tolerance.

The main problem, of course, is power or power politics. Power applies also to the interpersonal dialogue, and you cannot isolate power politics from interpersonal und intrapersonal factors.

I am now talking about political leaders. Generally speaking, political leaders come into their position through fighting and they have to continue struggling to maintain their position. In many cases the root of their ambitions is a strong ego and they run the risk to let their ego and other complexities of their personality dominate their actions. This can even be detrimental to the interests of their country and people.

A second important feature is the fact, that politicians in their overwhelming majority have only a limited experience in international or intercultural affairs. Their speciality is interior politics, they cannot become political leaders living abroad. Of course they have their counsellors in international affairs, but a counsellor does not take decisions.

Because of the influence they wield, and I am especially thinking about the big economic and military powers of the world, state and government leaders and their entourage have to be eminent personalities, with a high degree of self awareness, understanding of their own psychology and the mechanisms of their personality, with a stable set of values which work in the interest of cooperation instead of confrontation, of conciling different interests instead of deepening them. All this has to be combined with a high sensibility for their counterparts, especially when it comes to intercultural contacts. Even in politics, to be successful, you don't have to be macho always. On the other hand, reality demands its share: Leaders have to take hard decisions, they cannot always take into account

all interests. Saying that, the big question remains: Who can combine all these sometimes contradicting requirements and how can we bring such eminent personalities into positions of power?

Actions of politicians are in their biggest part determined by interior politics, also when it comes to international affairs and the cultural dialogue. They react to sentiments, to prejudices of all kinds, to anxieties, xenophobic tendencies and social tensions within their own societies. These conflicts limit their range of action to a sometimes very considerable degree.

Only a stable society can actively and fruitfully take part in the cultural dialogue. We have to create a prosperous economy, enable all people to have their reasonable share of our achievements in economy, culture and social welfare. First of all people need jobs to feel as a valuable member of their society. This cannot be achieved without education and life-long training.

A good education is without alternative: This includes the commitment to norms and values that work in favour of dialogue and compromise. And we, as parents cannot leave this task of a moral education to the educational system alone. Education starts at home. What we have to achieve are intellectually active and well trained, psychologically stable personalities, who can take their destiny in their own hands, people who don't need to be afraid of the challenges of the future. The sentiment of being underprivileged, of being a loser more or less directly translates itself into hostile actions against the outside world.

We have to enable the young generation to actively take part in the cultural dialogue. We have to send them abroad to study or work in different cultures, we have to invite young foreigners to come to our countries. They have to realize that living together with other cultures is an enrichment, not a threat.

In conclusion, I'm pleading for a good leadership, everyone in his place. We do not have to fall prey to anonymous forces, we can actively build our world. It is the human factor, that counts.

**Eberhard Schneider<sup>1</sup>**

## FROM THE DIALOGUE OF CULTURES TO THE DIALOGUE OF RELIGIONS

After the end of the cold war, cultural differences in the world have become more conspicuous than ever. They existed before but were overshadowed by sharp contradictions between Western countries and the Eastern bloc. In modern conflicts, the conflicting parties are mostly those belonging to different cultures.

### The Dialogue of Cultures on International Level

Political and economic contradictions can be overcome as well as trade-off decisions can only be reached by the goodwill of all conflicting parties. This is not possible in conflicts where cultures are involved. Certain cultures define the identities of

people. Cultural identities cannot be discussed in terms of the common denominator.

This means that politicians cannot resolve culturally charged conflicts. Quite often, the roots of such conflicts cannot be traced to the cultural differences. They, however, go side by side with political, economic and social differences. Meanwhile intertwined cultural differences prevent from coming to a compromised decision. Even if all conflicting parties could reach a compromise, due to cultural implications this would have been viewed as a betrayal of their own national cultures.

Since cultural differences can be used to justify conflicts, the dialogue between cultures becomes an utter necessity. This kind of dialogue cannot be only limited to élites, since these classes tend to overestimate in conflict situations the role of cultural differences so that the latter could enhance motivation of the population in the conflict. This is why the dialogue should be targeted at broader masses of people. It will diminish chances that they will be drawn into conflicts allegedly to protect their own cultures.

In essence, a cultured person is religious, since religion formed the basis of different civilizations. Religion is the

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most intimate belief of any person. While language, history, customs, habits and rituals constitute culture, religion is a depository of valuation criteria which more or less are the guiding principles of a religious person. If cultural differences cannot be negotiated, then religious differences are even less negotiable. If cultural implications hinder negotiations, religious differences might have a decisive role in the conflict, particularly if they are consciously moved to the forefront by the conflicting parties.

The dialogue between cultures is complicated per se if the nations or statesmen represent different cultural circles or if the relations between these nations are strained. This dialogue will be even more complicated if some group demonstrates an overwhelming economic and military power in a culturally-motivated conflict. In this case, the other party can emphasise cultural differences and thus distance itself with their help from another culture.

#### The Inner Dialogue of Cultures

The dialogue of cultures within one nation is of utmost complexity. If necessary, representatives of different cultures engage themselves in it on everyday basis. If the subjects of cultural minority are at a lower level of education than those of the dominant culture, these cultural strains at the time of economic crisis can acquire an additional shattering quality.

Cultural strains within one nation can be aggravated if representatives of marginal cultures resort to the fundamentalist interpretation of their religions. They insist that original sources of religion, its laws and commandments, should be transplanted into modern reality, with disregard to the historical context and modern reality. In most cases, this

demand to get back to the true doctrine is counteracted by the fundamentalist religious ideology which tends to control all spheres of life. The fight against 'injustice' is proclaimed as part of a universal war between good and evil. In their interpretation, modern civilization is doomed. They open sluice to violence and encourage their adepts to sacrifice their and other people lives for the Sacred cause.

#### Conclusion

To sum it up, the dialogue of cultures is not reduced to politics. Politics can only facilitate this dialogue, creating favourable conditions for it. This dialogue must be conducted continuously by many people, for ignorance and prejudice cannot be done away with overnight. At the time of crisis, politics and politicians must not be lured, due to popular discontent with anti-crisis measures which can only be judged subjectively or objectively, into directing this discontent against minorities, blaming every sin on them. Minorities must not become scapegoats of discontent of the majority of population.

Religions must also be engaged in a dialogue. Each religion serves the cause of truth and good. It wishes to bring its members to salvation. In the long run, it is all about man and his transcendental orientation. Each religion, however, is faced with a common enemy, which is increasing secularisation, refusal from transcendental values, and plunging into purely mundane matters. In author's opinion, religious communities of the world should gather an international convention to discuss the prospects of human values. This could contribute to the process of building an intercultural world with a bigger share of justice.

Yu. S. Shemshuchenko<sup>1</sup>

### SPACE LAW DEVELOPMENT ISSUES IN THE FRAMEWORK OF NATIONAL LEGAL CULTURES AND INTERNATIONAL LAW HARMONIZATION AND INTEGRATION

With man's probing into outer space, there is an acute necessity to adjust ('synchronize') the norms of national and international law which help regulate the relations in the domain of development and use of outer space.

The present space law system was established in the '60s-'70s of the 20th century. The peculiarity of this legal domain is stipulated by the specific object of legal control, which is the relations and activities in outer space. Therefore, from the very beginning space law is a complex category that encompasses the norms of national and international laws. The background basics of the international space law are established by the following standard and legal acts: the 1967 Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies (the 'Outer Space Treaty'); the 1968 Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts and the Return of Objects Launched into Outer Space (the 'Rescue Agreement'); the 1972 Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Objects (the 'Liability Convention'); the 1974 Convention on Registration of Ob-

jects Launched Into Outer Space (the 'Registration Convention'); the 1979 Agreement Governing the Activities of States on the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies (the 'Moon Treaty').

Evaluating the dynamic processes in the field of space law, it should be noted that the national space law has taken the lead over the international space law over the last few decades. In more than 20 countries all over the world space law has been given an independent status. The underlying laws that govern the legal relations in outer space were adopted in some countries: the 1996 Law of the Ukraine on Space Activities; the UK 1986 Outer Space Act; the 1993 Law of the Russian Federation on Space Activity; South African Space Affairs Act of 1993; the 1998 Space Activities Act of Australia etc.

Furthermore, there is a marked trend connected with the new parties that have appeared on the stage alongside with the states – natural and legal persons. Especially it has to do with commercial activities in outer space.

It is the approximation of the two systems of standards (international and national space law) that has put the harmonization and integration issue on the agenda. It is getting obvious that a national space law seems to be unable to provide a solid general legal background in outer space.

I believe that it is necessary to focus on the 'classic' as well as current issues in the further development of international and national law. 'Classic' issues are those concerning the law terminology, the cosmic and air space delimitation, the geostationary orbit international legal status, the anthropogenic

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impact on the near-Earth space environment, settlement of disputes and legal liability issues etc.

#### *Outer Space and Arms Control*

Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and nuclear weapons tests in the orbit are the only two activities that the current international law bans. Proliferation and use of other weapons is not banned. But for all that, the world's community has been able to avoid space militarization. And everything that we know about space wars is from movies so far.

Unfortunately, some countries that have an access to outer space keep on trying to unilaterally include it into their national sphere, to proliferate some defence systems of weapons in outer space.

#### *The anthropogenic impact on the environment of near-Earth space*

This kind of pollution is dangerous not only for outer space but for the Earth as well. First, it concerns the release of residual fuels into atmosphere when spaceships are being launched into orbit as well as when they are orbiting the Earth. Second, the estimated number of artificial space objects in the near-Earth space is about 8000 items. The majority of them remain there even after their operation life is over. They make up what is called space debris or orbital debris, which put spaceships and satellites at risk.

It is not that the international space law has completely ignored this problem. The Outer Space Treaty, in particular, calls for the parties to avoid detrimental pollution and unwanted changes of the Earth's environment when researching and investigating outer space, as well as the Moon and other celestial bodies. The law also requires that the necessary measures should be taken when needed. The Moon Treaty contains a similar requirement.

But these requirements in the documents above have a somewhat general nature. It is no wonder. Those documents were adopted at the time when the environmental issue connected with human activities in outer space was a matter of

hypothetical rather than practical concern. Therefore, it's not a coincidence that the documents approach the anthropogenic impact of space environment as a research and investigation area, leaving the issues of its use aside. It also remains vague when and what measures should be taken.

It should be clear that no state can unilaterally adopt any decisions on the activities in outer space, if such decisions may cause any changes in 'the near-Earth space'. That is why it would be only reasonable to extend the 'environment' concept – in national as well as in international law – through adding to it the notion of 'the near-Earth space' as an object for protection. In the framework of 'space traffic management' the international space law should better require bringing space debris to a so-called graveyard orbit (more than 200 km above a geostationary orbit).

On a broad scale it is necessary to adopt an international document (a convention or a treaty) on prevention of potentially hazardous effects of space activities on the environment of the Earth and outer space.

#### *The Issues of International Space Law Codification*

This issue is not a classical one. It came about at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. It is caused by a number of reasons: first, by the lack of coordination between the international acts in this domain; second, by the absence of the underlying law in this legal field; third, by the gaps in the current international law; fourth, by conceptual defects of the current international space law that does not include such parties of space activity as private companies and international non-governmental organizations.

No systematic changes are possible here if (as some western specialists propose) the so-called 'gap-filling' policies are applied, i.e. when some key concepts of international space law are reconsidered. These changes, as I see it, can only be achieved by adoption of a universal international United Nations Convention on Space Law, like the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

**M. V. Shmakov<sup>1</sup>**

## **TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AS A PHENOMENON OF THE WORLD CULTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION**

Revival of Russia in the context of the world civilization process, radical transformation of social, economic, and spiritual reality entail changes in all spheres and aspects of social environment. Trade unions being an indispensable element of this environment are facing a number of challenges determined by the specific character of cultural formation, information society and global world processes. The crisis of the traditional cultural paradigm, involvement of local communities into the space of the world culture have changed the stereotype of people's behaviour, their mentality, and the most important individual traits and qualities; they have led to the reconstruction of the system of social and labour relations.

A major achievement of trade unions in the developed countries by the middle of the XX century was the creation of such a society which set a standard family budget, provided possibilities of population's automobilisation, mechanization

of households, public health care and education. An active and mobile man of modern culture has received a solid social and economic foundation. No less important was another achievement of the trade union movement in social welfare, namely, high pensions, sickness, unemployment and disability payments and benefits, as well as benefits for families with many children and others.

Finally, the greatest achievement of the spirit of solidarity of the labour movement (and mass trade unions in the first place) were shorter working hours in favour of leisure time. It became possible to spend an increased income on education, an access to the world culture and science, the entire spiritual wealth accumulated by the humanity.

From the historical point of view, this is the main function and the main social and cultural achievement of the labour movement, promoting the transition toward an information society, and culture of knowledge. The sphere of free labour expanded, and it enabled employees to get a better access to the spiritual heritage of the mankind in education, which could not but contributed to the growth of intellectual and productive potential of the people.

All this was a direct consequence of the impact of the trade union movement as a social and cultural phenomenon of the modern society.

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No one will argue today that the creation of trade unions was a logical result of the evolution of the world civilization. Born in the era of an industrial society, trade unions went down in the history of the world culture. The emergence of trade unions on the arena of the Russian public life more than a century ago has become a powerful catalyst for the growth of civil self-consciousness. Currently, trade unions are an indispensable and most essential element of civil society. They have existed and will exist as long as the system of employment remains, which inevitably causes an objectively conflict of interests between the owner of means of production and the owner of the workforce – employees. The logic of the trade union development has consisted in preventing employers from arbitrary treatment of their employees. Through collective representation of workers, trade unions are natural advocates of rights and interests of the working man. At the same time, the functions of trade unions are not limited to the protection of the social and labour interests of employees. Activities of trade unions cover a wider range of issues.

It is becoming evident that trade unions are on a par with other major institutions of civil society – churches, political parties, and non-political public organizations. Trade unions are occupying a special place in the structure of the social medium. Uniting employees according to professional or production criteria they are most massive and structured public organizations. Developing their activities within the system of social and labour relations, being basic for the social medium, trade unions are at the core of civil society. The development of trade unions, which have put an end to a defenceless state of working people, was the first step in the democratization of production, the ‘power basis’ of high earnings in the future and dynamic mass markets of high quality goods.

A policy document of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia ‘For Decent Work!’ *in medias res* aims at the development of quite a new culture of social and economic relations. This concept goes in line with spiritual and ethical traditions of the Russian culture, with its never-ending concern in the human factor. It is an integrated system of proposals focusing on qualitative growth of the payment for fair and skilled labour, employment of able-bodied population, labour safety, observance of the labour code, improving the efficiency of social insurance schemes, decent pension provision, a fundamental improvement in the quality of life, promotion of a harmonious development of employees and their families.

Over the recent years, due to the influence of trade unions, the process of humanization of social and labour relations began in the Russian society being reflected in the denial to use force in settling conflicts, in encouraging the bargaining and using collective agreements. The process is far from being smooth. The main reason for this is the immaturity of the civil society in Russia, due to which large groups of economically active people, entrepreneurs and a substantial part of officials in particular, are not fully aware of the need for a dialogue between business, government and trade unions.

One of the trends of modern civilization is the servicing of pragmatic values. Manipulative technologies of people’s management are being developed, with the ruling élite trying to oust the laws of justice to the margins of civilization, and looking for ways to tamper with the society instead of searching for ways to solve social problems. Employers are making attempts to substitute trade unions and are positioning themselves as a ‘socially responsible business’, offering prospective employees a ‘full package of social benefits’. The employers seek to convince their employees of poor efficiency and futility of such an institution as a trade union.

It is getting particularly urgent in the context of de-humanization of the society when the free market is considered as a self-sufficient value. In this social and cultural

paradigm, it is beyond the scope that the production of a new commodity output involves spiritual culture of a man, his ideals, fashion, science, religion, art and education, i.e. spiritual and intellectual production. In such a situation, trade unions are called upon to vindicate the spiritual and cultural values. Ideology of liberal economy deforms ideas of the society about what is going on: if everything depends only on accumulation and investment of private capital, then citizens should allegedly perceive even criminal excesses in the modern development as natural calamities of the inevitable ‘era of primary accumulation of the capital’, as a justified necessity; and it were absurd fight against it. Unfortunately, we face the problems like that in Russia, too. Quite a number of entrepreneurs are guided by the principles typical of the late 19th – early 20th century in their treatment of employees. Some private companies exercise ‘wild West’ attitude to their workers depriving them of their rights. In fact, employers reconstruct formulas of an old economic model aimed at gaining maximum profits and ignoring spiritual and ethical aspects of economy. While sabotaging the establishment and functioning of trade unions, the employers are inevitably causing social tension and discrediting the very idea of building a social state.

As the data shows, the present Russian economy is hardly able to handle even necessary social expenditure. Fifteen percent of the country’s population lives below poverty level, Russia takes only the seventieth place in the world in such indexes as life expectancy, level of education, per capita consumption. At the same time, the sustainable, conflict-free development of a civil society requires that average wages should exceed a minimum consumer budget by 2.5 times and pensions by 1.5 times, as the experience of the developed countries proves. Under existing conditions when thirty percent of the population live below this level, the risk of social conflict is great.

Giving serious rise to complaints are methods of calculating the minimum consumers basket. It was introduced back in 1953 and has never changed since. Purely economic indexes acquire a wider social and cultural sense. Understandably enough, economy and standards of life have undergone drastic changes. Paid education and medicine, fee-paying preschools, commercial housing and dozens of other services came into existence. That’s why the cost of the consumer basket should be revised. Trade unions with their firm position prevent the social world from destruction and people from despair.

The Constitution gives the characteristic of the Russian Federation as a social state the policy of which is aimed at creating conditions for decent life and free development of the individual. We consider that labour should be highly skilled, highly intellectual, safe, ecological, and efficient in terms of both, production and remuneration.

Whether trade unions succeed depends to a large extent on how they use modern social, cultural, communication and other technologies. Our social opponents are well enough equipped with such technologies and have been using them in their strife against trade union movement. I am certain that our task is to meet these challenges.

All this is even more important in the context of an increasing number of social and labour conflicts, caused by the onset of the global economic crisis. A full-fledged civil society should have embedded mechanisms of forecast, prevention, and conflict resolution based on reconciling the interests of various social groups.

International experience shows that the success of conciliating procedures largely depends on the level of training and competence of independent mediators. Up to sixty percent of the conflicts in the United States go through a pre-trial process and through ADR (Alternative Dispute Resolution). In eighty-five percent of the cases conciliating practices lead

to the settlement of a dispute, this mechanism is often referred to as a 'very effective low-risk procedure'.

There is no training of labour arbitrators in the system of humanitarian education in Russia, while in the life of the society and an individual, social and labour conflicts have become a common thing or, at least, a norm of everyday expectation of a conflict.

We suggest that the existing contradiction between the objective demand for professionals able to diagnose, prevent, and settle social and labour conflicts, and the lack of the formal status of the profession in the labour market should be solved through training labour arbitration, which could be entrusted to St. Petersburg Humanitarian University of Trade Unions.

Strong, well-organized and equipped with modern social and cultural technologies, trade unions are called to play a more active role in the system of social partnership.

Russian people have always been known for getting over the difficulties together, collectively. Social partnership as a constructive and consolidating institution and a stabilizing factor in the development of the state and society fully conforms with the Russian national tradition, while acting as a collective consolidating institute. The significance of this institute increases tenfold in the context of the following conditions: the economic growth is slowing down, external markets are shrinking due to lower prices for basic goods of the Russian export, the rate of growth in real incomes of citizens is going down. It is necessary to objectively analyze the causes and scale of the crisis, carefully assess the reserves and reasonably manage them to make weighed and effective decisions. In our view, it would make sense to link salaries of chief officers and top managers to an average salary of the company's staff, similar to the way the problem is solved today with the introduction of a new system of remuneration of employees of budgetary institutions. In the time of the crisis entrepreneurs could commit themselves to limiting income of top managers, dividends and bonus policy.

It should be noted that in the first phase of the development of social partnership, trade unions did not feel much support on the part of the state, which considered itself a party interested in creating a class of new employers. However, over the recent years, a new approach to this situation, the rules of the new strategic behaviour in the relationship between the social partners have been developed. Much of this became possible due to the position of trade unions, which consistently insisted that the idea of patronizing business as the state's sole stronghold to the detriment of social and economic balance was false and unfair.

Society requires a balance between the interests of entrepreneurs, employers and workers. If the idea of the social world in the eye of the public does not prevail, it would be fraught with the increase of deep social conflicts. The interest of workers in their labour achievements, the lack of cataclisms is an important factor of the economic development. Without a concerned employee there will not be an efficient economy. Participation in the development of rules and traditions of the world culture implies the development of the mass social basis of the democratization process as well.

From said above, it is clear that in order to create conditions for a highly developed civil society, a dialogue of public authorities of all levels, employers and trade unions, co-participation of trade unions in regulating social and labour relations is needed. All this suggests joint efforts of trade unions and the state to guarantee a minimum of subsistence to all members of the society, to create favourable working conditions for employees, protecting them from negative impacts of market economy.

A state declaring itself as social one, must be a civilized state in the first place. It should be based on the public law, recognition and full realization of the fundamental freedoms of the individual, combined with truly democratic relations in the economy and society. An ideal social state should seek an optimum balance between the self-regulation of market economy and state regulation in favour of social security of the most vulnerable strata and groups of population. Such a state should create favourable organizational and legal conditions for the real involvement of workers in the development and social assessment of socially-oriented management solutions of the authorities.

Trade unions support the orientation course of the social state toward the spiritual, cultural and moral development of citizens. We believe that the ideological guideline of civil society should be lifestyle of work – as the basis of well-being and development.

Being part of the international trade union movement, Russian trade unions are acting as an equal subject of the global dialogue of cultures and civilizations. We live in an era of global economic integration; no country can cope with the problems of the world development alone. Overcoming the financial crisis must go hand in hand with coordinated international actions aimed at stimulating the growth and the creation of new jobs, preventing the threat of a global recession, turning the economy to equitable and sustainable development. It is impossible to solve these problems without the participation of workers' representatives, without the trade union solidarity in order to provide for global human rights to decent work. The ideology of social responsibility and social partnership should be fundamental in the activities of international organizations called to regulate and maintain international relations in all spheres and in all forms of manifestation.

Today, the entire world community has to start rethinking the ideology of the traditional capitalist world system, to seek a more equitable model of society. The mankind is on the threshold of developing a new architecture of global economic and financial system. In November 2008, the *Washington Declaration of Global Trade Unions* was adopted at the meeting of the world trade union leaders. It can be considered as a strategic policy document that determines basic activities and demands by trade unions to their governments under the conditions of the world crisis.

The Declaration states that the main threat to social cohesion is the growing inequality in the face of the crisis. The main reason for growing inequality is the crisis of fair distribution, having caused the degradation of the global economy. The *Declaration* identified consolidation of economy, its financial stabilizers, such as: programs on unemployment benefits, job-creation programs, growth of employment and wages as its key course to withstand the global crisis. Time has come to invest in people – in their education and health, their comprehensive cultural development.

In the new culture, the human ability for creative work, hence, both political and social conditions that allow to realize this ability, are the most essential prerequisites of economic development. Being an important part of the world culture, trade unions must restore respect for honest work, while putting it on the podium. This is the only way to achieve harmonious relations between an individual and the society, respect for individual rights and universal values. The international trade union solidarity itself is a product of the dissemination of the world culture and the involvement of countries in the world market.

N. P. Shmelyov<sup>1</sup>

## FEATURES OF RUSSIAN BUSINESS

In ancient Greece two maxims were esteemed: 'nothing in excess' and 'best measure for everything'. Eventually these maxims were forgotten. As a result in contemporary Russia we can witness a conflict of two extremes: national ways to live and make trade. If a boutique opens, one can expect to see, at least, 2 security officers, 5 shop assistants and a cashier working there. Once a day they will sell a pair of trousers to a simpleton for an unreasonably high price and then waste time to the end of the workday. Such boutiques that exist only because of exorbitant marketing margin make the basis of the Russian national economy.

In the USA the opposite case can be witnessed: almost all American financial sphere (95%) has minor profit and provides only for itself. That's why their 'securities tower' defaulted: securities guaranteed by mortgage credits and debts were resold many times. Unlike Russian business, American one is based on circulation of money rather than on an excessive unit profit. Every American citizen wanted to gain merit of securities. Due to small margins securities sold well, and were resold constantly. One security guaranteed a dozen others. When one of them devaluated, so did the others. Like the domino effect, devaluation spread all over the world, just because someone didn't pay the debt in time.

Could the present crisis be foreseen? It could in the USA, while in Russia it was not possible. We could have avoided the crisis only by returning to the Dark Ages, separating from the rest of the world and monopolizing foreign trade. We have already experienced it, when during 70 years the 'Iron Curtain' covered the country. Russia declared its economy to be socially oriented. That's a lucky idea, but it isn't built at once. For the last 10–15 years the Russian economy has been the most socially unjust among all civilized countries! Constant distrust to counterparts, business and the State evolved in the time of Gaidar's heading the Government, when 95% of the population were deprived of their possessions. Even Stalin in 1947 was more humane to 'rob' only twice as less. I consider as positive the fact that governmental guarantees on bank deposits of natural persons cover the sum up to 700 000 roubles. Though they could afford to guarantee 100% cover, as in some European countries. People's trust to the financial system can only be restored by means of governmental guarantees. Modern economy can't even be imagined without market and credits.

Large companies that the government is trying to save now, that stayed afloat only by credits, invested their profit into land, buildings, yachts and football clubs (that is only the top of the iceberg). For example, geological prospecting of oil deposits isn't invested in at all. It means that in 10–15 years the country will have no raw materials. We can only expect that grandchildren of contemporary oligarchs might conduct their business in a more civilized manner. As far as present time is concerned, one can state absence of business culture, good taste and manners. Oligarchs behave in Russia as in Courchevel.

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Such corrupt manner of thinking operates in many sectors. For example, after allocations were provided as governmental aid, suspicions immediately arose that a certain sum was exchanged to dollars and then exported abroad. The Government has to provide aid to large companies, because the Russian national economy (80% of gross domestic output) is dominated by oligarchic capital. That was a strategic mistake of the previous decades. If heavy borrowers get ruined, national economy will collapse, too. There is another question that arises here: why did large companies take loans in the West rather than in Russia? Why was the interest rate in Russia 10–15% per annum (now it is 20–25%), while in London it is 6–7%? So, we can't blame the business alone.

Let's consider mortgage interest rates. In the USA 2–3% per annum appeared dangerous, while in Russia it is over 20%, which is backbreaking. Russian business is voracious in its nature. Unreasonable rates of mortgage credits in Russia will lead to the failure of the system rooted in all other countries. That's why mortgage has to be provided (partly financed) by the Government. Such a system is adopted in a number of countries that managed to solve their housing problem. An acceptable rate of mortgage interest is 5–6%.

Over the last 12 months inflation in Europe has decreased from 3.7 to 2.3%. Meanwhile, official prognosis in Russia for 2009 is up to 15%. Why is it so? Does the crisis affect Russian economy in a different way? It appears, it doesn't. There are other reasons for such a high inflation. Russian wages are 5–6 times lower than the European ones, while market margin on goods reaches 80–100% and even exceeds it. That isn't crisis affect, that's a robbery. It's scandalous that a square meter of a living space should cost \$6000. Its top price shouldn't exceed \$1500.

The root of the problem is in the human factor. Contemporary business generation is spoilt and corrupt by fabulous exorbitant profit: in house building sector the annual profit goes up to 600%, in energy sector 300%, etc. It has become a common opinion in entrepreneurial circles that if a businessman can't provide 100%, he is a simpleton. Meanwhile, 10–15% of annual profit abroad is considered good luck. Thus a question arises: why should Russian businessmen invest money in long-term sectors? They don't need it. We will never have reasonable adequate prices without flourishing non-raw-material sectors, and we will live with cartels conspiracy that America got rid off long ago. For example, in the USA when the Court establishes the fact of a conspiracy, the companies are liable for it. While in Russia anti-monopolies measures undertaken regard a smirk.

In the course of the world crisis many states, in attempts to give aid to national companies, nationalise them. There is a challenge: the next wave of privatization can be expected. I suppose that state-and-private partnership is most obvious to expect. Until entrepreneurs learn to conduct business on civilized grounds (though I have to admit that Deripaska works much more efficiently than the Minister of Manufacture and Trade), there will be a chance to return companies to the government and then to sell them again. This is what happens in Great Britain: companies are constantly privatized and nationalized. There is only one remark: the privatization wave to follow should only be managed considering mistakes of the 1990s: at that time the Russian Federation obtained only \$9 billion, while Bolivia, underdeveloped in comparison to Russia, earned 10 times as much.

I'd like to say some words about another problem: Russia serves as a raw materials appendage to the West. This

threat still exists. Germany doesn't have well-developed fundamental sciences, because they sent away all their scientists three generations ago. Half of the staff of American concern 'Boeing' are Russians, because science share in Russian budget is only \$150 million, and at the same time Russian budget spent \$6 billion under the pretext that this money is customs donation to the veterans of the Afghanistan war. Nowadays the sum of science investments has risen considerably, but it is enough only to give aid to the older generation of scientists educated in the Soviet times. There is no donation allocated to attract young specialists.

One more challenge is Russian small business and its further development. The laws passed in favour of small business are a positive feature. But the crucial thing to do in this sphere is to change people's views. 'High class' of

business people keeps treating labourers disdainfully. Some years ago racketeers dominated in the country, while at present they are substituted by the bureaucratic anarchy. In Japan small business flourished only when banks started to risk investing funds into developing long-term business projects (non-interest bearing). To my mind, it is small business that can give a helping hand to agricultural regions.

What is the prognosis for the current situation to develop? What mistakes have to be avoided right now? I think one of such challenges is cash shortage. Reserves are finite, every week \$15–20 billion is spent. But let's hope that Russia will benefit from the crisis: in order to survive businessmen will have to care more about goods demand rather than dirty business tricks, because they will not gain profit if people don't buy their goods.

N. N. Skatov<sup>1</sup>

### 'THE RUSSIAN WORD' IN THE DIALOGUE OF CIVILIZATIONS

I extend my warm welcome to the participants of the International Likhachov Scientific Conference. In my presentation I am going to tackle upon Russian way of conducting our dialogue with other cultures.

In my previous reports for this annual conference I defined Russians as a 'literature-creating nation'. Universal mission of the Russian people became generating one of the greatest literature traditions in the world history, from The Lay of Igor's Host to The Crime and Punishment by Dostoevsky; from Muscovite book-scribes to the Silver Age constellation of poets. It demanded the outmost strain of spiritual and physical efforts, compared to those required by History Volition from Romans, who created legal culture traditions; or from Frenchmen and Englishmen, who originated scientific and technical breakout of the 18th and 19th centuries. Thus, Russians can conduct the dialogue of cultures on equal terms with their counterparts, because they made a unique and nonpareil contribution to the partnership of civilizations.

Moreover, the Russian literature tradition and heritage also serves as a way to proclaim ideology and to communicate its ideas with others. The most vivid example is Gogol's literature works. The 200th anniversary of Gogol's birthday almost timed with this conference.

'I shall achieve... I will achieve! I seethe with life. My works will be ebullient, they will be inspired by God Almighty! I will achieve...'; those were ecstatic words written by Gogol on the eve of 1834, when he had not created anything yet, but he was foreseeing it and believed in it. What did he want to achieve? What did he achieve? And what did he fail to achieve? At the end of his life Gogol wrote: 'The mission of the man is to serve, and all our life is devoted to it'. Another quotation from him: 'A writer, if he possesses the gift and power of creating his original images, should be, first of all, a righteous citizen of his Motherland...'

It means that Gogol, from the very beginning of his literature career, considered his main artistic mission as begetting Verity rather than Beauty. In other words, Beauty could be circulating only within the frames of Verity. For him, living in beauty meant living in verity; to create beauty

was to seek for verity. It is worth noting that Gogol linked aesthetics of spiritual life only with Russian works of art, thus stating a unique role of national art compared to European. 'Despite outward signs of imitation, Russian poetry has its own typical unprecedented features'. As Gogol stated, such typical features were influenced, first, by folk songs that 'demonstrate little affection to life and its issues', songs that promote the desire 'to drift away encaptured by the tune'. Secondly, a unique Russian aesthetic mentality is originated from 'remarkable common people's wit' that manifests itself in national proverbs, in the folk speech tendency 'to use in its arsenal irony, sarcasm, graphic examples, apt remarks, artistic smartness in order to voice a word vibrating and quivering with life, that describes human nature clearly and distinctly.' Thirdly, national aesthetics is enhanced by 'the words of the Holy Fathers', the words that are 'remarkable in the tendency to lead the man to the supreme spiritual mentality rather than temptations of the world'.

Gogol concludes as follows: 'All this prophesised unrivalled and individual way of national poetry, unmatched to other nations'.

Gogol became aware of his Russian artistic mission very early. That's why in Russian life and mentality Gogol was very quickly and closely matched with another great spiritual leader, Belinsky. It is not by chance that the poet Nekrasov combined their names in his illustrious poem of the Russian peasant man who 'will buy books by Belinsky and Gogol at the market stalls'. Later, when the great critic and the genius writer fell apart not peacefully, but after almost a mortal fight, they would exchange letters that in their turn would split ideas and break hearts of many people and even whole generations, turning them into rival sides.

Their core issue is re-making, altering, re-constructing life. This idea originated in the long dated back history; but the desire and impatience for changing life manifested itself differently with the two great men, however their two ways converged in one point. Quoting after Herzen: 'In its response to Peter the Great's claim 100 years later Russia begot Pushkin, an outstanding phenomenon of national culture' is followed by quoting after Turgenev: 'In many ways Gogol served as an adherent of Peter the Great ideas'. It means that Gogol was the man who dared to re-arrange the life of the whole country and who was fully aware of it. Who else would say: 'O, Russia! What do you want of me? What liaison beyond human understanding links us? Why do you look at me in such a way, and why everything that you possess anticipates,

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with an eager eye, something form me?..' In both his novels, *The Inspector General* and *Dead Souls*, Gogol was seeking for the fulcrum to turn the whole world round, or at least, Russian world, in which he firmly believed and hoped for till his end.

Gogol's crusade for renewing Russian life, for its metamorphose was framed with acute contradictions. He was ready to repudiate the art itself if it could not transform the life instantly and totally. He was eager to disavow religious dogmas, which he considered unquestionable verity, if he was not able to adopt them. He was eager to become a model on the way of spiritual, moral and physical ascesis and to follow it to the end, even to the most terrible end. Nekrasov would exclaim: 'Here is an honest son of his Motherland... who chose not to write agreeable things or things considered to be the most useful for his country. He perished in this quest and even abused his talent, but what self-restraint it was!' In 1852 I. S. Turgenev wrote to Ivan Aksakov: 'The tragic fate of Russia displays itself in the Russian people who are the salt of its land: no man, however strong his spirit may be, can endure struggle destined for the whole nation, and so Gogol was to expire'. It is very true, as Gogol vividly depicted social and spiritual contradictions that could be solved only by national, if not all-human history.

The same tragedy happened to every Russian classical writer. Dostoevsky, who defined 'the all-human as a national Russian idea', stated that this idea had a perfect aesthetic explication in Pushkin's works, thus considering him unique and original in the galaxy of European writers. 'It is true that European literature possessed prominent talents and geniuses like Shakespeare, Cervantes, Schiller. But can you point at any of these geniuses who would have an ability to sympathise with the whole world like Pushkin'. Dostoevsky depicts Pushkin not as a poet or novelist, but as an efficient Russian prophet orator whose mission is to 'tend to finally

bring conciliation to European contradictions; to give vent to European grief in Russian soul that unites and harmonises everyone; to cram with brotherly love all other nations into it; and, at last, to manage and articulate the supreme idea of universal harmony, of eternal peace among all nations following Gospel of Our Lord'.

There is no need to say that Dostoevsky himself treated aesthetics as secondary to 'the great thought'. Can one read his book only to enjoy oneself aesthetically? Can one admire aphoristic beauty of Ivan Karamazov's famous maxim about 'the tear of a child' and be non-susceptible to the ideological fervour of this brilliant maxim? How would Dostoevsky himself treat the admirers who proclaim him as a universal literature genius and at the same time with no hesitation spill oceans of 'children tears', promoting war, poverty, absence of legal rights and so on in the whole regions of the world?

The conclusion is: Russia contributes to the dialogue of cultures not only Russian literature, but Russian ideology as well, ideology that begot literature as the means of explicating itself. Best of all 'the Russian ideology', 'the Russian prophesying word' was formulated by great Pushkin:

In centuries to come I shall be loved by the people  
For having awakened noble thoughts with my lyre,  
For having glorified freedom in my harsh age  
And called for mercy towards the fallen.

Moral and ethical ideas ('noble thoughts'), the challenge of ontological freedom of a person that does not depend on 'harsh age' (this challenge begot all 'men-of-no-importance' in Russian literature, from Onegin to Raskolnikov), compassion and attention not only to 'heroes', but to 'men-of-no-importance' ('mercy towards the fallen') is the Russian Word that the great Russian literature floats to our culture in the dialogue of civilizations.

A. V. Smirnov<sup>1</sup>

## TYOLOGY OF CULTURES AND THE SCENERY OF UNIVERSE

Modelling any hierarchy of types is generally based on an obvious idea that the object for typology demonstrates both similarities and differences. It is easy to explain how to formulate typology of cultures only by explaining what culture is and how cultures differ.

The word 'culture' can be treated from different viewpoints, and there is hardly anyone to claim that they possess the genuine, true and exact meaning of this term. The scholar or philosopher acknowledges the definition of culture that suits their scientific quest, demands and intuition best of all. I myself postulate culture as 'the way of modelling comprehension'.

What does the word 'comprehension' mean in this definition? I treat it as opposed to a common way of the twentieth century that differentiates the terms 'meaning ~ sense' and 'comprehension'. Neither do I try to impose a peculiar

semantic field on this term, and treat 'comprehension' as an essential element of the supreme, non-conventional sense. On the contrary, for me 'comprehension' is the most common and universal concept. Comprehension is the environment for consciousness; it is everything that our consciousness operates with, everything that forms contents for our consciousness. This being so, the tendency to comprehend is a fundamental one for the man. Without it our consciousness does not exist, hence, we do not exist either.

What does 'universe' mean and how does this term concern in any way typology of cultures? If we interpret 'universe' as everything our consciousness can operate with, then universe is the scenery of comprehension, framed by it. This definition makes it clear how the concept 'universe' stated in this paper corresponds to the same concept, acknowledged in linguistics and philosophy.

Basically, researchers speak about linguistic universe and scientific universe. The former is referred to as a hierarchical structure of the world, pre-set to the consciousness of the man by his mother tongue, mainly by the arsenal of formalistic means of a language. This is the most common and widespread definition, where the concept 'linguistic universe' is originated from the ideas of Humboldt and Sapir-Whorf. The latter, i.e. scientific universe is interpreted as a combination of various scientific theories, treated only in their world-view aspect and postulating only the most general ideas about the world for mass consciousness. Scientific

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universe is a collection of ideas appeared in people's minds about most popular scientific results and concepts, rather than science itself.

The difference between linguistic and scientific universe is striking obvious and evident. It can be stated as follows: the former is spontaneous while the latter is well reflected. There is no choosing or changing your mother tongue: linguistic universe formed in the consciousness of a native speaker is pre-set. The basic postulate of modern linguistics is a concept stating that a language is a natural phenomenon, operated by natural (thus, objective and non-depending on a man's will) laws. In our case it appears to be quite correct. *Visa versa*, science, as the source of scientific universe is pre-set neither to society or individuals, neither general science nor its practical applications. While speaking a language can serve as a criterion for belonging to humankind, science existence or a person's dealing with it can not serve as such a criterion. Moreover, scientific universe, if there is any, can change dramatically during the life of one generation, but linguistic universe, though it can be modified gradually with time, never transforms radically during the life of one man. As opposed to linguistic universe, scientific universe is formed due to conscious efforts of: firstly, society in general that decides whether they need science at all, secondly, groups of popularisers who are in charge of spreading knowledge to various communities and thirdly, every single person who is more or less eager to absorb scientific knowledge, thus forming his or her personal scientific universe.

What I am going to speak about in the paper is very close to such a concept of 'universe', although it does not totally coincide with it. The main difference is that comparing and contrasting these two levels (spontaneous ~ linguistic and theoretical ~ reflected) as well as considering the levels themselves interest me only from the viewpoint of modelling comprehension. The key issue is how, in what way fundamental basic all-human tendency to comprehend familiarises itself on these two levels of modelling original scenery for comprehension, I mean the spontaneous level pre-set to the man and the reflected one created due to conscious and deliberate efforts subdued to logical order. Let's agree to call the first level as linguistic and the second as logical and philosophical, because philosophical notions of the world, of its unity and of fundamental principles and laws are the basis for well-reflected universe.

Comprehension means integrity. This postulate is a key one for any further considerations. Integrity is closely related to unity. Of course, 'unity' is a very indefinite, thus rich in meanings, concept: unity can be treated from different points of view, but we will tackle upon it later. To my mind, concepts of integrity and unity twofold can well illustrate some primary intuitive ideas of the man about the world. I would say, that for the man it is typical to tend and model the scenery of world comprehension as integrate and united. Deep in the bosom of our heart we try to present the world as a monistic one.

What does it mean? I do not want to say that every morning on getting up from the bed and looking for slippers we formulate this idea as a task for today. The point is as follows: we precept that we can't imagine the world split into segregated parts not related to each other in any sphere. It is true both for spatial and time aspects. Something green today can not become red tomorrow, as well as thing can not fall upwards in some other remote parts of the world. I deliberately take naive examples; you can give your own, more sophisticated examples. But it is naive, the least reflected ideas that manifest fundamental status of our presentimenting comprehension as integrity and unity of the world. Once discovering that, for example, street traffic can not only be right-sided, but left-sided as well, thus colliding with significant differences in

existing laws that operate conduct in the world, we will not hurry to interpret such differences as principally segregated, splitting the world into principally differently operating parts, but on the contrary, we will treat them as variants of a single unit, variants that do not contradict the core unity of the world, despite all the differences. Even talking about evolution of the universe, and, consequently, evolution of physical laws operating in the universe, we view this process as a natural one, stating integrity and unity of all its parts. Otherwise, we will come to Kafkian type of nonsense, where everything is possible to occur, in other words, 'the Zone', described in fantasy books by the Strugatsky brothers or in a film by Tarkovsky, the Zone that can't be really imagined, as it denies any integrity and unity.

So, in spite of its variety and diversity, the world follows certain stable regulations, and the stability is felt as presentiment of integrity and unity in the scenery of world comprehension, which is called universe. Such is our intention. What is its result like, that can be achieved at two levels of its implementing: the one pre-set and spontaneously formed and the other deliberately created, logically structured and well-reflected, i.e. on linguistic and logical \ philosophical levels, that can approximately correlated to linguistic and scientific universe?

Before answering the question, let's define the object of research. I'm going to talk about two large cultural areas: Western and Islamic worlds. The question is still open as to what extent conclusions made on the basis of Arabian material can be applied to related Semitic languages and cultures, namely the Hebrew language and Jewish culture. Can we apply the methods of analysis (not only its results) to other languages and cultures apart from those mentioned above is still a more important issue. But from now on I will not postulate this restriction on purpose. Making general statements, I make them only for the two language and cultural areas.

Let's start with linguistic level. Language manifests a segmented world rather than monistic (based on the principle of undividedness). I mean the fundamentally crucial fact, that language function is categorial structuring of the world. At our disposal we have nominate categories (nouns, adjectives), categories of verb, adverbial modifiers, numerals, etc.

*Mutatis mutandis* is true both for the Arabian language or Hebrew, as well as for Russian, English, Greek or other European languages. It is correct that categorial system is not the same in different languages, however, firstly, it approximately coincides in languages and, secondly, it always manifests itself. It means that language divides the world into segments, and these segments do not correlate. For example, noun can under no circumstances turn into verb. To put it in other words, nominate category can not occupy the place of verb in the utterance, while it can occupy the place of another nominate category. Substituting two nominates results in a sensefull phrase, though it may prove false; while substituting nominate and verb results in a senseless phrase that can be neither true nor false. For instance, the phrases 'I walk up the drive' and 'I walk up the lane' are both sensefull, though may not be both true, but among the phrases 'I drive a car' and 'I lane a car' only the first is sensefull. This crucial fundamental feature of a language depicts the fact that things \ substances do operate, but they themselves are not operations, and *visa versa*, operations, detected in the world, are not things ~ substances. The same is true with other categories.

Let's consider Aristotle system of ten logical categories. The core essence of these categories is that they postulate, firstly, subject and predicative division; secondly, distinction between nine categories that can serve as predicates to the one that remains subject; thirdly, these categories do not converge into an integral unit, because each of them presents a separate unit of being, as it was stated by Aristotle.

We will consider the first and the last points later, now let's pay a close attention to the second. Categorical division, declared by Aristotle, records segmentation of the world that consists of sections. The frames of each section are impenetrable for anything within the section. Any representative of a category belongs only to this category, there being no chance to contact directly with a representative of another category, because the basis of categorial division is to detect non-reducible differences between classes of words. That's why any direct equation of categories is not possible and contrary to reason. Moreover, there is no equating various categories through their common features, as categories are supreme hierarchical units, they do not possess any common features.

Thus, categorial division can be considered as a fact. Under such circumstances, it does not matter to what extent a certain type of categorial system relates to a certain language. Only the fact that such categorial division exists matters.

This fact, considered in isolation, is a good evidence that we can not achieve the goal of creating an integrate scenery of universe comprehension on linguistic level. Obviously, a language serves only as a tool of coherent descriptions of the world, as a matter of fact, it describes the world by means of detecting non-convergent aspects, such as: aspect of action, aspect of substantiality, aspect of number, etc.

Now let's consider in more details the third point. All categories segmenting the world, are units of being, thus they relate to something unite. Actually, the unity of being is considered as a fundamental, basic philosophical notion, and quite often it isn't taken for granted without mentioning or putting into words. The concept of unity of being manifests our fundamental tendency to integrate comprehension of the world, inherent in our consciousness. But we have already proven that such a tendency can not be performed, due to the fact that categories are non-convergent into a unity, and the differences between categories are non-reducible.

This fact, discovered and stated by Aristotle remains significant even beyond Western school philosophy. Arabian language is based on a slightly different system of categories, opposed to the one created by Stagiritus, but anyway, such a system does exist and results in the same liaisons for modelling scenery of integrate universe, which has already been proven. This is what matters. For cultural and linguistic areas under consideration categorial segmentation of universe resulting in disintegrated scenery of linguistic comprehension of universe appears to be a true fact.

Language is a theoretical category, in real life we usually deal with speech rather than language. Coherent speech is a narrative speech, while narrating is the process of forming subject and predicative constructions. In other words, coherent speech is consequence of coherent sentences, by a coherent sentence I mean the one with a subject and a predicate (in logical terms). I do not want to say that coherent speech does not spread beyond their limits, but they inevitably present.

This can serve as a positive solution for the problem of universe segmentation, which is well noticed in a language: it is speech that unites non-converging segments, i.e. categories, the process of uniting them means creating subject and predicative constructions. Predication is a key issue, as predication provides modelling universe monistic scenery.

How does it happen? To answer this question let's pay attention to the first point, emphasised while considering Aristotle system of categories.

It turns out, that ten categories are not equivalent, they are not of equal value. Only one category denotes something that is narrated about. Others relate to what is narrated. This is the way to settle the matter: world monism is the monism of subject. What is spoken about is integrate. Of course, I do not

mean it is arithmetically a single unit. It is integrate in the way prompted by Aristotle system of categories: integrate, because everything we can speak about and what serves as a subject in sentences of coherent speech, belongs to one and the same category, the one called 'substance'.

The maxim of solving the problem of universe monism due to discovering predicating mechanism overriding categorial segmentation of the world, that was stated above appears too optimistic to be true. It is supposed to be true and correct, and traditional logic postulated by Aristotle is based on this maxim. Let's pretend that we agree with it too, leaving aside an obvious question, formulated even in the Ancient Age: how does it happen that subject brings together predicates heterogeneous to each other and alien as related to the subject itself? Why do heterogeneity and alienness fixed and emphasised by categorial segmentation, appear of minor significance when it comes to the fact that nine categories-accidenties serve only as characteristics for the category presenting subject of universe. In one single category heterogeneity dissolves, turning into a mere aspect of describing substance. I'd like to emphasise that this obstacle is a matter of principle, however I'm not going to speculate on this issue here.

Instead of that, let's consider the following issue. Language enables to form utterances, where subjects may be presented not by a thing ~ substance, but by process as well. For example, I can say the sentences: 'Train arriving is delayed' or 'Introducing currency conversion is impossible due to the crisis'. 'Arriving' and 'Introducing' and such like words, denoting process, are subjects from linguistic point of view, and they perform their role the same way as the words 'train' or 'currency' would do. But contrary to the words 'train' or 'currency', the words 'arriving' and 'introducing' are not substances. From Aristotle's logic point of view it means that they can't serve as real subjects, that is they can not perform the role of the subjects exponenting predicates. As Aristotle claimed, this role can be performed only by substance and no other category.

Here we may observe a conflict between possibilities provided by a language and their operating in the scenery of universe, which we intend to model following Aristotle logic, trying to make it monise. It appears, however, that the scenery of universe logically correct, well-reflected, scientifically precise is much poorer, compared to the one we possess on linguistic level. Moreover, it is poorer not only in minor aspects, but in logic. Scientific scenery of universe claims to be logically precise, but it can be achieved only by putting aside logical possibilities provided on linguistic level of universe scenery.

I'd like to underline the word 'logical' and the goal of any further consideration is to demonstrate and justify its usage. The point is that now this term is used, as it were, in advance, but it is necessary to use it in order to show how much the concept formulated in this paper differs from a common one. Because any student, to say nothing of a logicist or philosopher may well state, that linguistic forms of explication are surplus, compared to logically precise ones. For example, to say 'evening star' and 'morning star' is to denote one and the same object, but the ways of expressing it differ; the sense is different, the meaning is the same. To say 'train arriving is delayed' and 'the train will arrive later' means denoting the same event. A natural language is too rich, as a logicist may say. Vast abundance of linguistic forms appears as a regrettable obstacle preventing from choosing the only one correct form that matches the genuine scenery of universe best of all. Meanwhile, universe presents itself as accumulation of things ~ substances that possess characteristics and are spread over time and space. This is why it is logically precise to make such a subject and predicate utterance, where the



subject is expressed as a nominate (noun) that denotes substance ('train') rather than process ('arriving'). We can make a great many phrases synonymous to the sentence 'train arriving is delayed', and their number may only be limited by our fantasy or richness of a language. Even more so, we can make such phrases in various languages, not only in one. All this abundance of linguistic explications is surplus in the sense that genuine scenery is represented by only one phrase ('the train will arrive later'). Logically precise form squeezes not only variety of sentences in one language, but cross-language variety as well, hence it may serve as a basis for translating into another language. The crucial thing to do is to understand and feel this inner structure in order to explain how to compress diversity of surface structures.

This rapid leap forward from Aristotle to N. Chomsky turned lots of intricate curves into direct lines, but it did not twist the principle issue: for Western school substantial scenery of universe is typical. Universe is thought as a collection of things ~ substances. This is how things form subject of universe and provide its unity, while variety and diversity of the world is represented by qualities, features and relations between the things. This is the basis for Aristotle physics that explained how universe operates, and Ancient Times and Middle Ages as well as modern science approve of this basis.

Of course, we can't but see that things treated as substances operate or can be described through numerical parameters, but we notice it only after stating primacy of substantiality. I mean that a lot of facts in universe will not correlate totally or partly (without being significantly distorted) into substantial scenery of universe, however we will not reject it and logic corresponding it. Mathematics, invented by the Greek and developed further by Western school is not based on logic. This fact prevents it from being logically comprehended, does not permit to grasp its integrity (although allows it to develop), but it does not result in rejecting fundamentals of substantial scenery of universe and in creating a sound logical system that could form the basis of Mathematics. Let's have a look at another example. A stumbling block for Western philosophy has always been comprehension of a process. Processuality does not match substantial scenery of universe, because it can't be grasped adequately. The point is that the truth in substantial scenery of universe is always related to out-of-time existence of the thing, which is absolutely alien to consequence of changes. That's why Western philosophy has remained as just a set of footnotes on the margin of Plato's papers, it was Plato who formulated the concept just mentioned, which made the basis not only for an extensive philosophical system, but the whole school of Western thought tradition as well. Something immersed into a time flow can change, thus it is not identical to itself, i.e. it isn't true, hence it can't serve as a subject in subject and predicate constructions, depicting the truth of universe (cf. The law of identity). So it must be excluded from coherent scientific speech. Such is an axiom, proposing duality of belonging time ~ out-of-time that equals to the changing ~ constant; the true ~ false; the emotional ~ sensible. If it is so, the process progressing in time can't be related to the truth, it can't be described in the terms of the truth. That's why we can either (following Aristotle) interpret the process as a set of fixed separate states of the thing. It can enable us not to change substantial scenery of universe, but, in this case, changing mysteriously turns into a leap from the potential, representing one thing ~ substance to the actual, representing another thing ~ substance, as a matter of fact. The other way is to follow Delouze ideas, formulated in his work 'Logic of sense', and to admit that process is irrational, deliberately describing it in a non-coherent way.

Let's summarise what was said. Language does not provide a possibility to create an integrate scenery of universe, because firstly, by the fact of categorial segmentation it fixes universe

segmentation, and secondly, it proves segmentation by the fact that it allows to use any category as a subject in speech. A determined leap to integrity is performed by philosophical logic, that strives to build its path to monistic perception of the world, stating that only one category can serve as a genuine subject in subject and predicate constructions.

Difference between these two ways of modelling scenery of universe (spontaneous/linguistic and reflected) is the difference between plural, segmented and monistic perception of the world. It is worth noting that transition from the plural to the monistic is provided by means of compressing variety and diversity of possibilities presented at linguistic level and by cutting off all other variants of modelling comprehension of universe in favour of one variant chosen as the true one. The truth is unite, as well as universe, thus such a compression is considered as favourable avoiding shapeless linguistic chaos in favour of distinct and fixed borders of scientific comprehension, that is regulated only by the laws of the truth.

Here we came to a critical key point in our concept. This is why it is so: comprising linguistic diversity in favour of substantial logical monism should be treated not as a transition from indefinitely shapeless state to a clearly fixed one. On the contrary, it should be treated as cutting off possibilities of comprehension, represented on a linguistic level and vanishing on the level of modelling logically based monistic scenery of universe.

This issue is challenging? And I'd like to speculate on it further. The matter is that it is logical possibilities that are cut off. It means that modelling a logically linked monistic scenery of universe can be performed by various ways and methods, rather than by a single one, provided by the experience of modelling substantial scenery of universe. Actually, it should be fairly obvious, because, firstly, the language itself undoubtedly manifests this possibility, and, secondly, substantial scenery of universe is not able to reach the limit of universe resources and leaves beyond its borders what can't be comprehended within such borders. (Cf. 2 examples above). Thus an alternative scenery of universe is not only possible (as provided by the language), but also essential (as proven by there being no way to reach the limit in a substantial scenery of universe).

Apart from its being logically possible and essential, let's also not note constant endeavours of Western school to reject substantialism and to model an alternative perception of the world. Schools of such a kind are called in different ways, among other names is 'philosophy of process'. I mean, first of all, speculations made by A. Bergson and A. N. Whitehead. However, it should be mentioned that despite seemingly radical conflict of both philosophers with all preceding them Western tradition, the conflict remains rather a verbal statement, because it doesn't change a fundamental fact, i.e. duality of the 'being \ changing' that provides differences of the 'time \ out-of-time', hence of the 'permanent \ changing'. 'Philosophy of process' only rearranges accents without actually intruding into this concept, generally, it just attempts to convince us that the truth must be related to the time rather than to the out-of-time. It gained an evident lack of success in philosophy (due to the absence of well-developed school and ideas), but also a very serious response in scientific ideas of the 20th century, namely a great popularity of such concepts as evolution, co-evolution, historian process. We may observe a gap between an obvious need in a new non-substantial scenery of universe and its evident lack of development. The challenge is that we are obliged to change the fundamental principle basis, which is the most difficult task. To crown it all, so far there have been no evidences of collecting real data how to model an alternative non-substantial scenery of universe. I set my target as to fill in this gap.

Before starting to fulfil this task, I'd like to consider one more thing. Deliberately modelled on the basis of philosophical logic, created to provide an integrate scenery of comprehension, substantial scenery of universe principally fails to perform its duty. The same might be expected from the alternative scenery of universe, as it may also miss certain aspects of universe including those well-described by the substantial scenery of universe. In this sense, language is more general than logical philosophical scenery of universe: as it possesses potential for various ways of modelling monistic universe, none of which may comprise all aspects of universe. Such logical philosophical universes are alternative, this is why they are multiple. It appears that logical philosophical scenery is culture-dependant, while linguistic scenery of universe is general. This conclusion may seem a paradox as we got used to correlate the general with science and cultural peculiarities with language.

The scenery of universe alternative to substantial was modelled by a classical Arabian school of thought. It is based on intuition of process, that's why I called it processal scenery of universe. Let's consider it on spontaneous linguistic and logical philosophical (reflected) levels.

The Arabian language offers its native speakers categorial segmentation of the world, in this sense it doesn't differ from Russian and other European languages. System of categories has its own distinctive features, but they are of little importance in this case. Let's point out, however, that the Arabian language possesses a category, called 'masdar', that is 'source'. In Russian the place of this category is occupied by a verbal noun (for example, 'хождение, сидение, говорение' – going, sitting, speaking), in English by gerund. When considered together with other formal means of the Arabian language, 'masdar' doesn't manifest in its characteristic any significant differences from similar categories in European languages. I need to emphasise it, as 'masdar' denotes process that lies in the basis of Arabian linguistic and logical philosophical scenery of universe.

Relations of language and mentality was the issue widely discussed in the last century. If we are talking about co-ordinating two sceneries of universe: linguistic and scientifically reflected, deliberately modelled by logically ordered way of thinking, such problem couldn't but appear. That's why I'd like to underline one more time, that the Arabian language as it is, as one of languages, doesn't manifest anything to assume that the basis is processal rather than substantial, taking into account its formal means. This language doesn't even explicit any noticeable tendency towards modelling processal scenery of universe.

Such tendency is revealed in Arabian speech, rather than Arabian language. These two things are related, but in the same time they are completely different. This difference is closely connected with mentality. Normal speech is spontaneous, because we can't say that there is deliberately applied mechanism of producing speech that differs from speech itself (example of which can be a pen). Still, such a mechanism does exist, because in the 'output' we have what was not in the 'input': in Arabian speech we detect a clearly noticeable tendency towards processal comprehension of the world, while this tendency is absent in the Arabian language.

In general, it manifests itself in the way that verbal lexics in an authentic (created by a native speaker) Arabian text totals in a larger percentage than in Russian, English or French. Verbal lexics consists of 'masdar' = 'source' = 'verbal noun'; 'ism fa'il' = 'name of the acting' = 'active participle'; 'ism maf'ul' = 'the name of being acted on' = 'passive participle'. This is how these categories are called in the Arabian grammar. I give corresponding terms of Russian grammar here just to explain what Arabian terms stand for, but I don't mean that they are equivalent, as we may see below.

The observation about dominance of verbal lexics in the Arabian text wasn't made by me, it belongs to my teacher, a prominent professor in Arabian studies V. S. Segal. When learning Arabian, and later, working as an interpreter and translator I quite often made sure that this observation is correct, moreover, it is of a great practical significance (as it helps to understand the text correctly). Arabian researchers whom I discussed this issue with, didn't object, and I think that statistic analysis of a text in Arabian and in any other European languages will reveal precise mathematical laws proving this fact. I'm bound to suppose that the largest part of typical unpolished translations from Russian into Arabian always made by students, beginning or bad translators can be easily explained: Russian native speaker involuntary tries to model natural (for him) substantial scenery of universe in the Arabian language by using non-verbal lexics and constructing phrases consequently. Such translations are unpolished but they are not wrong (they can be perfectly correct grammatically, thus understandable), the matter is that they do not correlate to processal scenery of universe adopted by Arabian linguistic habit (meaning, rules of constructing speech). Even more so, I presume that (may Iranian studies researchers forgive me) in classical times Iranians who wrote perfectly in Arabian, those prominent ones who created traditions of classical Arabian science composed their texts in the manner different to Arabian native speakers, and this difference is the result of contrasting substantial and processal sceneries of universe typical consequently to Persian and Arabian native speakers. This peculiar feature of texts written by Iranians is clearly and unmistakably observed in translations from Arabian into Russian; however complex they may be, such texts perfectly correspond to natural structure of the Russian language, unlike texts written by Arabian native speakers, that require either unpolished Russian texts in favour of an adequate expression of their structure (I mean, the processal one), or rejecting any attempts to express the processal in favour of smooth Russian translation.

So, verbal lexics dominates in Arabian text. But it doesn't only mean its abundance, that its proportion is higher compared to non-frequent lexics of other categories. That would be too easy. Speaking about dominating non-verbal lexics I mean that it also substitutes lexics of other categories. Such substitution is a more important phenomenon than a mere quantitative superseding other categories.

I'd like to mark that neither substitution nor superseding mean that substituted or superseded categories disappear in the language, not in the least. I'm talking only about speech rather than language. Considering the Arabian language we would not be able to notice these two very important rules: substitution and superseding. The point is not in the language itself and its formal means, but in the mechanism that forms the speech. This area slips out of arguments that form the basis of Sapir-Whorf hypotheses. This results in inevitably precarious postulate about mentality depending on the language, as well as in unconvincing opposite statement. The matter is that language and mentality can't be correlated directly despite multiple evidences of their mutual correlation; we can speak only about alignment of speech and mentality, where speech is not language, speech equals the sum of language and mechanism of producing coherent speech. The word 'coherent' is a key one, it is coherentness by which speech differs from language. I could say, paraphrasing a famous statement, that speech has nothing what language lacks except coherentness. It is necessary to explain how coherentness manifests itself, where it is derived from, and the most important thing what is coherentness. Linguistics doesn't answer this question; it can only study the traces of coherentness detected in syntax of sentences. Neither does philosophy answer it, that deals mostly with language rather

than speech, if speech becomes the object of analysis, it happens in its marginal manifestations rather than in its core, crucial point, i. e. the problem of coherentness.

Let's get back to substitution. In Arabian speech two out of three representatives of verbal lexics, 'the name of the acting' and 'masdar', substitute the verb. I do not insist that this list is fully complete, however these two types of substitution do present in speech.

The first type of substitution is as follows: 'ism fa'il' (the name of the acting' is used in the place of 'fi'l' (verb). This substitution can be clearly noticed both in oral and written forms of speech, it is typical both for a classical variant of the Arabian language and for modern colloquial dialects. It has kept constant for almost 1500 years and has survived in a natural evolution of the language (here I mean modern dialects that differ a lot from classical Arabian), so this type of substitution has proven to be deliberate. Of course, it points out a mechanism of constructing speech that provides its coherentness, and below we will try to analyse its results. But first of all, we need to explain how it works. Its rule is obvious: where we would use a verb, an Arabian speaker uses 'the name of the acting'. For example, leaving for work in the morning, we say in Russian: 'Я ушел' ('I am leaving'), while in Arabian it sounds as 'ana zakhib', when someone keeps calling us, we answer: 'Иду' ('I'm coming'), while in Arabian they will say 'ja'i' or in a full literary normative form 'ana ja'in', and so on: any Arabian studies researcher can continue the list of such examples.

What is the difference between Russian and Arabian phrases? On the first glance, the difference is little: instead of a verb an Arabian phrase uses what Arabian grammar calls 'the name of the acting'. In most cases (or better still, in all cases) this fact will be treated by linguists as an evidence that Arabian native speakers tend to prefer one language form to another. The point is that in Arabian a verb is also possible in such structures. We could translate the phrases above word-for-word into Arabian, using equivalents for pronouns and verbs given in a dictionary. Grammar allows such structures, so the phrases would sound correct. That's why the Arabian language allows to say exactly the same phrase as in Russian, and if in Arabian speech one form is substituted with another (non-verbal, it manifests only sporadic (as linguistics states) preferences of native speakers.

But let's consider thoroughly what was said in Arabian. So far we haven't translated these two phrases into Russian. Let's try to understand what exactly they mean, word for word.

What can be easier than a word-for-word translation? It's a rhetoric question: all we need to do is to take a dictionary and pick up equivalents. However, I claim that the phrases 'ana zakhib' and 'ana ja'in' and such like are untranslatable into Russian.

Why? It becomes evident after studying these constructions: 'zakhib' and 'ja'in' are 'the names of the acting' for the verbs 'zakhaba' (to leave) and 'ja'a' (to come), but in the Arabian language 'the name of the acting' as well as 'the name of the being acted on' do not denote tense either directly or indirectly, as they don't denote complete or incomplete action. The dictionary may give us the following equivalents: Arabian name of the acting corresponds to Russian 'действительное причастие' (active participle), but it is not quite so: 'уходящий' ('leaving') may become alternative to 'ушедший' ('having left'). The former implicitly denotes the present tense, the latter denotes the past tense, and it is true for any participle of any voice, active or passive. It is tense connotation, either explicit or implicit, that Arabian 'names of the acting and of the being acted on' lack. Participles in the Russian language are verbals, while in Arabian they belong to 'masdar' group. The difference is just the same: 'masdar', unlike verb, doesn't denote time.

Hence, such phrases are untranslatable, because their Arabian equivalents don't denote tense. In Russian we can't make a similar phrase without denoting tense. In English, as well as French, tense connotation will manifest itself in an auxiliary verb.

I'd like to emphasise one more time: the Arabian language allows (i.e. possesses all necessary formal means) to construct speech denoting tense. As a matter of fact, if an Arabian speaker has to denote tense, he will easily make an authentic phrase in Arabian with tense connotation. But it isn't obligatory, and if a phrase structure doesn't demand it, the Arabian language may miss it, unlike Russian, English or French.

Now we can add to our speculations about correlation of language, speech and mentality. In the Arabian language a speaker is not bound to use coherent phrases (like those mentioned above) without tense connotation. The language only provides this possibility. Meanwhile Russian, English or French do not provide such a possibility at all. Both in Russian and Arabian one could compose equivalent utterances, because in both cases speech can be constructed with tense connotation. But it appears, however, that Arabian native speech is formed in such a way that there are no equivalents to it in Russian (provided a native speaker is not obliged to denote tense deliberately).

Why is it so important? Because for Arabian linguistic mentality process is not related to changing. Although this feature is typical not only for the Arabian language, we may easily understand it, considering Russian words like 'хождение' ('walking') and 'говорение' ('speaking'). But the role of such worlds in Russian speech differs from Arabian. In substantial scenery of universe the invariability and truth correlate to out-of-time condition of the thing \ substance rather than to process, and such a condition excludes any time continuum, which is driven beyond its borders. And visa versa, process is a continuum, and this continuum doesn't suggest changes.

That's why Arabian speech tries to avoid tense connotation where possible: it is essential to keep the speech processal for modelling it. An auxiliary part in Arabian is not a verb, but a pronoun, which doesn't denote tense either.

Process is constant in time, while progressing with time the process doesn't change. This is its main difference from action: progressing action is bound to constant changes. In the Arabian language process is described by 'masdar' and action by a verb. That's why verbal lexics, 'masdar' and two related names, the name of the acting and the name of the being acted on, supersedes lexics of other categories and substitutes verbs. Process is a kind of constant liaison between the acting and the being acted on, it is situated between them and fixes their relations.

Let's consider the second type of substitution: 'masdar' instead of a verb. I mean such phrases as 'darbu-kha 'ijja-khu'. Usually they are translated into Russian using a verb: 'тот факт, что она его ударила' ('the fact that she beat him'). We could also translate this Arabian phrase literally: 'her beating him'. 'Beating' is a process, contrary to the action 'beat'. In Arabian there is no knowing how long the process of 'beating' has lasted (or whether it is still going on) and consequently how many actions of 'beating' have been made, that is how many strikes there were: there might have been one or several strikes. In this sense the Russian word 'ударение' ('beating') perfectly suits the meaning of the Arabian phrase, only we don't say so in Russian. While in English the same phrase can be translated in a natural way for the language 'Her beating him', the phrase can be continued to make a correct sentence. For this type of substitution the contrast between Arabian and European languages is not absolute, but it is more or less noticeable. It proves the idea stated above: language is

more general than logical philosophical monistic scenery of universe; as language contains surplus possibilities to model different variants of monistic scenery of universe, thus some possibilities may be cut off.

Tendency to the processal, revealed in Arabian speech as well as suitable means of expressing this tendency provided by the Arabian language (this is where its contrast with European languages is clearly seen) can also be detected on the level of theoretical mentality. Let's briefly tackle upon this issue, stating only key points. A detailed study of the matter can be found in some other of my papers.

If for the mentality, operating within the borders of substantial scenery of universe, this universe consists of things ~ substances, then for the mentality, perceiving the world processally, the universe is formed with things ~ processes. Under the term 'thing' I mean something stable that can be treated as true and equivalent to itself. It is the process that possesses such features in classical Arabian theoretical mentality. Attention is concentrated on researching processal transition between two sides of a process: initial and resulting. These two sides are represented in the language by the categories 'the name of the acting' and 'the name of the being acted on'. This is what almost all ancient Mutasilian school of thought is based on. At that time it wasn't totally influenced by Greek philosophy, that's why it can be called autochthonic. The most interesting ideas that led to creating atomistic theory of time and space have the same structure and only because of that they appear perfectly logical, thus failing to match similar ideas created in Ancient Greece within the frames of substantial scenery of universe (I mean Aristotle's concept of time and space). Mutasilian physics and ethics have the same fundamental principles. The list of examples can be continued not only in philosophy, but also in other spheres of classical Arabian culture. Dominating influence of processal scenery of universe is revealed in all areas, including non-verbal.

Substantial scenery of universe fails to interpret and perceive the processal, while processal scenery of universe fails to reflect substances. I'll give one very vivid example to prove it.

A general statement in historical philosophical Arabian studies claims that the Arabians dealing with Plato's works couldn't perceive Platonian idealism, they just failed to understand it. As long as politically non-courteous allegations were possible in science, this fact was explained as: the Arabians are unreceptive to philosophy; later they ceased explaining it in any way, as no obvious reason could be found. Meanwhile the reason is clear: Platonian idealism serves as the basis for substantial scenery of universe, so for the Arabians, advocating processal mentality, it didn't exist, so to say. The researcher L. Massignon in his famous article described in all details the difference between Arabian and Greek perception of the world. He supposed this difference to be a lack of any ideas about stability of things and the world in general. He appears to be right in a way, because he, following Greek tradition, treats stability only as a substantial category, while such form of stability was a real challenge for 'autochthonic Islamic philosophers' (quotation after Massignon). But on the other hand, he is absolutely wrong, as he doesn't see that Arabian mentality is processal and it reveals stability in process, rather than in substance. For Arabian mentality the world is stable as a process, not as a substance.

In the conclusion I want to say that treating culture as the way of comprehension enables to investigate one of the fundamental ideas, i.e. the mechanism in charge of modelling comprehension, that is considered, first and foremost, as integrity and unity. Cultures differ in many numerous ways, but the fundamental difference is how this mechanism operates. Not all cultures differ in this way, as we feel it convenient to speak about Western culture or Western school of thought. Despite tremendous differences in time and space in the West, the unity and integrity of this cultural area can't be denied. Its basis is fundamental mechanism of comprehension that leads to modelling substantial scenery of universe. Likewise, for Arabian (or even wider, Semitic) cultural area its core fundamental unity is provided by modelling the mechanism of comprehension resulted from processal scenery of universe.

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## INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE: A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

### Introduction

"Intercultural competence" is a very well known, frequently used and fashionable but quite unclear concept in our globalized or "glocalized" world. Analysing intercultural competence, my perspective is culture-bound in a vague sense. Speaking of intercultural competence, I refer to European and North-American scientific discourses, especially in psychology. As far as Non-Western scientists participate in this discourse, they more or less share the common ground of so-called modern western psychology. Of course, intercultural competence is regarded as an universal concept, developed in order to grasp global practical problems in multicultural societies and in intercultural exchange all over the world. At the end, intercultural competence seems to be helpful, or necessary in order to cope with such problems caused by

cultural differences (more precisely spoken: caused by dealing with cultural differences in a certain manner). Consequently, in many scientific debates as well as in political and public discourses many aspects of intercultural competence are appreciated very much. Quite often emphasis is placed on intercultural competence as one of the most important key competencies in the 21st century (see Bertelsmann Stiftung 2008). Obviously, the ability to deal constructively with cultural diversity is of growing importance in contemporary life. Despite of that fact, the structure and meaning of this complex personal competence are quite unclear until today.

The paper presents a conceptual analysis which discusses some of the well known theoretical definitions and models of intercultural competence (primarily) in psychology. Analysing the pragma-semantics of intercultural competence some ongoing theoretical problems and open questions become evident. At the same time one can identify innovative and fruitful perspectives in order to develop and differentiate the interesting concept in intercultural dialogue.

### The importance of cultural differences

When individuals and groups mutually set themselves apart and draw a demarcation line between each other,

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they insist on the sensibility towards differences and the psychosocial meaning of experienced, perceived and articulated differences (Tajfel 1981). At present, they also insist on cultural differences, make reference to the necessity of their experiences in multicultural societies and regard these experiences as a basic condition of interpersonal or intergroup communication, cooperation and coexistence, whose violation would take in every respect a heavy toll. It has already become a common place: those who disregard, fail to recognise, and ignore such differences, will get into trouble and perhaps utterly fail. They would block themselves the way of “felicitous” communication, cooperation and coexistence from the very beginning. They would eschew elementary practical requirements of culturally differentiated societies and therefore would very soon encounter problems and conflicts, which are “polemogenous” by virtue of their structure. Those who refuse to cognitively, emotionally, and practically acknowledge the fact of cultural plurality, will get entangled in misunderstandings, defiance, and rejection, and will fail in their own goals and objectives. Cultural differences represent challenges of a specific kind – by the way, also in science, and actually not only in the context of practical intercultural cooperation but in the altercations about the validity claims of indigenous forms of knowledge, too (with regard to psychology see e.g. Chakkarath 2005, 2007; Misra/Gergen/Glurece 1996, Misra/Mohanty 2002, Misra/Srivastava 2007). Only an acting potential which is calibrated to the respective peculiarities can do justice to such differences. It is what the notion of intercultural competence stands for.

It is however not very clear, what this concept exactly implies. Nevertheless, there are helpful clues and suggestions. Among those disciplines, which have been and are especially active in this field, there are the communication and language sciences, in the first place (socio-) linguistics, as well as psychology (for a survey of research see Lustig/Koester 2003; Straub 2007a; Straub 2007b; for the ongoing debates on intercultural competence see Thomas 2003b; for introductory lecture see Bolten 2001 or Lüsebrink 2005). Before addressing important aspects of this concept, it is indispensable to specify, at least briefly, what culture means in this context.

**Culture as a form of life:  
notes on the genesis of a distinctive concept**

The notion of culture which is used here does not refer exclusively to national cultures or other, chronologically and spatially even larger construed cultures (such as western, European, or Christian, Arab or Islamic culture, all sorts of advanced civilizations, etc.). On the contrary, one should regard such use of the concept with scepticism, as soon as one takes into account the fact of cultural differentiation and pluralisation of modern societies and of truly transnational spaces. It all has often been said of recent.

The modern concept of culture, which was significantly influenced by Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), has been subject to a poignant (although also biased and unjust) criticism insofar as it often excessively homogenises and standardises the above-mentioned advanced civilizations and national cultures. On top of it all, it has been faulted that Herder sometimes described and “reified” cultures as largely static entities – as if cultures had been simply existing phenomena just like other “things”. We are, on the contrary, already accustomed to be mindful of the ways, in which cultures are made and unmade, constructed, symbolised and asserted, possibly in contrast to alternative, competing “constructs”, in continuous processes of reflection and negotiation, in partly subtle discourses and hardly perceptible practices. Finally, up to the present day, one potshots at the concept, which on the one hand conceives of cultures as dormant and closed up, as

“islands” (archipelagos) sealed off on the outside, and on the other “essentialises” or “substantialises” them, “withdraws” them from the stream of time or “de-historicises” them, as if the properties of a culture were established for good and all, and were impervious to any external influences, thus being practically everlasting. This standpoint becomes especially questionable in the cases when cultural belonging is regarded as a question of ethnical provenience and gets “naturalised” or “biologised” (Welsch 1999).

This whole range of objections has long since been regarded as *bon ton*, and already decades ago brought us a more flexible concept of culture, which is also more adequate in the present-day globalised life conditions (Eagleton 2000; Hannerz 1992; Straub 2007a). According to it, cultures are open, historically mutable, dynamic systems providing their members with culture-specific practical repertoires of cognitive orientation, which consolidate and structure, organise and guide thinking and feeling, wishing and willing, experiencing and acting of their fellow participants. The doing and the desisting of those who share a cultural world picture, a cultural form of life, and the respective language games interwoven with the latter, are thus mutually coordinated and interrelated. One can expect from these fellowmen certain things, and knows that they, for their part, act on the basis of their cultural “expectations of the expected”. This creates reliability, trust and the routines which save us from the necessity to preconceive and negotiate everything each time anew. Cultures disencumber us from the intractable necessitation to constantly reflect upon everything and to ever re-contrive all proceedings. They embed our actions in familiar narratives which we can tell each other, come up with aims and goals which we pursue together (employing for it culturally available means), and they suggest rules by which we can abide in daily routine or in particular domains of life and fields of action. Frequently we even must abide by them in order to avoid disagreeable consequences, for instance negative sanctions. Cultures create more or less mandatory realities, but at the same time open up spaces of possibilities, in which we can deploy our imagination and fantasy, as well as our gumption. They restrain our options and chances just as much as they afford us liberties. They separate the acceptable and utterable from the impossible and ineffable. They determine our sense of the real and possible.

This usually happens in a barely perceptible, often absolutely inconspicuous way. Knowledge, with which cultures provide their members during the process of growing up, in their socialisation or enculturation, frequently remains unappreciated and not directly accessible. It is only in part conscious or explicit, discursive knowledge. Predominantly it is unconscious, or implicit, practical, tacit knowledge, which we possess more as physical beings rather than as rationally thinking, reflecting, and planning rational agents. It is more of a know-how rather than of a know that. It enables people to do things and to cooperate, to partake in forms of life and language games without giving it much thought and often without being able to say why and how they do what. As people who act on the basis of their cultural knowledge, we speak and act just simply so as we do. And we simply leave other things be in just the same natural, tacit way, we would not even dream about them! We often become aware of this only upon meeting Others, who are completely different and for this may appear to us strange and alien. Only this disconcerting Strange confronts us with our well-practiced and familiar Own. Only this confrontation makes us see who we are and how we usually think, feel and act this way, which is determined by specific cultural imprints.

It is apparent that identities, as well as performative praxis and life experience of all people, are inevitably culturally determined. Therefore they, at least partially, differ from identities, performative praxis and life experience of other

people. It all applies both to cultures of a large format and to “smaller”, local or regional, particular and fleeting (sub- or alternative) cultures. Not in the last place it means that any person during his or her whole life span or at a certain point in time can belong to several and varying cultures. Cultural belonging is always a pluralistic issue. It exists only in the form of multiple belonging.

We distinguish between cultures in order to be able to capture and to consider practically relevant differences. In this, however, we significantly diverge from the advocates of the traditional, already rejected normative concept of culture with regard to the following issue: cultures may well be different but it does not imply that one culture is of a greater or lesser value than another! We, the contemporary people, have become sensitised to and sceptical about the bigoted normative concept of culture, which views the own culture as a better, more advanced and superior, especially differentiated and developed, and along with that scolds other cultures as primitive, underdeveloped and inferior.

The concept of culture which in the last couple of decades has become popular in different sciences (as well as in public discourses) is distinctive, and not normative. It opens up possibilities of distinguishing between cultural forms of life, language games and styles or strategies of action without evaluating these with a jaundiced, nonreflective benchmark created by, and biased in favour of the own culture. It in no way means that one cannot argue about peculiarities of cultural mindset and life, – moreover, occasionally one must. Argumentative controversies are also quite possible (and sometimes inevitable) in this field. But in this case it can only concern certain elements of a culture – for instance, the attitude of men towards women and the role of the latter in society, the value of children, the treatment of animals or of nature on a large, etc., – but not about the culture in general. Such elements or aspects are often debatable and a subject matter of intercultural altercations. Arbitrariness is out of place here. Those who avoid discussions about primarily practical – ethical, moral, aesthetical – questions and want to allow anything on an equal basis demonstrate at most their indifference towards the Others and their claim to have something important to say. Such people simply do not take the Others serious. Serious encounters take place neither where prejudices and partiality foster perilous feelings of an own superiority and narcissistic egomania, nor where one complies with “politically correct” slogans and regards the unconditional recognition of all possible cultural systems of conviction as well as practices, mindset and ways of acting as an imperative. Dialogue and diapraxis can take place only when the participants communicate with each other and reciprocally deal with their convictions and orientations, their knowledge and actions. It is something totally different (and psychologically it is far more challenging and taxing) from saying “yes” without hesitation to anything and anyone, and in addition mixing up this contemptuous generosity with real tolerance (Straub 1999b).

It is evident that the historical development of a flexible and neutral concept of culture represents some kind of lesson in the partly unflattering past of Europe, or of the western world. Clifford Geertz brings it to the point as he writes:

“Once upon a time, and not so long ago, as the Occident had a significantly higher self-certainty and was much surer about what it was and what it was not, the concept of culture had a fixed form and determined contours. To start with, it simply drew, globally and evolutionary, a demarcation line between the Occident – rational, historical, progressive, pious, – and the non-Occident – superstitious, static, archaic, magical. Later, as it appeared too crass and too arrant out of a number of ethical, political and deep scientific reasons, there emerged a need for a more refined, more appreciative

representation of the rest of the world, and the concept shifted thus towards its form which we are familiar with today: the way of life of a people. Islands, tribes, communities, nations, civilizations [...], in the end also classes, regions, ethnical groups, minorities, youth [...] had cultures: ways and manners in which one did something, distinct and characteristic; and everyone had an own one.” (Geertz 1993, s. 53).

Obviously, this conception was also attacked, revised, differentiated (cf. *ibid.*). Further details can be left out from here. For our aims suffices the idea of a so-called “meaning-oriented” concept of culture, which in the outlined sense allows to distinguish between cultural world pictures and forms of life, language games and ways of acting of a collective of variable size. This concept prohibits to align cultures automatically at a hardly pondered gauge and to evaluate them to the effect of upholding the own positive social identity. Such a meaning-oriented concept of culture must turn out to be quite abstract. It can be determined in such way as it is done in the examples introduced here to the illustrative aims:

“Culture is a universal, yet for a nation, society, organisation and group a very specific system of orientation. It is made out of specific symbols and passed on in the respective society, group, etc. It influences the reception, thinking, classification and acting of all its members and with this defines their belonging to the society. Culture as a system of structures of orientation is a specific field of action for the individuals who feel their belonging to a society, and thus produces a prerequisite for the development of autonomous forms of coping with the environment.” (Thomas 1993, p. 380, translated by Straub, J.)

„Culture is a field of action, whose contents range from the objects made and used by human beings to the institutions, ideas and myths. Being an action field, culture offers possibilities of, and by the same token stipulates conditions for, action; it circumscribes goals which can be reached by certain means, but establishes limits, too, for the correct, possible and also deviant actions. The relationship between the different material and ideational contents of the cultural field of action is a systemic one; therefore transformations in one part of the system can have an impact in any other part. As an action field, culture not only induces and controls action, but is also continuously transformed by it; therefore, culture is as much a process as a structure.” (Boesch 1991, p. 29).

“Sometimes in a completely obvious, but more often in a hardly perceptible way, culture provides a large number of people with forms of order and patterns of meaning for the rational and emotional identification, evaluation and structuring of events and things in the world, as well as with principles and paradigms of the orientation of action and lifestyle. [...] Culture as an action-pragmatic, transindividual system of knowledge, signs, and symbols consists of:

collective goals, which individuals can put in concrete terms with regard to the situational specificity, and which they can assume and pursue as actors;

culturally specific rules of action, especially concrete social norms (norms of request or evaluation, as well as values);

a culturally specific reservoir of narratives, through which the affiliated members of a culture create, articulate and pass on their identity, their collective and individual understanding of the Self and the world.

These goals, rules, norms, and values, as well as the narratives which circulate in a culture and determine action, do not necessarily have to assume a linguistically symbolic or discursive guise. Often they are implied in actions and are at best present in a form of tracks or precursors. They can just as well be embodied by non-linguistic symbols. Besides, they can be conceived of as precursors of something, or as a track leading to a cultural nexus of traditions,

signification and meaning. When a [scientific] interpretation identifies, apprehends and explicates actions in a certain way, it foregrounds these precursors, or tracks, by striving to overcome the level of the individual actors in the construing of “cultural texts” and in correlating the latter with concrete actions.” (Straub 1999a, p. 166 et 185).

With the above-outlined understanding of culture on hand, one can now analyse its relationship with the intercultural competence, which is nowadays so often and willingly evoked. What can and should one picture to oneself by it? Intercultural competence is regarded by many as the key qualification of the 21st century. Along with the leadership and teamwork capacity, flexibility or general psychic and physical capacity to withstand stress, organisational skills or media competence, it belongs to the so-called soft skills, which complete subject-specific and professional knowledge of people. Its growing importance in numerous professional spheres is obvious. It is enough to think of the international human resources and organisational development (not only in economic enterprises); of multinational teams, international business communication and international marketing; of culture-specific technical communication, tourism or developmental cooperation, foreign culture and education politics (or other spheres of politics such as integration politics); of religious missions, of the international student exchange, of cooperation in science and research; of various training and further education institutions, in which one daily comes across cultural differences; of administrative offices and bureaus (such as foreigners’ registration office), to which the same statement is also applicable; of the legal system including the juridical practice in the law courts; of (international) police and military interventions; or of numerous institutions of health care (medicine, psychiatry, psychosocial counselling, etc.) (for more details see Straub 2007a).

In the private day-to-day life, too, experience of cultural difference, alterity and foreignness has become more frequent due to migration, swiftly increasing mobility and new communication technologies. In this respect the daily, non-professional acting potential of countless people is nowadays also strongly claimed. Intercultural competence has become a must. It is indispensable in order to avoid the demonstrably frequent misunderstandings in the sphere of intercultural communication and cooperation, or to cope with these in a constructive way when their prevention is not possible. Cultural differences in the patterns of thinking, feeling, will, and action should by no means necessarily end in crises of interaction and conflicts. There is no such universal mechanism that would inevitably lead to a struggle between cultures, a (e.g. religiously motivated) Clash of civilizations (Huntington 1993). Yet cultural differences in the conduct of people incorporate significant conflict potentials, which should be taken into account. That is exactly what we do in our present attempt to theoretically explicate intercultural competence and to promote its practical application. And for this very reason intercultural competence is indisputably regarded nowadays as desirable, as a normatively (ethically, morally, politically) particularly relevant aspect of human acting potential. Some even go as far as to speak of a value in itself, or an ideal of a contemporary person. It is also pertinent when intercultural competence is considered in the context of one of the numerous and even conflicting traditions of European or non-European humanism (see below). Generally it is given primary attention nowadays as the most important among the much-propagated and intensely promoted educational aims.

It is easy to notice that the respective debates contribute to a gradual shift in cultural semantics of the notion of competence. This notion is developing more and more into a valorative (value-laden) and normative concept which just as

much pertains to an ideal objective as to the actual knowledge and potential, or really available capabilities and skills of a “normal person”. Evidently, this “ideal objective” (or ideal type) serves as a yardstick, by which knowledge inventory and acting potential of concrete individuals can be measured. This becomes especially evident in the endeavours to develop sound tests for the diagnosis of individually reached extent of intercultural competence, which have been undertaken in psychology (Deller/Albrecht 2007). This would obviously require in the first place a clarification of what intercultural competence implies. Up to the present day, it has not yet been satisfactorily expounded. There are different reasons for that.

#### **Intercultural competence: notes on the history of the concept, definitions and models**

The expressions “competence” and “competent”, which are translated from Latin, have not been in use for very long (on that see Straub 2007b). They were for the first time introduced in German language in the 18th century, and their diffusion was taking place rather tenaciously. First, they appeared in juridical contexts, and later also in other domains. Yet the notion of competence remained from the very beginning closely linked to two core concepts, namely, “responsibility, authority” on the one hand, and “potential, capability, skill”, on the other. It is interesting that the concept from early on was used for reference to very different potentials, abilities and skills. The range comprised acting potential, which was rooted in scientific and specialised analytic expertise, as well as in multifarious experiences and the practical intelligence, which these furthered. Very soon “competence” was deployed to describe all possible potentials, capabilities and skills of people, which in one or another respect were perfectly able to perceive and identify the requirements in a given situation, to think, sense, feel, want, decide and act accordingly.

Furthermore, it is interesting that in the entry on “competent, competence” [German: kompetent, Kompetenz] some German reference books also introduce the obsolete expression for a competitor: *der Kompetent*. It reflects the competitive moment, which still reverberates in the notion of competence. It brings to the fore the competition between people, which is also important (although it is often ignored) for the semantic field of the notion of “intercultural competence”, since in order to obtain a professional position or function the competitors vie for an attestation of a higher degree of competence. One should bear in mind that the degree of intercultural competence functions today as a criterion of choice: those who would like to get particular jobs or to take over tasks, must excel in their intercultural competence, which has to prove superior to that of other competitors. With regard to the collectives, cultures and cultural exchange, Cancik (2009) interprets the intercultural dialogue analogously to an agonally structured practice, in which groups compete with each other and by virtue of being learning cultures strive to profit from each other with the scope of possibly surpassing one another! Comparably with individuals, the main aim of cultures in such apparently innocuous “intercultural dialogues” is often “to be the best and top the rest” – a Greek principle of life and action, which was absorbed by the Romans and has pertained up to the present even in the most unexpected domains (and this principle was certainly not invented and passed on only in the Occident)!

“Intercultural competence” means, roughly spoken, that a person subjects him- or herself to the expectable experiences of cultural difference, alterity and foreignness, accepts them, and is able to cope with them productively. This person does not react in a fearful and defensive way in order to ingratiate him- or herself with the presumably clearly defined, safeguarded and protected limits of the own (cultural) Self. Such person regards the experiences of difference, alterity and foreignness

as a challenge to which he or she should not react defensively. The openness of such "ideal" person, which is interrelated with self-confidence and the strength of the own ego, makes it possible to accept experience of self-transcendence, or of trespassing the own identity boundaries, and even to further self-change in an active way. This openness does not issue from the imposed coercion but, rather, from autonomous wishes and intrinsic personal motives of the person. All this can be successful only to a certain extent. But also in a restricted measure, the above-discussed openness, which is, presumably, the first and foremost fundamental aspect of intercultural competence, is anything but a given (as models and studies on intercultural learning show; see Weidemann, 2007 for an overview which includes the famous models of John Berry or Milton Bennett and others).

According to Thomas (2000), the initial, and often the only reactions demonstrated by people who get confronted with unfamiliar patterns of behaviour in the situations of so-called intercultural overlapping, are the following:

at the emotional level: feelings of irritation, alienation, insecurity, repulsion, aversion, rejection, horror, and fear;

at the cognitive level: personal attributions, especially in the form of an ascription of individual deficits, stereotypical perceptions and a stabilisation of prejudices and other (negatively charged) ideas on strangeness;

at the practical level: avoidance, estrangement, flight, isolation, tensions or aggressions and other modes of acting, which hinder cooperative relations and collaboration, hamper peaceful forms of long-term coexistence, and in extreme cases lead to a subsequent escalation of violence.

Such negative consequences result from the problematic dynamics of interaction, which significantly encumbers future encounters and at times sparks off undesirable escalation. But in the case of intercultural competent actors it will all be different! Why is it so? What components does this competence exactly comprise, and how can it be more precisely defined? One thing is clear: whereas subject-specific professional skills and capabilities are usually attested by performance-related formal certificates, such general key qualifications as "intercultural competence" comprise far more than professional knowledge and subject-specific mastery. It is not only the question of the potential and properties that would help to insure success of rationally acting agents in a precisely demarcated, more or less technical metier.

If one takes a look at the popular definitions, intercultural competent praxis appears at first quite abstractly as an "effective and appropriate interaction between people who identify with particular physical and symbolic environments" (Chen/Starosta 1996, p. 358). By saying this, the authors embrace general rules of interpersonal communicative competence and simply apply these to a specific context – that is, to the situations of intercultural overlapping. Nonetheless, the above-quoted definition is important inasmuch as it stresses two central criteria of intercultural competent, goal-oriented or successful action, namely effectivity and adequateness:

Briefly speaking, "adequateness" means the following: „the actions of the communicators fit the expectations and demands of the situation. Appropriate communication means that people use the symbols they are expected to use in the given context" (Lustig/Koester 2003, p. 64);

"Effectivity", on the other hand, can be assessed according to whether / in how far the "desired personal outcomes" can really be achieved: "Satisfaction in a relationship or the accomplishment of a specific task-related goal is an example of an outcome that people might want to achieve through their communication with others" (ibid.).

Both these criteria surface in many definitions, overtly or less. Still, it does not bring us very much forward with our initial question, even though we know that intercultural

competent actors in the above-explicated sense can act adequately and effectively. What distinguishes them further? Alexander Thomas gives the following definition:

"Intercultural competence is manifest in the ability to comprehend, respect, honour and productively employ cultural conditions and factors in the perception, judgement, sensing and acting of oneself and other people in the sense of mutual adjustment, which ranges from the tolerance of incompatibilities to the development of the synergy-charged forms of collaboration, coexistence, and a viable pattern of orientation with regard to the interpretation and constitution of the world." (Thomas 2003a, § 39; 2003b, p. 7).

It sounds both compact and complicated. This suggestion and similar definitions can be better grasped if one takes a closer look at each of their constituents and systematically arranges them, possibly explaining some things in detail and perhaps completing them with further examples. It is exactly what is done in the so-called component, or constituent models of intercultural competence. They itemise essential aspects of an evidently very complex theoretical construct within the frame of variable systematic orders in such a way that one gets a more concrete and differentiated idea of what such popular "magical formulas" have at their core, and what makes them consistent. Tables 1 and 2 represent two typical examples of such models. As you see, they align the components according to different dimensions. Not only dimensions themselves, but also their number varies, and the same is true for the introduced components as well. All similar models instantly make evident that the theoretical construct of "intercultural competence" comprises and integrates a vast gamut of properties, capabilities and skills. By this token, this competence consists of numerous domains of knowledge, psychic dispositions and potentials, and therefore cannot be described in brief.

Table 1

Chen's component model of intercultural competence (1987, p. 46)

Dimensions	Components
personal attributes:	self-disclosure, self-awareness, self-concept
communication skills:	message skills, social skills, flexibility, interaction management
psychological adaption:	frustration, stress, alienation, ambiguity
cultural awareness:	social values, social customs, social norms, social systems

Such models are in the end mere systematised lists, in which some allegedly important properties of intercultural competent people are collocated. Of course, in many cases there are good reasons for the inclusion of the appertaining objects of knowledge, capabilities or skills as common attributes of intercultural competence. Still, one should not speak in such cases of a well-elaborated theory, and besides that, many such lists are compiled with a help of intuitive views on plausibility, and have not been properly founded theoretically or empirically. This remark is still legitimate in view of the current state of research, and does not contest or belittle value and use of such models. The strategy which they pursue is obvious: one would like to explicate the concept to the interested by listing what it should contain and presuppose, according to his or her own opinion or relevant recognitions. In one or another way such concept definitions make reference to the selected situations of cultural exchange, intercultural communication, cooperation and coexistence, – that is, the situations in which people reach the limits of their acting potential.

Decisive for the ensuing apprehension of the concept are the dimensionally aligned common attributes, constituents, or components. In such models everything depends upon the way in which individually mentioned components (and their correlation) are explicated. Often, but not always,



Table 2

**Component model of intercultural competence after Lüsebrink (2005, p. 77) and other examples, completed here with regard to language competence**

Affective/emotional dimension	Cognitive dimension	Conative/behaviour-oriented dimension
tolerance of ambiguity tolerance of frustration capability to overcome stress and to reduce complexity self-confidence flexibility empathy, role distance freedom of judgement, openness, tolerance lessened ethnocentrism acceptance of / respect for other cultures intercultural readiness to learn	understanding of the phenomenon of culture with respect to the perception, thinking, mindsets, as well as the behavioural and performative patterns understanding of the performative interconnections in foreign cultures understanding of the performative interconnections in the own culture understanding of cultural differences of the interaction partners understanding of peculiarities of the processes of intercultural communication capability of meta-communication (ability to see the own communication from a critical distance) knowledge of foreign languages	willingness and readiness to communicate in the sense of the initiating praxis of common attributes in the affective dimension ability to communicate (also in foreign languages) social competence (ability to establish relations with and confidence in interaction partners from foreign cultures) consistency of acting: readiness to consistently employ mindsets in acting (both linguistically and extralinguistically)

(psychology) reference books can be of further help (which I should refer to here because not all the mentioned termini can be explained separately due to the problem of space; besides, in some cases they are self-evident). By this token, such models are helpful for the first approach to the concept. All in all, they indeed convey a relatively plausible idea of what acting in an interculturally competent way might mean and does require from a person.

It is clear that intercultural competence does not begin with the mastery of foreign languages, – although this can be and virtually always is a very important aspect, because competence in foreign languages is closely connected with the possibility of partaking in a foreign praxis or form of life. (Those who underestimate this point, – and it is often the case that it does not even appear as a separate entry in models of intercultural competence, – themselves probably do not speak many foreign languages and “project” this limitation of their own acting potential onto the matter of their research. In such manner one may protect for some time his or her own Self and self-confidence, yet does not learn and say much about the prerequisites of successful intercultural communication, cooperation and coexistence. Good arguments are, on the contrary, supplied by those who stress the advantages of bi- and multilingualism in intercultural constellations and call for the according systems of education.) As it was already shown by Wilhelm von Humboldt in his elaborate linguistic studies, languages are interwoven with specific “worldviews” and acting potentials. Those who speak a particular language see the world in a distinct manner and have a special approach towards it, – an approach, which they share with the fellow members of this linguistic group. This commonality encourages exchange, social inclusion and integration, and boosts likewise the chance to create personal proximity, to enter into engagements and to maintain them, not in the last place with the members of other, from the own viewpoint relatively strange cultures.

Further aspects of the acting potential of a person become of course just as elementary and important as soon as it is a question of mutual understanding in concrete situations and a short-term collaboration or a long-term coexistence of people

belonging to different cultural groups. The above-described models apparently place great value on affective and emotional common attributes. Intercultural communication, cooperation and coexistence are by no means just a question of common sense and reason, of conscience and accumulated knowledge, nor of an ability to think logically. One can dispose of education and always have at hand best arguments in discussions – and yet miserably fail as soon as it is the question of perceiving and accepting the Others and the Strange as such, and treating them accordingly. To address people with sensibility and respect for their culturally determined peculiarities requires far more than school knowledge and academic excellence. This ability exceeds the cognitive dimension of intercultural competence as such. First of all, it has to do with very elementary feelings and dispositions of a person, that is, with affective and emotional aspects of the person’s relation to the Self and the world. It is not utterly decisive, what this person may know, say or explain, what he or she is capable of articulating. It is at least of equal importance, whether and in how far a person is able to approach other people and to open up towards them on the basis of his or her affective-emotional mood, his or her self-apprehension.

To be open for the others’ practical knowledge and expectations, mindsets, ways of experiencing and acting, customs and wishes requires an affective colouring and emotional-motivational readiness of the own Self, which cannot be simply switched on by pressing a button. It also does not automatically appear when people are able to volunteer noble sentiments, socially desirable opinions or politically correct views (or simply to feign self-disclosure, that is, to stage-manage it strategically in a form of a nearly technical self-manipulation). It is the reason why someone is able to speak a lot about intercultural competence and yet will not be able to behave in compliance with this concept. Conscious intentions and ideas often do not coincide with the unconscious motives and the actual capability of a person. Unconscious motives may often prevail and determine what one does or does not to a far greater degree than announced intentions. Hardly anyone would concede that they favour ethnocentrism, intolerance or xenophobia – and nevertheless many behave ethnocentrically, intolerantly and xenophobically. They do it not because they want it but because in a decisive moment they cannot do otherwise (and often do not even notice what they are saying, doing and provoking). Most of us presume that they can very well master ambiguous, polyvalent or equivocal situations, empathise with others and accept their perspectives, – and yet they utterly fail when suddenly some more patience and flexibility than usual is necessary or when their ability to empathise proves not to be as large as they vehemently assert.

Intercultural competence is not a concept that could be treated at the cognitive level of knowledge and comprehension. It concerns deeper layers of personality. It relates to personal “emotional household”, which in part detracts from conscience. Incompetence in the field of intercultural communication has often more to do with unconscious fears, concrete worries, unflattering wishes and repressed desires, rather than with the knowledge deficits. This very fact, which is paid due attention in all solid models of intercultural competence, makes intercultural learning so complicated, taxing and long-drawn-out (Weidemann, 2007). Many learning processes that reside in the affective, emotional, and conative dimension touch upon deep layers of personal psychosocial identity. Often we are not inclined to get involved with Others, especially the Strange. We are particularly unwilling to do it as long as we do not have good reasons to believe that the impending learning processes eventually reward and enrich us. We usually derive these reasons from our own experience. The required readiness to learn largely depends upon the already made or at least imaginable experience evidencing

that intercultural learning at some point would pay off and sooner or later lead to a desirable enhancement of one's own experiential and acting potential. Transcending the limits of the Self and changing thus a little the own identity is often risky, and beside that painful, even though later one would want to not have renounced on these experiences because they had opened important perspectives and new opportunities.

All of it is well evidenced by the models like the above-represented ones. Besides, these elucidate why "intercultural competence" should be conceived of as a normative, valorative concept. Apparently, it is a question of objectives and ideal conditions, which no person will ever be able to attain to the extent of completeness and perfection suggested by theoretical models. It is quite comforting to realise that no one has to achieve the perfectionist ideal of "interculturally fully competent person" in order to be able to experience enriching encounters and satisfying relations with people of one or another cultural origin. It also can be consolatory to know that all available models of intercultural competence are themselves far from being "perfect". They leave many questions open. A couple of these open questions shall be mentioned here. They indicate significant knowledge gaps and perhaps also compel us to ruminate over the theoretical limitations of such models:

The above-mentioned models have been labelled here somewhat disrespectfully as mere lists. This does not just mean that their "constructors" simply, and sometimes quite deliberately, aligned those common attributes, which they held for relevant. What is more, such listings posit the question of which precise theoretical and practical meaning, which weight and which function pertain to the adduced common attributes of intercultural competence. Are they strictly necessary, and, beside that, principal and general (that is, in all imaginable intercultural situations)? Are they necessary and sufficient for an adequate and successful handling of intercultural situations in their entirety or in specific, – and then which? – combinations? How do the listed common attributes interact with each other, how do they mutually influence, strengthen or lessen their respective impact? All these questions are open and some have hardly been asked.

Do such models legitimately raise general validity claims, are they customised to all imaginable contexts and situations in equal measure, and are really practicable in these? Or, perhaps, some particular common attributes are more relevant in given domains of life and acting than others? Should the latter be the case, then that what we imply with "intercultural competence" would change according to circumstances. There are good reasons for this adoption of differential pragmatics and semantics of intercultural competence. One might ask oneself if intercultural competence in strategically led negotiations between managers in international business cooperation is and can be the same thing as an array of knowledge, capabilities and skills which make a bicultural marriage a successful and happy adventure of human togetherness. The same is true for police operations and friendships, for the developmental cooperation, religious missions or intercultural psychosocial counselling or psychotherapy, as well as for many more other contexts and situations. Isn't intercultural competence, in other words, more a domain-specific potential, rather than a general knowledge-centred capability and skill, which would always be challenged equally in different fields of life and acting? This should be elucidated in comparative analyses, which have been carried out so far only on a rudimentary level. Only then one can indeed speak freely of truly general aspects of intercultural competence.

Are the currently available models of intercultural competence really generally valid, universal models despite the fact that they quite obviously were devised, developed and made public by a small group of predominantly western,

that is, US-American and European scientists? (Although people from non-western cultures sporadically participate, but then usually only as fellows socialised in western scientific institutions.) It is already a somewhat paradoxical situation, practically an "irony of history": "we" have thus far talked prevailingly about definitions, models and theories of intercultural competence without speaking directly with those "Others" or "Strange" which we have been often appealing to. It is only a slight exaggeration: a real conversation in the sense of an intercultural dialogue about that, what we are doing and are going to do in different scientific disciplines in order to analyse the questionable concept and reflect it (also in its normative, political dimensions) has so far taken place only sporadically. The indigenous knowledge of so-called non-western cultures in this field also remains by far and large unclaimed (cf. Chakkarath 2005, 2007, Misra/Gergen/Glurece 1996, Misra/Mohanty 2002, Misra/Srivastava 2007), which is highly noticeable in the models. It is enough to think about tacitly accepted references to psychological concepts and differentiations which are arrantly embedded in West European tradition. A Western bias already becomes obvious in the self-evidence with which "we" regard and circulate the question of "intercultural competence" as allegedly worldwide equally interesting and presumably quite new subject. Only few ask whether it is really true.

Notwithstanding these deficits and further open questions (Straub 2007b), which certainly shall call for our attention in future, one can still learn some things from the above-quoted definitions and models. As it has already been said, it is the question of personal requisites, and of the aspects of personal acting potential, which are equally important in intercultural constellations. It goes without saying that the success of intercultural communication, cooperation and coexistence does not solely depend upon personal factors but also upon given particular situations (Thomas 2003b). These also include general institutional and political frameworks. Besides, just as it is the case in all social (inter)actions, the interculturally competent acting is not a "solo performance" of isolated actors. It is embedded in a communication and interaction fabric, in which present or imaginary Others have always some to say. What exactly ego does, and can accomplish in the situations of intercultural overlapping depends on alter ego, and therewith on will and capability, doing and not doing of the opponent. This, too, can be regarded as an attribute of a "situation". Therefore, a person's intercultural competence – and his or her culturally rooted understanding of this competence – belongs to an individual's action potential which always depends on other persons' competencies, motives, intentions, and behaviour. In this sense, intercultural competence as a theoretical construct inevitably transcends the borders of individuocentric thinking. It is a social and cultural theoretical concept which is open to intercultural dialogue.

#### **Concluding remarks on the ethics of intercultural competence**

This dialogue includes the ethical and moral dimensions of human praxis. Intercultural competence represents for us (most of us?), the contemporaries, a value in itself and a standards-determining norm. We (most of us?) see in it an ideal and a counterbalance, which, as we hope, can back up our maxims and give orientation and guidance to our actions. We expect of it a successful, satisfactory and to a certain extent peaceful praxis, which would live up to habits, wishes and needs of all involved parties in as far as it is possible in separate cases. Intercultural competence concerns our present-day ideas on legitimate morals and politics, as well as a desirable social praxis. It constitutes an important aspect of our ethical and moral self-image. This is true for most people in the West and their mainstream-thinking rooted in liberal

and democratic societies. It is also true for many others in other parts of our globalised world. Despite of that fact, there remains an open question. Is the above outlined concept of intercultural competence a worldwide acceptable, universal idea, or rather another powerful, ideological and ethnocentric western construct which is useful in order to shape and improve neo-colonial practice in a postcolonial era?

According to the broad consensus concerning intercultural competence in western science and societies, every person as a typical representative of humankind, regarded as *pars pro toto*, should be or become (and is willing to be or become) interculturally competent. He or she must critically observe and judge, apprehend and conceive of themselves under this perspective. The craved “becoming” takes place in a life-long, interminable process of learning, which the education and edification from the kindergarten for the youngest to the adult education for the elderly must be furthering and promoting. It is some kind of an imperative in the globalised world of today, which can hardly remain unobserved. To ignore it would not be advisable. One should rather regard it as a far-reaching consensus, yet not hushing up the fact that one should also critically proof this imperative (for instance, with regard to the implicit disciplinary measures, to which modern individuals would then be subjected; or with regard to the danger of a shallow rhetoric of “intercultural competence” which remains without practical consequences, covering up and concealing psychosocial requirements rather than resolving them). This task has to be taken up within the framework of future intercultural discourses, too.

Intercultural competence is broader than, and diverse from a nearly “technical” acting potential, that allows people to act in a goal-oriented rational way and to achieve the desired aims, or, in other words, to establish adequate and effective intercultural relations. This concept does not solely concern the configuration or “optimisation” of a given praxis, which is otherwise in danger of failure or even engenders serious conflicts. Those who speak nowadays of “intercultural competence”, as a rule lay an overshooting claim to be considering the Others and the Strange as such, and by this token as an aim in itself, and not only as a necessary constituent in the endeavours for the stabilisation and amelioration of intercultural communication, cooperation and coexistence. The pronouncedly required deference for the Others and the Strange is not simply an outcome of a strategic calculation or of general interest in successful communication, cooperation and coexistence: it leads us out of the boundaries of instrumentalistic thinking. The Other and the Strange as the opponents in human shape deserve more than a strategically calculated consideration for their cultural imprints and practices, *habitus* and dispositions.

At times in a scarcely perceptible and at times quite overt manner, this proposition reverberates in many public debates and scientific discourses on intercultural competence. These debates and discourses are directed against an instrumentalistic conception of fellow people. The Others and the Strange are not only the more or less suitable means for achieving personal or collective goals. They make far more “radical” demands of their deference, tolerance and recognition as Others and especially as Strange, whose thinking, feeling, willing and acting will forever remain partly undisclosed in spite of the successful attempts at translation and comprehension. This point of view, which is charged with socio- and cultural-psychological implications, is very important for the actual discourse. Our contemporary ideas on “intercultural competence” in a novel way link the categorical imperative of Immanuel Kant – in its version of the so-called “end-in-itself formula”, which postulates that one must never regard, treat and use other people as a simple means, but on the contrary, must necessarily regard and perceive them as an end in itself, –

with an equally categorical commandment to conceive of the Others and the Strange as such, to respect and to accept them. This motto concerns those very dimensions of the Other and the Strange, which despite sensitive and thorough endeavours for empathy, acceptance of different perspective and understanding remain inaccessible, and even must remain sealed as phenomena of radical alterity and foreignness, which we can distinguish from the phenomena of a relative, merely gradual difference (Waldenfels 2006; Liebsch 1999).

In this sense the concept of “intercultural competence” is a constituent of a wide-spread contemporary self- and world conception, in which the Other and the Strange play a totally new role. They are – just as any form of otherness and strangeness – significantly more valued, honoured and regarded as the antagonists of instrumental reason. In contemporary philosophy there are numerous testimonies of this strand of thinking which places all available knowledge in its boundaries and also makes the figure of the Other and the Strange a central point of reference of our ethical and moral self- and world-relation. This stance has been for long related to the universalistic validity claims. According to an opinion of many, it must become an obligatory way of thinking for the whole humankind that would not allow an emphasis on (radical) cultural difference to encumber or even to put an end to our search for universals which produce commonality. This would not be only counterproductive, or unhelpful, but also an absurdity born in an effusive commitment to the (perennially elusive) Other and Strange.

To sum up the last observations, one can, for the sake of the analytical purposes, distinguish between two concepts of intercultural competence. We come across both in scientific and public debates, and usually they are not strictly kept apart. On the one hand, there is a concept which should directly serve the purpose of pragmatic bettering of intercultural communication, cooperation and coexistence. It aims at a mutual understanding that would be satisfying for both parties, adequate with regard to the respective cultural peculiarities, and also efficient. Numerous empirical research studies and practical projects draw upon this concept. On the other hand, in the concept resonates a further-reaching claim, which makes intercultural competence a value in itself. It is then not only a question of perceiving, respecting and recognising the people, whose performative techniques, language games and lifestyles differ to some extent from the own ones, but also a question of considering the difference between people as a symptom of a possibly radical alterity and strangeness, and of “inscribing” this awareness of radical alterity and strangeness into the own self- and world-relation.

This motive (which in a certain way could be defined as a “critique of reason”, but by no means as a “rejection of reason”) goes beyond the ethics and morals of, e.g., Kantian tradition. A concept of intercultural competence thus perceived makes reference to the ethics of alterity, which first took clear shape in the 20th century (in the first place in the essays of Emanuel Levinas). It gained special influence and attracted closer attention when in the history of progressive, “reason-bound” Europe Others and Strange had repeatedly and massively become victims of excessive, genocidal violence.

As soon as one speaks today about intercultural competence, it also concerns the question of what humans can aspire to become in future. It is the question of yet unexploited potentials of experiencing and acting, the strengthening of which is a primary ethical and moral challenge, and a high-priority political and pedagogical task. Numerous scientific disciplines (such as, for instance, psychology, ethnology, or sociology) assist in fulfilling it. One can perhaps say that this “strengthening” consists in the valorisation of habitualised psychic disposition and practical attitude, which in the history of human self-image was considered more as a “weakness”

and at best elicited scornful pity. Those who open up towards the Other and the Strange, in a certain way compromise their Self and make it vulnerable to charges and protests of other fellow people. They renounce on the hermetical closure and dogged protection of the established and familiar boundaries of the own Self and "afford" the "weakness" of vulnerability and mutability while fellow people in a hardly controllable way intrude into, and interfere with that Self.

By this token, one can freely construe the concept of intercultural competence as one of the perhaps most impressive manifestations of the long-standing decentering and communicative liquefaction of the Self of modern humans. This is exactly what the (late) modern socio-psychological concept of personal identity stands for. Personal identity has always been set against an idea of a totalistically structured self- and world-relation: "nothing from the outside must come inside, nothing from the inside must come out!". Identity, which constructs and re-constructs itself in intercultural constellations, has nothing to do with this obsolete motto backing an obstinate self-assertion (Straub 2002, Straub/Zielke/Werbik 2005).

The close relationship between "intercultural competence" and "personal identity" – two theoretical concepts developed in 19th and 20th century western societies and linked to the political and everyday life practice precisely in these societies –, once more raises the crucial question: are these concepts and their pragma-semantic meanings universal in an empirical as well as in a normative sense, or rather particular culture-bound ideas which will not be welcomed, accepted and practically implemented all over the world today and tomorrow? As mentioned, this complex and highly important question can only be answered within and by ongoing intercultural dialogue or polylogue.

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## Michael Stürmer<sup>1</sup>

### HOW THE CRISIS THREATENS THE FABRIC OF WORLD CIVILIZATION

The dialogue of cultures and the partnership of civilizations – this is not only a pair of pious wishes but a necessary, though insufficient, condition for future peace and prosperity. But in a world without world order it comes at a price.

A spectre is haunting the world that does not dare to give its name: It is called the Great Depression. Long before globalisation became the buzz word of modern times, meaning interdependence between the ends of the Earth and everything in between, it was, after World War One, the mother of all disasters striking the world in the 1930ies. It is the nightmare that gave rise not only to Keynesian economics but also pushed the world into turmoil ultimately resulting in World War II.

The great financial sorcerers have failed, from Vancouver to Wladiwostok, and now it is the state and state intervention that has to bail them out who were, not so long ago, seen as the masters of the universe. The bail out comes not for their own sake but for the sake of mankind. The overriding fear in the back of every politician's mind is a return of that hellish sequence of events unleashed by the Great Crash of 1929. That is the real reason behind the vast sums of money spent in loans to failing companies and to bolster equity, from Wall Street to Lombard Street and Taunusanlage – and far beyond. That is also the driving motive behind the protectionist temptation to protect the homeland – Britain's PM Gordon Brown set the tone, it was only last November, by announcing "British jobs for British workers" – at a time when markets falter, demand breaks down, and mass redundancies beckon.

Russia has been hit very hard, and from two sides. The financial crisis, initially seen as a disease that only attacks others, soon enveloped the new Russian financial system, caused the cranes of Moscow to stop, and began to empty the state coffers. At Davos, in early February, PM Putin admitted that there is a storm raging – "and we are all in the same boat". Meanwhile, Russia has the additional problem that as a result of falling demand world wide oil prices – in due course the price for natural gas is bound to follow – have slumped far below any expected crisis level, and indeed far below the assumed basis for the state budget for 2009. As a result, the many millions of "budschetniki" are hard up, factories worked short hours or closed, demonstrations followed, and – to put it in abstract terms – the social contract was called into question.

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While the oil-consuming part of the world gets a respite, the beneficiaries of the oil slump should not rejoice too much. At oil prices below 40 USD per barrel most of the investment into capital goods like terminals, pipelines, and new wells have been cut short, and it is only a matter of time until prices will rise once again, this time not because of excessive demand but because of too little supply. The 147 Dollar high water mark of summer 2008 may well be reached again, and even be left behind. The fundamentals of oil and the geopolitics of energy have not changed that much. Add to this the recovery of the global economy – whenever it will occur, but occur it will – the global crisis will have run a full circle.

Do nations and states learn from history? The German 19th century philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, the teacher of Karl Marx, took a dim view saying that the only thing history teaches us is that nobody takes any lessons. That may well be so, but nevertheless it is worth recalling what happened after Black Friday on Wall Street, one October morning in AD 1929. The fall of the New York stock exchange unleashed a downward spiral of economic and, in natural consequence, political disasters. US investors recalled their capital from wherever they could recover it, notably from Western Europe, and especially from Germany. Mass unemployment persuaded the American voter to go for the democratic recipe of state intervention. The US, forever vacillating between isolationism and the Wilsonian credo "to make the world safe for democracy" (1918), concentrated on messy domestic affairs and the politics and finance of the "New Deal" and cut its commitments throughout Europe, leaving the Old World to its demons. Ever since the Japanese invasion of mainland China the US navy as well as the White House focussed their attention on the Far East. The US under president Woodrow Wilson had invented the League of Nations in order to realize the age old dream of a world system of peace and democracy, but had failed to lend it substance, muscle and bone. After 1929, economic and financial nationalism superseded the idea of a global mission.

In Europe, the Weimar Republic, once the hounds of the Depression were unleashed, drifted from democracy to authoritarianism and to totalitarianism, the Nazi rulers taking a leaf or two from both Mussolini's book and Stalin's book, posed as saviours of the German nation while in fact creating an amalgam of internal tyranny and external aggression. Germany, from being the pariah state, turned into the greatest threat to international order, far ahead of Stalin's revolutionary rhetoric. Great Britain and France reeled under the impact of industrial recession, deflation and mass unemployment and were unable to contain the rise of Germany – seeking some sort of reasonable accommodation and *faisant bonne mine au mauvais jeu*.

Jobs, jobs, jobs – and a decent living wage: He who could provide the essentials of life to the urban and rural masses would be welcomed like the Messiah, saviour of society.

Britain and France continued the path to civil strife and political paralysis until the eve of World War II, and much as in the US it was only the war effort that finally dragged the industrial democracies out of the depression. By contrast, Japan and Germany and to some extent Italy had chosen the path towards the war economy at an early stage, with massive spending programmes for more guns and more butter, based on ruthless public borrowing. But whatever the causes, by 1938 they had managed to overcome the depression, healing its ills with an even more brutal cure. Full employment was established – after the expulsion and incarceration of hundreds of thousands – and the social contract reaffirmed: Jobs against docility.

Clearly, there were two or, with Soviet Russia included, three different exits from the crisis: The US variation, the Soviet one, and the Nazi one, while the remaining Western-type democracies simply continued to suffer and hope for better times. Instead, small wars, from Finland's winter war against Soviet aggression to Spain's civil war and Japan's occupation of Mandshuria became the dress rehearsal for what came to be known as the Second World War. This is not to argue that the Great Depression was inevitably bound to end in large scale war. But it was a powerful facilitator and a many-dimensional contributing factor.

Can this happen again? History rarely repeats itself because human beings have a chance to remember and turn

old traumas into preventive action. But the global crisis that has struck in 2008 obviously has a tendency to bring out the worst and the best in the international system, but it does so under the caveats that global interdependence impose, for better or for worse. If a major player disregards the rules of the global system and swaps enlightened egotism for a beggar my neighbour policy, things can spin out of control. One protectionism, under whatever name, is worth the other – and so on and so on.

Unlike the 1930ies, at present none of the great powers is out to overthrow the overall balance of states. They all follow their own interests, but in the last resort those interests are more interconnected and complementary than incompatible whether it is the slow death of the Oceans or global warming, the prevention of diseases or the containment of narco-states. In addition, there are vast threats out there, from the breakdown of the Non Proliferation system to the spread of piracy across the Seven Seas. The pathetic story of the Great Depression is a stark reminder of the price to be paid if isolationism trumps global responsibility. In theory there is broad agreement to avoid the proverbial: Everybody for himself, God for us all, and the devil take the hindmost. In practice, however, the temptation is great, nationally and internationally, to go for short term gain in the face of long term loss. It takes statesmanship and cold blood to navigate through stormy waters.

**V. S. Styopin<sup>1</sup>**

## INTERACTION OF CULTURES AND SEARCH FOR NEW STRATEGIES OF CIVILIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Great achievements of civilization have frequently appeared under the circumstances of cooperation of various cultural traditions. 'The Greek miracle' owes its existence to the encounter of antique traditions and eastern cultures. The Greek Mathematics resulted from the synthesis of antique philosophy and logic and the mathematical achievements of Egypt and Babylon.

The vast transformations of European culture in the age of the Renaissance were the product of the encounter of Christian cultural achievements and the culture of the antique world which was being re-discovered during that epoch.

In our era of globalization new prospects of cooperation between cultures are created. And the lot of civilization depends on the way in which that cooperation proceeds.

The changes of the foundations of culture, of its basic values mean the change of the strategies of civilizational development. In the modern era this circumstance acquires a special meaning. The rapid social changes pose the acute problem consisting in the choice of ways of the development of modern civilization. And if this choice is connected with the new strategies of development, then there will come up a question of the basic values of the modern civilization and of the radical transformations of its culture.

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Transformations of this type can lead to a new type of civilizational development.

### Types of civilizational development and their basic values

Two types of civilizational development can be singled out in the history of mankind after its turn from barbarism to civilization. They are the first type historically – the traditionalist one, and the other – the one which is often called the Western type, according to the region of its origin. Nowadays it is represented not only by the countries of the West. I call this civilization a technogenic one, as the key role in its development is played by the constant search and application of new technologies including not only industrial technologies providing the economic growth but also the technologies of social administration and social communication. Most of the civilizations singled out and described by A. Toynbee in his time were of the traditionalist type.

Recently I have made a detailed analysis of these two types of civilizational development and I written about their differences. For this reason I will only content myself with a thesis statement of my conception. I will emphasize again that in the standard 'civilizational approach' the stress is laid on the differences between civilizations. Certainly, the traditional cultures of China, India, Antiquity and the European Middle Ages have their strongly pronounced specific nature. And still in these cultures there can be found some invariant features characteristic of the traditionalist type of development. In the same way we can find the general features of different civilizations in the technogenic type.

The technogenic civilization began shaping in the European region in approximately 14th–16th centuries. During the Renaissance, Reformation and Enlightenment the core system of its values was formed. It involved a special idea of a human

being and his place in the world. This was, first of all, the idea of a human being as of a subject of activity that is opposed to nature and whose predestination is the transformation of nature and forcing the nature into submission. This idea of a human being is naturally connected with the idea of the activity as of a process aimed at transforming objects and forcing them into a man's submission.

It can be stated that the value of the transforming creative activity is typical of the technogenic civilization only, but it did not exist in traditional cultures. A different idea was inherent in them; the concept was expressed in the well-known 'Wu-Wei' principle of the Ancient Chinese culture which proclaimed the idea of a minimal activity based on the sense of resonance with the rhythms of the world. This principle was alternative to the ideal of the transforming activity based on the active interference with the natural and social processes. It directed people not to transform the environment but to adapt to it. The traditional cultures never set a goal to transform the world, to provide the power of man over nature. However in technogenic cultures this idea is a dominant one. It applies not only to the natural but also to the social objects which become subjects of social technologies.

Further, while defining the basic values of technogenic cultures we can single out the idea of nature as of some non-organic world which is a special, naturally well-ordered field of objects being the material and resources for a human activity. It was expected that these resources were unlimited and a man had an opportunity to draw them from nature infinitely. The opposite to these guidelines was the traditionalist idea of nature as of some living organism with the man being a small part of it.

In the system of the life's main meanings of the technogenic civilization a special place is occupied by the value of innovations and progress which traditional societies also lack. It is appropriate to remind of the ancient Chinese saying which in modern life is interpreted in the following way: 'The hardest lot is to live in the period of change.' And for our civilization change and progress have become self-worthy. It is like a two-wheel bicycle which only has a steady equilibrium when it moves and as soon as it stops it falls. Innovations here are the main value which was not characteristic of traditional cultures where innovations were always restricted by the tradition and disguised themselves pretending to be the tradition.

The idea of progress is closely connected with the specific idea of time and of running through time. In traditional cultures the idea of cyclic time prevails ('everything resumes its normal course'). 'The Golden Age' is always in the past where the heroes, saviours and sages lived; the ones who have left for us the sacred books and commandments according to which fair life is to be built. In the technogenic culture a different idea prevails: time is irrevocable and the arrow of time is directed from the past to the future. According to the idea of progress the future is viewed as life which is better than life at present. 'The Golden Age' is in the future (by the way, in the course of this very interpretation the idea of communism as of the genuinely humanistic stage of human history was formed).

The success of the transforming activity (leading to the results which are positive for human beings and to the social progress) is viewed in a technogenic culture as a phenomenon determined by the knowledge of laws of the change of objects. This interpretation is naturally linked to the priority value of science which gives knowledge about these laws. In this type of culture scientific rationality is always the dominant of the system of human knowledge and it has a great effect on other forms of it.

Subsequently, it is necessary to point out the value of an active sovereign individual. In traditionalist cultures an

individual is described first of all through his participation in certain clan, caste and class relations (the ones an individual is born with). In the technogenic civilization a different interpretation prevails: the ideal of a free individuality, an autonomous person who can join different social communities and has equal rights with others becomes fully established as a value priority. Only in the context of this interpretation is the idea of human rights formed.

Finally, among the value priorities of a technogenic culture we can point out a particular interpretation of power and strength. Power is understood here not only as power of a human being over a human being (it also exists in traditional societies) but first of all as power over objects. Both natural and social objects can become the objects which undergo the coercive impact aimed at gaining domination over them. They become the objects of power manipulation.

Other peculiarities of the culture of the technogenic civilization also appear due to this system of values. These values are a distinctive genome of the technogenic civilization, its cultural and genetic code according to which it reproduces itself and develops.

Just after their appearance the technogenic societies begin to affect the traditional societies and make them alter. Sometimes these alterations resulted from a military conquest or colonization but more often they became the outcome of the processes of overtaking modernization, which the traditional societies had to realize under the pressure of the technogenic civilization. For instance, after the reforms of Meiji Japan took the road of the technogenic development. Such was the way of Russia which had experienced several modernizing epochs based on the transplantation of the Western experience. The most important of these were the reforms of Peter I and Alexander II. The reforms which took place in our country after the October revolution can also be regarded as a peculiar type of the overtaking modernization. It was a reply to the historical challenge: to carry out the rapid industrialization of the country.

For more than half a century the Soviet socialism and the Western capitalism competed as two different variants, two strategies of the development of the technogenic civilization. Their opposition did not rule out the mutual impact. The changes of capitalism in the second half of 20th century and the creation of social states in Europe and in North America were to a certain extent due to the impact of the Soviet experience of improving the living standards at the expense of the growth of social funds of consumption (free education, free medical service, allocation of public accommodation, etc.). Having combined the high level of individual wages with the increase of consumption from public funds the West gained the advantages in ideological rivalry along with other benefits.

The technogenic civilization has gone through several stages of its evolution: Pre-Industrial, Industrial and at the end of 20th century it started the new period of Post-Industrial development.

At this stage the technogenic civilization started a new cycle of its expansion to different countries and regions of the planet. The technogenic type of development unifies the social life in an even greater degree than the traditionalist type does. And what we call the process of globalization today is the product of the expansion of the technogenic civilization. It becomes embedded in different regions of the world first of all through the technological and manufacturing expansion and it causes epochs of modernization in traditional societies restructuring them along the lines of the technogenic development. Modernization grows into the modern processes of globalization.

The local modernizations started on the threshold of the Industrial Age and then they progressed even more intensively

in the period of industrialization. They always started from borrowing technological achievements (manufacturing and military technologies). In its turn it was accompanied by the transplantation of a number of other values of the technogenic culture, first of all, of science and a new educational system. It was under their impact that the change of traditional culture took place, new patterns of urban life and new behavioural stereotypes appeared. All these changes did not immediately alter the traditional societies. For a long time there remained strata of traditional culture and archetypes of traditionalist consciousness which regulated social life. In this way the processes of modernization in Japan, India, China and the countries of Latin America developed. These processes could also be clearly observed in the history of Russia.

The conflict between the two types of culture (the western transplants and the traditional models) was accompanied by their mutual adaptation which determined the development of Russian culture. I will remind of the quotation from A. Herzen that it was only after a century later that Russia answered to the reforms conducted by Peter I with the genius of A. Pushkin. N. Berdyaev remarked that the Golden Age of Russian culture as well as its Silver age were Russia's answers to the reforms of Peter the Great.

In the processes of modernization which took place in the Pre-Industrial and Industrial Ages the culture of the technogenic societies positioned itself according to the ideal of progress as a symbol of a higher level of development as compared to the traditional cultures.

It was not until the second half of the 20th century that the idea of progress and its strong connection with the values of the technogenic civilization was called into question. This civilization provided the man with many achievements: with science and technology, the improvement of the quality of life, the prolongation of life expectancy, education and the developing creative abilities of an individual. But at the same time it brought about two world wars, invented the weapons of mass destruction which marked a real possibility of death of the mankind; it also led to global crises.

#### **The problem of new values and the modern dialogue of cultures**

Global crises keep more keenly still bringing up a question of the strategies of civilizational development. A number of scenarios of the future of the human civilization can be distributed among the two diametrically opposed strategies. The first one is based on the prolongation of the technogenic type of development without any fundamental change to its basic values. The other one presupposes a radical transformation of these values. Here the case in point is the transition to a new type of civilizational development, the third one in relation to the traditionalist and the technogenic type.

Consequently, the Post-Industrial Age and the modern processes of globalization are interpreted in different ways.

In the context of the first approach the Post-Industrial society is viewed as a regular stage of the technogenic civilization. In terms of the other approach it is viewed as a transition period to a new type of civilizational development.

From the viewpoint of the first approach globalization is the process of transplant of the values of the technogenic culture to all countries and regions of the planet. From the viewpoint of the other approach the present type of global processes connected with the forming of the planetary system of economic, social, political and cultural interactions of different countries is supposed to change as the values of the technogenic civilization will be problematized. The dialogue of cultures which is much spoken of today gains a special meaning: one of a search for new values.

At present the first tendency prevails in the processes of globalization. It directs globalization into the course of the scenario of the 'golden billion'. This scenario is supported by: (a) the modern organization of the world market; (b) political and military factors connected with the dominating role of the USA; (c) aggressive transplant of mass culture to different countries and regions of the planet.

Mass culture has taken root in the technogenic societies due to the change of everyday life (these changes being brought about by urbanization), the destruction of traditionalist communal relations, the spread of mass forms of education. The standardization of manufacture and consumption, the appearance of the industry of upbringing, of medical service and entertainment have turned the popular culture into a regulator of the mass population's everyday life. Popular culture supplants and transforms the national culture, which used to be the basis of social life in traditional societies.

In the second part of the 20th century popular culture became not only an exponent but also to some extent a propagandist of the ideals of consumer societies. Its penetration into the culture of societies which used to retain their distinctive traditions threatens to bring about the loss of this unique identity. The global broadcasting of popular culture today is a special means of strengthening the values of the technogenic civilization in their Western version.

These values are mated with the interpretation which links them with the way of life of the Western consumer society.

The ideals of democracy, human rights, law-and-order state have a pan-civilizational meaning. There is an invariant content in them, which represents the special technologies of social regulation. In terms of this content democracy, legal society, human rights embody the civilizational achievements similar to the civilizational gains of opening up nature as well as the technological developing of electricity, laser and nuclear technologies, etc. But when this pan-civilizational content is pasted together with the patterns of vital activity characteristic of the modern Western consumer society it can perform positive regulative functions only in societies where the living standards are as high as in these Western societies.

But in the modern age only countries of the 'golden billion' are among these. Three per cent of the Earth's population live in the USA and consume by different estimate from 42 to 45 percent of the world energy; these very 3 per cent of the population along with their transnational corporations are responsible for more than two thirds of poisonous emissions polluting the environment (at the same time most of the polluting manufactures of these corporations are located in the countries of the Third World). It is clear that under these conditions the propaganda of Western democracy and human rights accompanied by the slogan 'do like we do, and you will live as well as we do' means nothing more but slyness. When the above-mentioned ideals interpreted in close connection with the patterns of the consumer way of life of the West are applied to societies with a different living standard they tend to destabilize these societies. And then they meet with resistance and degenerate into an imitation of democracy.

On the whole the fundamentally new situation concerning the attitude towards the values of the technogenic civilization should be taken into account; this situation cropped up in the modern period of intensification of global crises. These values are problematized and need alterations, this fact being stated by quite a lot of intellectuals of both the West and the East.

There appear fundamentally new aspects of interaction of cultures. It becomes important to find such points of growth of the values which give rise to the world outlook meanings that can be taken by different cultures including the ones which have retained the stereotypes of traditionalist mentalities.

It is vital to find these points of growth in different spheres of the technogenic culture – in political and legal



consciousness, in art, religion, morals and the most important thing is to find these points in scientific and technological rationality. It is the most important thing because the scientific and technological development is the core of the technogenic civilization, it is the basis of its alteration and forming of new states of social life. It is in the scientific and technological development where the links between the fundamental values of the technogenic civilization are deeply intertwined; among the fundamental values are creative activity, scientific rationality, treating nature as a resource for the activity and as the basic sphere of this activity's transforming influence, considering power to be control over natural and social objects.

In the modern philosophic and social research an idea of the necessity to change the strategy of our attitude to nature has been repeatedly expressed. This idea was developed as far back as in the research of the Club of Rome. The developments of ecological ethics are also widely known; in the context of this ethics the most radical trends proclaim refusal from the ideal of a man's domination over nature. An alternative ideal is put forward; according to this ideal we should not feel superior to animals and plants, treat them only as a means of our life support. These ideas of the new ethics have quite a number of advocates. Among western authors I would point out the works of B. Callicott, L. White, R. Attfield. And certainly as a primary source, A. Schweitzer's ideas about the awe of life should be mentioned. Today attempts are being made to extend the meaning of the categorical imperative, applying it not only to the sphere of people's moral relations but also to the man's attitude towards nature. In the works of the majority of researchers and intellectuals upholding the ideas of the new ethics the reasoning about the new attitude to nature is accompanied by references to the experience of traditional Eastern cultures, to the careful treatment of nature typical of traditional societies.

But is it possible to implant this system of new world outlook images and ethical regulatives in mass consciousness? To a great extent, they direct toward contemplative attitude to nature, which is more typical of traditional than of technogenic cultures. However, the return to the traditionalist type of development is impossible. It was able to provide just a minor part of the Earth's population with life's benefits. During the Age of the Renaissance when the start of the technogenic civilization was being prepared there lived about 500 million people on the Earth. And now there are more than 6 billion people, and without modern technologies it is impossible to provide the population of the planet even with minimum life benefits. Besides, we should not forget that in traditional cultures the careful treatment of nature, awe of it were mated with a certain neglect of a human being whose vital activity played just a supporting role on the scale of value priorities. That is why when we speak about the capabilities and the potential of Eastern cultures the attitude to them should be selective and the priority value of the man, his spirit and activity (peculiar to the Western civilization) is supposed to endure and gain new dimensions due to the tendencies of Post-Industrial development.

I believe that in the future our attitude to nature will not boil down to the contemplation and adaptation to it. The man will still alter nature. It is highly likely that the overcoming of the ecological crises will be connected not with the preservation of wildlife on a planetary scale (which is even now impossible without a dramatic decrease, by dozens of times, of the Earth's population), but with the booming cultivation of the environment. In this process an important role will be played not only by nature conservation measures aimed at preservation of these or those natural local ecosystems but by creation of new biogeocenoses providing the necessary level of their variety being a con-

dition of equilibrium of biosphere. It is highly likely that in this scenario favourable for the mankind the surrounding environment will be more similar to an artificially created park or garden which will not be able to reproduce itself without the purposeful activity of the man.

And this will be the predestination of the man who has changed the nature of the planet so much that he has become a real force determining the preservation of biosphere. In principle these ideas were expressed by Russian philosophers-cosmists. These ideas were advanced in the works of V. I. Vernadsky.

In the system of values and world outlook images of the technogenic (Western) culture the vector of human activity is directed not outwards but at the alteration of the world. The Eastern traditionalist system of values considers the human being to be part of the organism of nature as if the man were dissolved in nature; the vector of human activity is directed inwards at self-education, self-restraint, involvement in tradition rather than outwards.

I believe that the synthesis of these two opposite conceptions will be connected with correlation and interdependence of these two vectors. It will be neither the Western nor the Eastern system of values but some third system which will synthesize the achievements of the modern technogenic culture and some ideas of traditional cultures the perception of which has changed.

Prerequisites for this synthesis appear not only due to the realization of the threat of ecological and anthropological disaster, of the threat of approaching apocalypse; this threat stimulates the search for new values of ethical regulatives. These prerequisites are also engendered by modern tendencies of scientific and technical progress.

Today in the foreground of science and technological activity a new type of rationality is being formed. It is connected with an intense scientific and technological adoption of fundamentally new types of objects which in their turn are complex self-developing systems.

This type of systemic objects is characterized by progress, in the course of which transition from one kind of self-regulation to another takes place. The hierarchy of levelled organization of elements, the ability to give rise to new levels in the process of progress are inherent in these self-developing systems. At that every new level takes a reverse effect on the previously well-established ones, reconstructs them; as a result of it this system gains new integrity. As new levels of organization appear the system differentiates and new relatively independent subsystems are formed in it. Along with it the bloc of management is reconstructed, new parameters of order and new types of direct relationships and feedbacks appear.

At every stage of this historical evolution the self-developing system retains its openness, the exchange of substance, energy and information with the environment. But the nature of this openness changes as the type of this self-organization, adapting the system to the environment, alters. The changes to this type of self-organization are qualitative transformations of the system. They presuppose phase transitions. At these stages the former organization is broken, the inner links of the system are torn, and it finds itself on the streak of dynamic chaos.

At the stages of phase transitions in the state of dynamic chaos there appears a spectrum of possible directions of progress of this system. In some of them the simplification of the system, its destruction and death as a complex self-organization become possible. But scenarios of appearance of new levels of organization are also possible; these scenarios convert the system into a new qualitative state of self-development. Out of the dynamic chaos there appears a new order. (I. Prigogine).

Among these self-developing systems there can be found some biological objects analysed not only in the aspect of their functioning but also in the aspect of progress; the objects of modern nano- and bio-technologies and first of all genetic engineering; the systems of modern projection when not only this or that technical and technological system is taken but also a more advanced developing complex: the human being is a technical and technological system, with the addition of the ecosystem and the cultural environment accepting the new technology; and all this complex is analysed in progress. Modern advanced computer nets, assuming the dialogue between the man and the computer, 'the global web' of the Internet also belong to the self-developing systems. Finally, all social objects examined with account taken of their historical development belong to the type of complex self-developing systems.

In the second half of the 20th century physics closely approached the study of such systems. For a long time it excluded the idea of historical evolution from its cognitive arsenal. But in the second half of the 20th century a different situation arose. On the one hand, the development of modern cosmology (the concept of the Big Bang and the inflationary development theory of the Universe) resulted in the idea of the establishment of different types of physical objects and interactions. There appeared the conception of the different types of elementary particles appearing in the process of evolution and their interactions as a result of splitting of some original interaction and the differentiation that followed. On the other hand, thermodynamics of unbalanced processes (I. Prigogine) and synergetics contributed to the advancement of the idea of evolutionary objects. The mutual impact of all these trends of study is gradually incorporating the concepts of self-organization and progress into the system of physical knowledge.

Among the historically developing systems of modern science a particular place is occupied by national complexes, the man being a component of theirs. Medical and biological objects, objects of ecology including biosphere as a whole (global ecology), objects of biotechnology (genetic engineering in the first turn), objects of the system 'the man – machine' (including sophisticated informational complexes and systems of artificial intelligence) and others can serve as examples of such 'man-measured' complexes.

During the study of 'man-measured' objects the search for the truth proves to be connected with outlining of possible directions of alteration of this object, which directly touches upon humanistic values. Systems of this type cannot be experimented with freely. In the process of their study and practical adoption a particular role is played by the knowledge of bans on some strategies of interaction which potentially bear disastrous consequences.

Consequently the ideal of value-neutral study is transformed. The objective true explanation and description concerning the 'man-measured' objects does not only admit but presupposes the inclusion of axiological factors in the body of the explaining theses. It becomes necessary to explicate the links of fundamental intra-scientific values (search for the truth, advancement of knowledge) with extra-scientific values of general social nature. In modern programme-oriented research this explication is realized in the course of socio-ethical expertise of the programmes. While studying the 'man-measured' systems a researcher has to solve a number of problems of ethical nature determining the limits of the possible interference with the object. The inner ethic of science stimulating search for the truth and orientation to increment of new knowledge under these circumstances is constantly correlated with all-humanistic principles and values.

The demand for explication of values in this situation does not only support the orientation to gaining objective and true

knowledge of the world but also becomes a prerequisite for the realization of this orientation.

The strategy of activity with self-developing systems quite unexpectedly gives rise to the exchange between the culture of the western civilization and the traditional eastern cultures. Here I would point out three basic ideas.<sup>1</sup>

In the first place eastern cultures (as well as most traditionalist cultures) have always been based upon the idea that the natural world where the man lives is a living organism, but not an impersonal non-organic field which can become subject to turning over and transforming. For a long time the Neo-European science treated these ideas as atavisms of myth and mystery. But after the development of modern conceptions of the biosphere being a global ecosystem it was discovered that the environment surrounding us is really an integral organism which involves the human being. These conceptions start to resound with organismic images of nature that are also typical of ancient cultures.

In the second place the objects which are the developing 'man-measured' systems require special strategies of activity. These systems are endowed with synergetic characteristics where a significant part is played by non-power interactions based on cooperative effects. At the points of bifurcation an insignificant impact can radically change the state of the system giving rise to new possible trajectories of its progress.

Orientation to active power transformation of objects during the activity with such systems does not always prove to be effective. With a simple increase of external power pressure the system can reproduce one and the same set of structures but not give rise to new structures and levels of organization.<sup>2</sup> But in the state of instability at the points of bifurcation a slight influence – an injection in a certain dimensional and temporal locus – is able (owing to cooperative effects) to give rise to new structures and levels of organization. This method of influence is similar to the strategies of non-violence which were well-developed in Indian cultural tradition, as well as the actions according to the Ancient Chinese 'Wu-Wei' principle.<sup>3</sup>

In the third place in the strategies of activity with complex man-measured systems there appears a new type of integration of the truth and morality, purpose-rational and value-rational activity. In the western cultural tradition the rational footing was considered to be the basis of ethic. When Socrates was asked how to live virtuously he answered that it is paramount first to understand what virtue is. In other words the true knowledge of virtue sets guidelines for moral behaviour.

A fundamentally different approach is characteristic of the eastern cultural tradition. The truth was not separated from morality and the moral improvement was believed to be a condition and the basis for understanding the truth. One and the same hieroglyph 'Tao' meant both the law, the truth and the moral course of life in the Ancient Chinese culture. When the adherents of Confucius asked him how to understand 'Tao' he gave each of them different answers as each of his adherents had had a different course of moral improvement.

The new type of rationality, which at present is being established in science and technological activity and which immanently includes reflection over values in the processes of scientific search, resounds with the concepts of the links between verity and morality, which is inherent in traditional eastern cultures.

<sup>1</sup> For more details see: Styopin V. *Theoretical Knowledge*. Synthese Library. Dordrecht, 2005. Vol. 326. P. 357–369.

<sup>2</sup> Kurdiunov S. P. *The Laws of Evolution and Self-Organization of Complex Systems*. Moscow, 1990. P. 6–7.

<sup>3</sup> The ancient Chinese parable of a wise man who trying to hasten the growth of cereals began to pull them by their tops and pulled them out of the soil visually demonstrates the possible consequences of the violation of the 'Wu-Wei' principle.

What has been said above certainly does not mean that in this way the worth of rationality is depreciated as it has always enjoyed a priority status in the Western culture. The type of scientific rationality is now changing but the rationality itself remains necessary for understanding and dialogue between different cultures, which is impossible without the reflexive attitude to their basic values. The rational understanding makes the position of equality possible for all the 'reference systems' (basic values) and the openness of different cultural worlds to the dialogue. In this sense, it can be said that the conceptions of a particular significance of scientific rationality developed in the bosom of the Western cultural tradition remain a most

important basis in the quest of new world outlook guidelines, though the rationality itself acquires new modifications in the modern progress. Today its strict opposition to many ideas of traditional cultures is to a great extent losing sense.

In conclusion, in the foreground of the scientific and technological progress, due to the adoption of complex self-developing systems, there appear the points of growth of new values and world outlook orientations that provide new prospects for the dialogue of cultures. And this dialogue is necessary for developing new strategies of vital activity of the globalizing mankind, for overcoming global crises caused by the modern technogenic civilization.

V. A. Tishkov<sup>1</sup>

### THE IMAGE OF THE COUNTRY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

I am not a philosopher, but in our conversation dedicated to a notion of 'identity' I'd like to start with Hegel, the leading figure of the world philosophy, who advanced a thesis that 'a modern civic society found its reasonable identity in a sovereign constitutional state, and philosophy should represent this identity as a reasonable one. Only a sovereign state being independent of other states may have a self-dependence which is needed to allow a society of such a state to form its identity'.

Since these words were written, many things have changed. Today, identity of a society and, moreover, of a singular person cannot be pressed into such a universal and multifunctional organization as a national state and its State-Party apparatus. And, moreover, identity is not limited by the sense of belonging to an ethnic community. But nevertheless Jürgen Habermas, another German philosopher, considers that 'now as before, a state organization is still the level where societies form their identity'. If we take into account the numerous old and modern studies and reflections upon the image of people, upon its cultural-historical traditions, upon its 'national character' etc., we'll see that it is the state communities that are the subject of these reflections, and the national self-consciousness (identity) is the sense of belonging to the Motherland and to its people.

Exactly in this way during the years of the 'cold war' American anthropologists investigated 'national characters' of peoples from different states aiming to contribute to the global ambitions of the USA diplomacy who strived to establish the dominance and to understand better the external world. A little bit earlier, famous Swiss pedagogue Jean Piaget studied the phases of national self-consciousness formation among Geneva school-children; he didn't divide them by ethnic features (certainly, most of the children were Franco-Swiss, although not all of them!). Exactly this approach has proved to be a basis for the discipline of cross-cultural psychology to appear in the field of world social sciences. Russian experts

attached narrowed ethnical sense to this discipline thus giving birth to the science of ethnopsychology.<sup>2</sup> And so, Russians and Russian scientists are interested in and even write papers about the national character of English, American, Chinese and Spanish people, but in the context of their own country they utilize this notion only towards ethnic Russians, Ossets, Tatars, Udmurts etc., but in no way towards Russians by citizenship. The logic here is very clear: Russians by citizenship cannot have their own specific national character, as they don't constitute a nation. And this is one more fundamental error!

As in the past, the problem of national identity is now one of the widely discussed and actively studied issues for specialists of social sciences. Suffice it to say that the international scientific journal *National Identities* has been published over the period of two decades, numerous conferences have been held, books and articles have come out. In Russia, the term identity as such was not in use. As its analogue the Soviet social sciences utilized the concept of *national self-consciousness*. The difference is not in the words but, rather, in the sense attached to them. In Soviet and Russian sociopolitical and scientific language, this sense covered the ethnic identity, i.e. when a person was assigned to a certain ethnation and to a collective image of an ethnic community with its culture.

In the world context *national identity is one of the types of group identity according to a nationality. The latter is considered as state-territorial and political-lawful community on the basis of a set of political, historical-cultural and moral-lawful characteristics.*

The nature and content of national identity are dynamic and various, especially in combined communities, but there are some mutual features. J. Habermas wrote in this connection: 'The society possesses ascribed to it identity not in the trivial sense that, say, an object that could be identified by different observers as the same object even if they perceive and describe it in different ways. The society in a way gives rise to its own identity, and the fact that it does not lose its identity occurs on account of the society's own efforts.'

Collective images of a country and people are of a great significance in the structure of national identity of citizens and also for perception of the country by external world. It is difficult to divide these images into internal and external ones: what we think about ourselves is the same that the external world thinks about us. Although it may be vice versa: in what way the external world designs and imposes the image of one or another country guided by ideological, geopolitical and

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He is the author of over 300 scholarly and popular works, including monographs "The Country of the Maple Leaf: the Beginning of History" (1977), "Liberation Movement in Colonial Canada", "The History of Canada", "History and Historians of the USA", "The Indigenous Population of North America in the Modern World", "Walking the Path of Tears and Hopes: Book of Modern Indians of the USA and Canada", "Russians as Minority: the Example of Estonia" and "Russians in Central Asia and Kazakhstan", "Russia as a Multinational Community and the Prospect of Inter-Ethnic Consensus", "Conceptual Evolution of National Policy in Russia", "Sketches of Theory and Policy of Ethnicity in Russia", "Political Anthropology. Russian Studies in the Humanities", "Society in the Armed Conflict" and "Ethnology and Politics. Scholarly Pamphletism".

<sup>2</sup> See works of Soldatova, Stefanenko and early works of N. M. Lebedeva, who with time started to use more reasonable designation of this scientific field as 'cross-cultural psychology'.

cultural purposes, in the same way the country itself begins to live following this imposed image. But mostly both processes, either coinciding or competing take place resulting in an image with all its nuances.

As a rule, every people has its positive self-image and doesn't perceive itself as inferior to other peoples, especially neighbours. All the countries aim to create a positive opinion about themselves. The latter is necessary for people's normal socio-psychological health, for providing loyalty and unity of population, for favourable external contacts and for attracting capitals and tourists. In the modern world, the development of positive country image has become an area of beneficial and quite legal business. There are international imaging companies which against clients' orders create positive images of one or another country or situation. It is suffice, for instance, to look through full-page advertisement-like publications on Azerbaijan, which during the last years have been regularly published in the first-rate world newspapers and also in the Russian newspaper *Izvestiya*. The same companies, by the way, depending on clients' orders may intentionally destroy the image of a country, its government and even its people. As one of the reasons for external world's negative attitude towards Russian action protecting South Ossetia from Georgia's attack in summer, 2009, there was a purposeful misinformation campaign ordered to the international PR-company by the Georgian government.

Unfortunately, our country owing to numerous reasons falls into the category of image pariahs quite frequently due to the eagerness of the geopolitical rivals and renegades with stolen money. Sometimes external negative image tends to exist for a long historical time or migrates from the recent or even the ancient past. With reference to Russia it is inertia of the cold war with its anti-Soviet ideological fuse and the anti-Russian position created by newly-formed countries and their elites after the disintegration of the USSR that has more adversely affected Russia's image. Therefore, it is quite difficult and absolutely impossible in a number of cases to gain an external positive image for a country like modern Russia. The mission of a 'great enemy' assigned to Russia is still vitally demanded by such a world power as the USA and by the West as a whole, too, with a purpose to provide consolidation of their own societies and military-political alliances and also for the justification of military economics and army expenses. In this situation the efforts of the society and its elite upon designing a positive self-image are aimed against external effects, and in this connection these efforts can and must be more vigorous and consistent. Here the two different strategies of self-assertion may take place, that are: the isolationist one by isolation from the external world and the advancing-integrationist one attempting to set a dialogue and to make positive changes in the external image of the country. Both strategies are not mutually exclusive.

We can determine *national identity as a shared by citizens general image of their country, its people and as a feeling of consolidation with them*. National identity is of no less importance for a state than its guarded borders, the Constitution, the armed forces and other institutions. *A process of reproduction and preservation of national identity in the sphere of Weltanschauung and in politics, the assertion of national interests of the country and its people mainly constitutes that which is often called nationalism in the most general sense of the word*. When President of Russia V. Putin was named by the external world as a 'president-nationalist', it proved to be close to the truth as, unlike his predecessors on the same position, M. Gorbachev and B. Yeltsin, he formulated and strongly asserted national interests of the state.

States are built by people and exist only because every new generation shares the general conception of the state and recognizes it. That doesn't mean that one and all should

equally 'love the Motherland', 'serve the people' or fulfil any other collectivist task. A human being on Earth including a Russian has come to this world first of all to accomplish his/her own social mission: to arrange life, to live as long as possible, to give birth to children and bring them up. Moral-ethical purposes as, for instance, serving the nation, protecting freedom, confessing to or being proud of, all these are rather intended for politicians, religious preachers and educators, in order to limit human egoism and to make personal success not harmful to others, as well as to familiarize a person with the rules of conduct for a responsible citizen.

Those who proclaim in scientific works or at meetings that 'a man is born not for himself, but for the nation' and consider this banner as a national idea for Russia, those themselves have not spent a day of their life observing this principle. This way of thinking and living was only accepted by single exalted persons who experienced ideological pressure, or the ones treated with special methods and religious propaganda; being immature and somehow injured, they are ready to 'clean Russia of aliens' or to become 'living bombs'. Similar appeals are in wide use among ultranationalists. Here I'd like to quote A. Savelyev (Kolyev): 'It is only one way to give back our national pride to us: to recover the state taken away from us. When people recover its state, that people becomes a nation. The idea of this transformation is put in the base of nationalism: a nation is superior to a state, only God is superior to a nation. Nationalism is a way towards a national democracy, towards a power of demos'.

National identity, which comprises the image of country in its different versions, has both personal individual and collective dimensions. On one hand, the idea of a nation has created a citizen endowed with personal dimension, including rights and personal sovereignty. But *the priority of private life doesn't save people from communion, especially it concerns the state*, when every resident and his/her state have mutual obligations important for both sides. One can exist beyond an ethnical group and even feel freer than among his/her compatriots, but in the modern society it is actually impossible to do without a state.

The state and its creators, i.e. people residing in it, should take care of keeping this institution in order and prosperity. As academician B. N. Topornin told me after a scientific session dedicated to the 10th anniversary of Gorbachev's perestroika, 'the only worry is that the state has been left without any care, and that shouldn't have been done'. Among various resources and mechanisms for state-building and its maintenance at an appropriate level it is ideology and practice of nationalism in its civil-political sense that are used widely.<sup>1</sup> This instrument is quite old, with controversial legacy, but it has been preserving its value up to now and has become a keystone in some historical situations.

Exactly this kind of situation has formed in all post-Soviet states including Russia after the disintegration of the USSR. In the initial period for a new nation-building here, in all places (except Russia), the old Soviet concept of ethnic nationalism has been applied with emphasis on that the nation is a title ethnos and the others are minorities. Leaders and some ideologists occasionally noted a civil nation (Latvian, Kazakh, etc.), but actual political practice and social mentality failed to realize the establishing of civil nation-building.

As for Russia, the new state being the legal successor of the USSR, it adopted from the latter its concept of ethno-nationalism (nation being ethnos), and it is significant that in the 1st Article of the Constitution we can read 'We are multinational people'. This phrase is most often understood as not only people, but also our state is multinational and

<sup>1</sup> About nationalism in different historical ages and in different countries see: *Nationalism in the World History* / ed. by V. A. Tishkov and V. A. Shnirelman. Moscow: Nauka, 2007.

not national one. This state of 'many nations' in its state-administrative structure has preserved ethnic federalism in the form of ethno-territorial autonomies (republics, autonomous regions and autonomous districts) and even has strengthened it, especially its constituted authorities and privileged status of the 'title' group with its language and culture during the period of the so-called 'parade of sovereignties'.

In Russia, the 1990s were a time when an ethnic paradigm dominated. Besides retaking power and establishing control of resources to be privatized, it was a time of reconstruction of history pages, memorable and solemn places, ritual ceremonial life, language and education, museum presentations of major and minor peoples of Russia. In this process, there were and still are a lot of positive aspects so necessary for preserving integrity of the country and its development. However negative features and moreover dangerous for the society and the state features showed up in non-Russian ethnic nationalisms. Firstly, one of the regions, Republic of Chechnya, following an armed coup has got out of the control of national authority and fallen under the power of armed separatists, supported by international terrorist forces and by part of the so-called world community. Multiple victims and destructions were a price paid for the hard and destructive war for the restoration of Russian authority's control of this territory.<sup>1</sup> It demonstrated how it was important for a national state to preserve a total sovereignty across its own territory, not to allow spreading of a destroying propaganda of ethnic separatist doctrines and not to permit appearance of hotbeds or centres of armed resistance to the central authorities.

A general weakening of Russian self-consciousness and difficult birth of new Russian patriotism which after disintegration of the USSR required special efforts to provide new content for them together with continuity in the system of national values and symbols have become the second negative manifest of periphery ethno-nationalism. Sociological interviews and other studies and observations conducted in the period of 1990s demonstrated a low degree of civil self-consciousness among Russians and of positive attitude towards their own Motherland, Russia. Alienation and even a negative image of Russia were intentionally promoted by some persons of an intellectual community and some of social organizations especially in republics of Russia. Here books and brochures introducing image of Russia as a 'dusk of the Empire', full of appeals to 'kill the Empire' were published. In the Republics of Northern Caucasia against a background of the war in Chechnya a propaganda and inculcation of anti-Russian views on the base of radical Wahhabite Islamite doctrine especially in young people have begun.

Thirdly, radicalization of ultra-nationalistic doctrines and activities on behalf of the Russian people has become a kind of 'symmetric response' to this challenge (E. Pain named this phenomenon an ethno-political pendulum). It was not ideology and politics of Russian and civil identity, but chaotically formulated and obtrusively self-advertising 'Russian projects' that on behalf of non-Russian people were opposed to the ethno-nationalism. Solidarity and uniformity of these both extrema in the Russian social and political area were obvious and this could create an even more dangerous situation for the Russian State system and society, than a singular hotspot of armed separatism.

Since that a situation with civil (supra-ethnic) nation-building has changed drastically enough in regard to both the sociological reality and the doctrinal aspect. The present Russia experiences a process of active national self-assertion and formation of its new image as a world power and as a European nation of world culture having a certain civilization mission in the Eurasian space. The appeal to the

<sup>1</sup> About the first war in Chechnya in 1994–1996 see Tishkov V. A. *The Society in an Armed Conflict. Ethnography of the War in Chechnya*. Moscow, 2001.

civil state version of nationalism proved to be useful. First of all it relates to the image of the country and its people and to the idea of the state, its origin and its interests.

It is being now admitted that without a positive image of the country and without universally shared values-and-notions no effective government is possible. A society, first of all in its intellectual elite together with the authorities, formulates an idea about the people who reside in the state and to whom the state belongs. Naturally it may only be a territorial community, i.e. *demios*, and not an ethnic group, which native science calls the peculiar word '*ethnos*' meaning some collective body and even socio-biological organism. This statement reflects a world norm of a state structure. It doesn't seem to be arguable. However it is far from true.

Throughout the ex-USSR, other points of view are abundant. Now may I quote one of the charming simplifications, where a mixture of politically correct curtsies and vulgar ethno-nationalism resembles Gumilev ('à la Gumilev'). I mean reflections by A. Nikitin, the secretary of the Central Political Board of PZRK 'Russ', which were published in the newspaper *Tribuna* on the 8th of March, 2007, in the article titled 'Russian People and Russian State'. In the beginning the author tells readers about 'a chaos in the heads as a consequence of a general ideological devastation reigning in the country with the victory of the communist revolution in 1917 and aggravating with the triumph of the liberal counterrevolution in 1991. During these 90 years an unnatural ideology of internationalism is inculcated in people'. And then: 'during all these 90 years the term 'Russian people' was actually banned in our country'. 'But it is vitally necessary to make the terms clear. So, what was the beginning?', asks the author. And further on, a reflection follows, which at first sight seems to be politically correct, but actually is mistaken in its essence:

'God has created different peoples. They differ from each other ethnically, i.e., they have different appearance, speak different languages, have created different cultures in the broadest sense of the word. They have different world outlooks and live in different parts of the Earth. And before God all peoples are equal: there are no superior peoples beloved by God or inferior peoples destined to serve them. All divergent theories postulating the opposite are racist delirium. Among others He created the Russian people – no better and no worse than other peoples, but varying from any other people by its ethnic archetype, its language and culture. At a certain stage of its historical development the Russian people has created a special mechanism to govern its internal life within the territory occupied by it and to control relations with other peoples, that is the Russian national State. Many other peoples have passed the same way. Many but not all. Not all peoples have their own national states... In the multinational Russian State the Russian people plays a special role. The Russian people has not only created this State. But being a natural carrier of the Russian language and the Russian culture without which the whole system is doomed to headlong break-up, the Russian people ensures the present existence of this state. The Russian people is state-generating from both the historical and the demographical points of view. And no other people can substitute it in respect to this function. Without Russians there cannot be Russia as a state and a society...

'A people is a living organism, a unique whole, which comes into the world, lives and dies as all in animate nature. When such an organism ceases to feel as a unique whole it loses its immunity to a harmful external interference and eventually perishes. People lose their national roots, their national originality, turn into inert biomass, indifferent to who and how rules over them... The meaning of people's existence becomes existence itself. There is or can be no other

national idea besides an idea of a people's self-preservation. It was a feeling of threat to existence itself that awaked an instinct of self-preservation in the Russian people that now manifests the revival of a national self-consciousness. This always took place during the crucial periods of Russian history<sup>7</sup>.

These ideas originated from the Soviet ideology and science, and from Herder's historiosophy of the 19th century, and unfortunately they did not disappear as it happened to other false constructions. For example, if for a modern Russian the word 'market' is not in the least connected with notion 'kolkhoz', the word 'freedom' doesn't mean 'a realized necessity' in the least and so on throughout a whole range of key social categories, the words 'people' and 'nation' and their derivatives have not undergone any special changes. As for the most significant legal and conceptual texts, here already the second decade the Right Management of Administration of President of Russia stands guard, the head of which having only one understanding of all 'national' categories. This understanding

arises from literal perusal of the first article of the Constitution: there can be no other nations except those that constitute a multinational people. There is not a word about the Russian people (Russian citizens) and about a civil nation in the Constitution. This means they don't exist.

But one should not be captious in respect to state employees and reproach them for their neglect of modern knowledge if alternation of concepts and divergent interpretations of the category of 'national identity' run the show in the midst of humanitarian scholars. The same J. Habermas noted that the modern social and humanitarian science is strongly differentiated and 'a distance between historical sciences and public process of tradition transfer has increased. Mistakenness of knowledge and competition of the ways of interpretation prompt the problematic field of historical consciousness rather than the formation of an identity and sense formation'. But even in this situation *scientists shouldn't ignore the force of intellectual insight and public influence that they possess.*

**P. P. Tolochko<sup>1</sup>**

## DIALOGUE OR MONOLOGUE OF CIVILIZATIONS?

Dialogue of civilizations involving mutual respect of cultural identity of the nations is rather an ideal philosophical category than reality. Not a single historical period can boast such a pleasing picture. The nature of development has always been that of expansion, not only in terms of military but culture as well. It looks more like a monologue, and even if it is a dialogue the latter is far from being equal or peaceful.

Development of a cultural community or civilization is a complicated and contradictory process full of gains and losses. As a rule military and political figures, mostly state bureaucracy, took part in the formation of such a community, the formation being not always peaceful. It has not very often been in history that natural synthesis of many cultures was successful. Some cultural tradition would be forced in a certain area and it absorbed other ones. The same is true in respect of their bearers who also assimilated into the main ethnic nation of the civilization.

Ancient history is full of such examples. The development of the Roman civilization on the territories hundreds and thousands kilometres away from the civilization source is perhaps the most revealing. Actually, it was mostly invasion. The Roman Empire and the Roman order were maintained on vast areas of Europe and Africa by military garrisons based in reinforced camps. Roman legionaries used to leave these, so to say, military bases and attacked barbarians who resisted the influence of the Roman civilization.

There have always been cross-civilization discrepancies. Expanding on a certain territory sooner or later a civilization contacted another one, which was developing similarly on the neighbouring territories. Rather often a collision of interests took place between the civilizations. It is characteristic of

culturally different civilizations (suffice to remember the defeat of the Byzantine Empire by the Turks, or Kiev Rus by the Mongolian Tatars), but conflicts could occur between kindred ones, too. An example could be a long confrontation between Orthodox Byzantine and Catholic Roman civilizations, which resulted in a destructive defeat of the eastern 'brethren'. In 1204 the Pope flagged crusaders destroyed Constantinople and buried under its ruins one of the most brilliant of world civilizations.

Influence of the Roman Catholic civilization on culture of various regions of the world was destructive in the period of great geographic discoveries. Many ceased to exist, among them cultures of Aztecs, Inca, Maya. Their bearers were extirpated, too.

In the course of time only a few large world civilizations differing in their culture and history, and what more essential in terms of their spirit and religion took place of many hundreds on the world map. It is only natural to use religious terms to define them: Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Islam, etc.

Since their early years these civilization systems have been competing not only for people's souls but for the territories they occupy. As a rule this competition is accompanied by military conflicts of which they all regret, but fortunately there have been no world cataclysms so far. Western Catholic-Protestant world takes leadership in this competition; on the one hand, it has become the locomotive of the world technology, and, on the other hand, its leadership managed to turn the rest of the world into its donor, which began in the 16th century when Western states colonised various regions, and later after the collapse of the colonial system it used other campaigns and cartels. Though military power and violence still remain in their arsenal.

Vladimir Solovyov used to say that everybody should be a westerner. The definitions of a westerner and a human being should coincide, so should the definitions of the Western culture and the humanity. That was his idea of the essence of history<sup>2</sup>. Nowadays some Western political and culture scientists develop his idea. Some of them have introduced the notion 'Western culture' as a supranational category. It is characterised by confession, respect of a person's rights,

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Author of 25 monographs, among them are "Historical Topography of Old Kiev" (1970), "Old Kiev" (1983), "An Old Russian Feudal Town" (1989), "Historical Portraits" (1991), "Chronicles of Kievan Russ" (1994), "St. Vladimir – Yaroslav the Wise" (1996), "From Russ to the Ukraine" (1997) and others.

Chairman of the Ukrainian Society for Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments, member of the Academy of Europe (London), corresponding member of the Central German Institute of Archaeology (Berlin), member of International Association of Slavic Archaeology.

Laureate of the State Award of the Ukraine for science and technology, the State Award of the Ukraine, Award of the National Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine.

<sup>2</sup> Solovyov V. S. Selected works in 2 volumes. 2nd edition. M., 1990. Vol. 2. P. 695–697.

observance of the Christian religious tradition, development of socially-centred market economy<sup>1</sup>.

No doubt, values of the Western civilization are very attractive objectively and are many nations' dream. But not everybody's, and the values must not be enforced, which unfortunately may take place.

Contemporary situation made globalisation a world phenomenon. Most military and economically developed countries are concerned with reallocation of the planet's resources and the world dominance connected with it. The fact is, the principal modern globaliser is NATO headed by the USA. It is inspired by the familiar imperial interests veiled by noble slogans of 'liberty', 'democracy' and 'civilization'. American-NATO supporters are sure of their mission to enrich the mankind with their life values. As long as the humanity is reluctant to accept them voluntarily, the values should be enforced. They keep talking about democracy, liberty and civilization and do believe in their mission to 'democratise' nations as nobody else knows what it is; no matter that it may result in the loss of their cultural-historic identity.

For example, NATO strategists came to the conclusion that non-democratic regime of Milosevic violated rights of ethnic minorities in Yugoslavia and waged war there. They even dropped bombs with depleted uranium onto Serbian people. That resulted in the breakdown of this once prosperous Slavic country into several small states subordinate to Washington and Brussels.

Do they live better on the Balkans now that NATO introduced their 'peace' and 'liberty' there? Absolutely not. Democracy enforcement took much more lives than interethnic conflicts. NATO bombs ruined whole blocks of Serbian towns, ancient cultural monuments, bridges over the Danube. About 200 thousand Serbs had to leave their native land Metohija (Kosovo). Is there any chance they will come back? Who is responsible for the invasion into Yugoslavia? The Hague trial seems uninterested in such trifles.

It is especially deplorable that all Slavic countries except Russia betrayed Serbia. Some remained silent on the USA and their allies' abuse of discretion, others let NATO bombers into their air. One can hardly call such a position moral. In fact, these countries betrayed not only Serbia but their own historical background, precepts of great Slavic enlighteners Karadžić, Shafarik, Shevchenko, Drinov and others whose dream was All-Slavic Unity.

Having liberated the Balkans of Milosevic's dictatorship NATO leaders started to seek for another 'deprived' nation at once. Iraq people came in handy. They were also ruled by a refractory and independent on Western countries person and allegedly couldn't wait for the Americans to free them. Their hour came when the USA and their NATO allies (this time not all of them) attacked Iraq and occupied the sovereign country.

As expected neither peace nor freedom came with American invasion. Under the dictatorship of Hussein, as is stated by Western media, his regime victims numbered thousands of people, while after its overthrow and under American democracy the Iraq citizens perished by tens and hundreds of thousands. Unsteady interethnic and religious balance supported by the authoritarian regime of Hussein was shattered. At present Iraq is in the state of civil war (interethnic and interconfessional). The same is true for Afghanistan where civilized westerners under American leadership are trying in vain to impose freedom and democracy. Iran, Northern Korea and others are in turn.

For truth's sake it should be noted that Western 'democracy' is introduced both in a military and peaceful ideological way with strong financial support of the USA who do not conceal the fact but try to convince the world public that the

money serve the democratic forces whose civilization values they share.<sup>2</sup>

The example of the Ukraine shows that American and Western money is spent on numerous public foundations and institutions, which pursue 'liberty' and 'democracy'. The Ukrainian youth have a wide access to different European and mostly American educational institutions. On return back to the Ukraine they uphold the idea of Western civilization advantage.

This is how 'democratic' coloured revolutions are staged. They took place in such post-Soviet countries as Georgia, the Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan. Belarus was in line but on the day of the presidential election on March 19, 2006 learning of the coup that failed President Bush got nervous and couldn't hide his attitude to A.Lukashenko. His revenge was to inform the Senate of Lukashenko's income first and to take measures if the authorities of Belarus were to suppress the opposition. It should be noted that George Bush made no statement on that. The Belarus authorities made it clear that they would use force as a counteraction. It is evident that the American President was ready to let the opposition anything to overthrow Lukashenko's regime, the same way things went in the Ukraine in 2004. Western countries warned them on the use of force but never addressed the opposition. It was allowed to do anything, even dismiss the lawful president.

'Democratisation' of the Ukraine did not cost the alliance much. They just had to loosen their purse strings during the 'Orange Revolution' to replace not compliant towards the USA and Western states Leonid Kuchma with west-oriented Viktor Yushchenko. The victory was incomplete and now NATO officials (in the Ukraine and beyond) tend to strengthen it by involving the Ukraine into the Organisation.

Examples of globalisation are to be continued. But my purpose is not only to express a negative attitude to the phenomenon, but to draw the attention to the fact that neither equal dialogue of cultures, nor civilized partnership exists in the world. No doubt, our world is not perfect. Of course, we'd like it to be 'conventional'. But why do NATO members create the model of this 'conventional' world?

Why, say, it does not occur to Western politicians that tastes differ – some may not like the Western model the way they don't like this or that in the rest of the world? What would they think if some powerful and influential country obsessed with the Messiah idea of reorganisation of the world according to its pattern would start doing what the USA is doing now? It is unlikely that this country's messianism would be recognised. Suffice to remember the reaction of the Western countries to the Soviet Union's claim to globalise and tailor the world in its image and likeness.

Terrorism is another feature of the modern stage of the world development. It is global, too. It may be considered the outcome of civilization and ecclesiastical conflicts, though some make attempts to view the phenomenon as something beyond it. Making other nations live in accordance with new rules, no matter how civilized they were, still alien to the nation's mentality, globalization followers will inevitably face rejection of their messianism<sup>3</sup>. And they already are. This rejection takes various forms, often ugly ones, and innocent people suffer, unable to cope with it. Especially if one keeps in mind that cause and effect of this phenomenon interweave so tightly.

All said above proves that the modern idea of the natural mechanism of globalisation development on the basis of Western-oriented liberal model is inaccurate. The world has

<sup>2</sup> In 2008 the US Senate allocated almost \$500 million to support so called young democracies.

<sup>3</sup> As academician Y. Pakhomov says, it is necessary for Western countries to realize that Muslim eastern countries should not be imposed forms of life based on Western values. The respond to messianism like that could be more severe resistance and introduction of the moderate regime of fanatical fundamentalists. In Pakhomov Y. World Civilizations and National Paradox//Sofia. 2005. No. 2–3. P. 15.

<sup>1</sup> Schneider E. European Culture. Dialogue of Cultures and Partnership of Civilizations. SPb., 2008. P. 78–79.

always been many-sided and multicultural. Such it should remain. It goes without saying, it is full of contradictions. As long as they remain on regional level, there is no threat of the world conflict. But the latter is quite feasible in the

globalisation framework when one civilization declares its sole right to reasonable 'world order'. It is necessary to get rid of this delusion and to develop relations between nations based on mutual respect of their cultural traditions and lifestyles.

V. T. Tretyakov<sup>1</sup>

## TELEVISION AS THE MURDERER OF HIGH CULTURE

The firmness and acuteness of the statement in the title of my speech might be argued by many (and I am only well familiar with the type of the argumentation used). However, I stick to my opinion, which is based, alas, not on fancies or abstract speculations, but on the awareness of what the situation is on television in this country, at least, as I have cooperated with television for quite a period now. I believe, that we shouldn't be too hopeful until we have all educated people work in a task-oriented and specially financed mode, until we have some specific state programs.

The modern world is overwhelmed with and dominated by the mass culture. Almost all mass media, television for the first place, are the major champions of its ideas and patterns. We can claim that television itself has become a part of mass culture – as its essence, as a particular industry, and what is even more horrible, as a business.

Television today is totally omnipresent. And all that is totally omnipresent easily becomes totalitarian. One can turn total into totalitarian in no time, just giving an order, or pushing a button. But unlike politics (which nowadays has almost become a variant of mass culture), where the threat of such an order is likely to be terminated or, at least, limited by numerous political structures and institutions and the civil society in general, in the domain of culture there doesn't have to be that final order. Nobody can tell where the point of no return is: is it when 80 out of 100 people cannot read by heart a single poem by Pushkin, or is it when only 75 fail to do that? Anyway, I feel we entered that zone some twenty years ago and are getting deeper and deeper.

The outstanding politicians and philosophers have sung their praise for the carnival, for playful life, and upbringing, and education. But none of those intellectuals could imagine that "life in serious" would not be just interrupted by the play from time to time, but would be totally displaced by it. And that is what modern television is doing today on a tremendous scale.

The development of television as a particular institute of journalism, as I see it, resulted in the fact that alongside the classical genres that are tightly bound with literature and science (informing, reporting, interviewing, article writing) there appeared the fifth genre of showing off (all entertaining programs and the so-called talk-shows). For some time this new playful genre used to diverse and contribute to

journalism and television. But now this genre is suppressing and dislodging the rest of them, blurring their borders, destroying both their inner their logic and naturally felt and expressed genuine emotions. Meaningless and tasteless fun accompanied by hyper-exaggerated emotional "revelations" replaces everything.

Mass culture oversimplifies all, underrates all and vulgarizes all. This is what we witness on a television screen today.

The pandemic of mass culture (flourishing, to be sure, through television) has coincided with the crisis of the high culture and arts. The so-called postmodernism, without creating anything that could be compared to the specimens of classical art, has set off to revise those specimens, destroying and debasing them. We can witness this on our TV screens day and night. The dimensions of the process are hard to grasp. In fact, they are global and total.

Unfortunately, mass culture with its two most precious priorities – money and publicity – has spread its influence onto schools and universities. It was done through TV and the decision of the "reformers of classical education". The new generations are being brought up and trained up by television. And who reigns on TV is no secret.

The advocates of postmodernism claim that everything is not that bad, for its irony and self-parody is the antidote against the perish of the institutes and objects of genuine art. Those advocates either delude us and themselves or cheat. There is no irony here, but mockery and jeering. There are no traces of self-irony. There is only scabrous mockery over one's own weaknesses (they are only too numerous because of the lack of strengths) that are all too easily forgiven and forgotten in a jiffy.

They say that the development of the so-called gap channels will sooner or later bring about the situation when the genuine art worshippers might have a chance to watch something somewhere. But even if that is so, two issues come up: 1. How many of them will there remain? 2. Are there any guaranty that gap channels will not follow the same path together with the modern national channels and the channels that offer the variety of issues?

I assume that in general – with the help of television for the first place – the European civilization is degrading to the most dismal times of medieval ignorance. Apparently, the European culture, having passed through its peak in the 15th–20th centuries, is dying. And television, as if on purpose, is either prolonging the agony of our culture or is stimulating the lethal outcome.

It is clear to me that Russia, as a country, a nation, a state, a special constituent of the civilization and mankind, in general, and of the Euro-Atlantic civilization, in particular, will either perish or turn into something completely different from what it is now, if its cultural patterns are devalued and overthrown, and cultural codes are destroyed. Consequently, the choice is obvious: resist or reconcile.

My ambitions, the ambitions of the founder and Dean of Higher School of Television at Moscow State University aspire after training up the TV professionals, who would, when they get inside, prevent the final and irreversible downfall of the true culture and the great classical art.

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Author of books: "Philanthropy in the Soviet Society" (in English, French, German and Spanish, 1989), "Gorbachov, Ligachov, Yeltsin. Political Portraits Against the Background of Perestroika", "Titus of Sovietologists. Their Fight for Power. Sketches of Idiocy in Russian Politics", "Russian Politics and Politicians in Normal and Pathological Conditions. A Glimpse of Russian Politics in 1990–2000", "How to Become a Famous Journalist. A Course of Lectures on Theory and Practice of Contemporary Russian Journalism", "Spineless Russia", "The Science of Being Russia. Our National Interests and Ways to Promote Them" as well as over two thousand articles in Russian and foreign press.

Recipient of awards in literature and journalism, including "The Golden Pen" from the Union of Journalists of Russia, the TEFI award and others.



## ON ACTIVITIES OF THE FEDERAL MIGRATION SERVICE IN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE STATE MIGRATION POLICY OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

The problem of effective management of the migration processes in the interests of the sustainable social-economic development of Russia, national security, human rights and freedoms of citizens has become one of the priorities in domestic and foreign policy of the Russian Federation.

In the last 15 years, Russia has turned into a major admitting centre, a country of mass entry and transit of migrants. Over the past two years, dynamics of the number of passes through the Russian Federation's state border by foreign citizens has remained quite stable: on the average, nearly 22–24 million registrations.

Nowadays, the most important priority of the Russian migration policy is the organization of civilized migration aimed to positive economic results with observance and ensuring of human and civil rights, as well as encouragement of migratory population increase in the Russian Federation and adaptation of the migrants entering the country.

In this aspect, particular importance is devoted to the State program designed to assist voluntary resettlement of compatriots living abroad in the Russian Federation and approved by the Decree of President of the Russian Federation on June 22, 2006, No. 637. In the heart of this State program, there is an idea of purposeful resettlement of the compatriots in Russia. One of the principles of contribution to the voluntary resettlement of compatriots living abroad in Russia is the interconnection of activities provided by the State program with the objectives of economic, social and cultural development of the country.

At present, it is possible to discuss the establishment of the system intended to facilitate the voluntary resettlement of compatriots in Russia and serving interests of both migrants and Russia. Beginning with the September of 2007, the resettlement of compatriots from foreign countries including the former Soviet republics has started in 12 regions of Russia.

Kazakhstan, the Ukraine, Uzbekistan and Moldova are the main countries, which are oftener left by the compatriots. For today, over 12,6 thousand resettlers have already arrived.

Considering the strategic tasks of stabilization of the demographic situation and supplying the economic system with workforce, as well as the more effective migration management, reduction of illegal immigration and, at the same time, raising of the level of constitutional and legal guarantees for foreign citizens wishing to legally stay in Russia, changes in the immigration legislation came into force as of the 15th of January, 2007, having simplified the process of achieving Russian legal status by foreigners.

Today one can speak of some positive results of implementation of the new immigration legislation. Changes for the better are observed in the field of migratory registration. In 2008, the number of foreign citizens registered as migrants increased by 1.3 million as compared to 2007 (or by 16.6 percent) and amounted up to 9.2 million.

A similar result has been achieved due to simplification of the process of the issuing work permits to foreign citizens who arrived in Russia on the basis of visa-free entry. The number of foreigners legally working in Russia in 2007 was four times more than in 2006 (583.4 thousand). According to the last year results, the number of issued work permits

exceeded 2 million. At the same time, a significant reduction in the number of permits issued with time constraints infringement is observed.

Strengthening of the administrative liability for break of law concerning migration has also produced a positive effect. Fines for illegal use of foreign labour force have been significantly increased. Thus, at present the maximum rate of penal sanctions for each illegal migrant worker may amount up to 800 000 roubles. This is quite serious and at the same time a preventing instrument of influence exerted on unscrupulous employers. Let us take some figures. In 2008, the officials of territorial bodies of Russian FMS in cooperation with the internal affairs services carried out more than 337 thousand operational preventive measures and special operations, which is by 7.4 percent more than in 2007. As a result of these measures there has been drawn up over 2 million protocols on administrative violations, and the sum of imposed fines was over 6.1 billion with over 3 billion roubles recovered.

In August 2008, Russia together with the world community encountered the international financial crisis. The ongoing negative economic processes can strongly influence the rate and directions of migratory flows, especially of labour migration. In this connection, the country government body together with the FMS of Russia recognize the need for careful monitoring and analysis of current situation for taking adequate measures.

Hence the need of receiving complete, reliable and timely information on the movement of foreign nationals. Today, it has become possible to achieve adequate understanding of the rate and directions of migratory flows due to the ongoing activities of the Russian FMS in the field of developing the information infrastructure including the central database for accounting foreign nationals and stateless persons who are temporarily staying and temporarily or permanently residing in the Russian Federation (Computer-Based System of the Central Database for Registering Foreign Nationals), the database containing over 80 million records of personal information. It is worth noting that this database is linked with the Russian FSB, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Rosfinmonitoring, Federal Tax Service of Russia, etc.

The analysis of incoming data indicates that in 2008 there were 14.4 million foreign nationals in the country, and approximately 31% of them crossed the Russian Federation state border more than once (for example, an Estonian citizen Lembit Keskküla in 2008 crossed the Russian-Estonian border in the check point 'Kunchina mountain' over 400 times).

The most developed countries of the world community recently stepped up their efforts to counter the increasing threat of international terrorism and illegal migration. According to representatives of foreign countries, the most efficient and resulting measure to combat these phenomena is the introduction in all countries of foreign documents in electronic forms containing the biometric data of their owners unique for each person. Russia has not been an exception in this process. Since 2007, Russian FMS has begun issuing foreign passports of a new type. By present, the Service has taken almost 2,9 million applications for these documents and prepared over 2,5 million thousand ones. 675 sub-units of Russian FMS territorial bodies are now taking into consideration the respective applications.

Introduction of these techniques enabled a significantly increased authenticity of citizens' identification either on the stage of preparing and issuing documentation, or on the stage of passing through border control. It also allowed excluding

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Author of the textbook "State and Legal Framework of Migration in the Russian Federation" (co-authored), articles for legal journals.

almost any opportunity of unlawful use of this kind of documents.

At the same time, introduction of innovative techniques and prediction of further development of migratory situation in the country are impossible without an appropriate scientific support of this activity, as evaluation of potential results of any political decision, the efficacy of current migration policy, and application of needed corrections are possible only within the framework of a combined scientific approach. For the solution of these tasks, the Scientific Council of FMS with scientists and leading experts in the field of migration in its membership was established in 2007.

At present, openness and accessibility for every citizen are the basic principles of realization of the state migration policy. In this connection, the Service intensively cooperates with the Public Chamber, the Ombudsman for Human Rights in the Russian Federation, national diasporas, legal advocacy organizations, and human rights movements. A Public Body attached to FMS functions systematically on a planned basis. In addition, there is an official site of the FMS whose rating has increased from the 84th to the 14th place according to the data of the Institute for Information Freedom Development. The evaluation was carried out against such characteristics as availability of information, its completeness, urgency, accessibility and social significance.

Within the scope of international dialogue in the sphere of migration, the Service has recently succeeded in achieving a sustainable level of cooperation with international organizations acting in the field of migration.

With the purpose of elaborating coordinated decisions in the field of migration a Council of the Heads of Migration Departments of the CIS states was established in 2007, its chairman being R. O. Romodanovsky, the Director of the Federal Migration Service. In the last year alone, four sessions were held where the most urgent subjects on the cooperation in the field of migration were discussed, including problems of implementing the Concept of further development of

the CIS, approval of the CIS Convention on the legal status of migrant workers and members of their families, as well as the experience in the use of 'the new generation passports', etc.

Another example of improved cooperation and coordination of activities of the states – parties to the agreement on cooperation of the CIS States in fighting the illegal migration is a Joint Commission of the states – parties to the Agreement on Cooperation of the CIS States in Struggle against Illegal Migration (March 6, 1998) comprising plenipotentiaries from the governments of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan and the Ukraine.

In the course of its activities the Joint Commission determined the priorities of the cooperation between law machinery and migration services of the CIS states in the sphere of migration: the struggle against illegal migration, regulation of working migration, legislative control of migration processes, completion of readmission agreements, intensification of security level of the new generation documents, creation of integrated databases, and many other problems.

At the same time, the Joint Commission places high emphasis specifically on practical issues connected with organization of work on determination of the legal status for migrants, their incorporation into the 'legal field', as well as on the arrangement of bilateral and multilateral interaction in realization of decisions about deportation and expulsion of illegal migrants as ordained by authorities and courts of the CIS states.

Thus, at present the Federal Migration Service solves diverse problems, and its role in the social-economic development of the country and in the realization of national and geopolitical interests of the country can hardly be overestimated. It is obvious that the problems of migration deserve the most detailed and everyday attention rendered at the highest state level.

## A. I. Uglanov<sup>1</sup>

### MASS MEDIA AND THE YOUTH

Thinking of Dmitry Likhachov's remarkable personality takes my memories back to the times of the first Congresses of People's Deputies, where I participated as a delegate. The nuances of speeches and ideas of D. Likhachov, A. Sakharov, A. Sobchak and others who were making the contemporary history, are extremely interesting. I will try (though it's a difficult task) to give you a gist of my impressions.

Nowadays, when our country is going through the tough times, Russia's long-standing problems are more than ever acute. I am referring to unscrupulousness, stealing, an irresistible lure for ready money and for endless pleasures (one of Russia's tourist agencies is called 'Borderless Leisure') and to extensive consumption (without quality products). But it's not the situation itself that hurts me most. It is our attitude to it that does. The facts that mass media give us are contradictory and sometimes even misleading. The fifteen years of Russia's browsing through capitalism have taught us a lot. Those years have changed a lot. Those years disappointed us a lot. But the Russian soul seems to be unchanged. And there are a lot of things that it lacks at this stage...

The Russians always seemed to be quite sceptical about the postulate 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his contribution'. Nowadays, with the established customs and traditions dramatically mixed up, many people have no fixed guide lines in life – they don't know what and who to believe or what ideals to stick to.

There is hope, though, that the main treasures that Russia still possesses are not its natural resources (they are going to last for another 20–30 years) but its intellectual asset. Telling you banal things is not in my line, but I think that only a well-educated man is genuinely free. Unfortunately, intellectual work is not well-paid, because the authorities don't seem to grasp its true value.

Spiritual and moral guidelines, social activities and practices are the most important things in the relations between mass media and the younger generation. The current situation with mass media can be referred to as total degradation and de-intellectualization, because the intellectual activities are limited to reading Panorama TV (a TV digest) or watching 'Dom-2' TV programme (a reality show). For the most intellectual part of the population there are football coverings.

It should be noted that education and training practices here, at St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, are based on the authentic cultural hallmarks:

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D. Likhachov, D. Granin, A. Likhanov, Z. Alferov. And such true standards are what we lack today. This is one of the acutest problems our society is challenged with. 'Bourgeoisie elite' which has replaced the intelligentsia of the Soviet times doesn't have the basic values to offer. And I mean such values that could make up the background for children upbringing, for family life and for relations between people and the authorities. Seen from that perspective, the issue of youth policies establishment is only proclaimed and imposed by the authorities (I am referring to the 'Molodye' [the Young] or 'Molodaya Rossiya' [the Young Russia] youth movements). Unemployment is one of the main problems for the young people, for university graduates as well. More than 50 per cent of vacancies for 6 000 000 of the unemployed all over the country just don't exist. These are so-called 'fake vacancies',

a made-up trick. Young people are wasting their time and money, while personnel officers are making a profit out of it. The year of 2009 has been declared the Youth Year in Russia. What measures should be taken to change the situation in real fact – from imitation of taking care to business-like and caring attitude?

At the end of my speech I would like to say some words about Argumenty Nedely weekly which celebrated its third anniversary. The newspaper has proposed to the President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, professor A. Zapesotsky, to sign an Agreement on cooperation in informational domain. I am glad that our proposal has been given due attention, and the agreement has been signed. I also hope that our relations will be getting even closer and more productive.

**Jacob A. Van Belzen<sup>1</sup>**

### **FACING THE CHALLENGE OF DIALOGUE OF CULTURES AND PARTNERSHIP OF CIVILIZATIONS: CONTRIBUTION OF HERMENEUTIC SOCIAL SCIENCE**

It is a great honor to be invited at this wonderful international scientific conference, named after and perpetuating the memory of that great scholarly mind that Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov has been. It is a true delight to have the opportunity to discuss with so many outstanding colleagues and participants in different cultures issue of highest importance to present day civilization and indeed to humanity and even to our good old planet Earth.

As you can imagine, being a professor at the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands, I am particularly delighted to be invited to St. Petersburg, which in our perception is the probably most European of all Russian cities and to which we in the Netherlands feel particularly related. As you will all know and need not be elaborated further, the founder of this magnificent city received part of his education during his formative years in our little country on the North Sea, and we imagine Peter the Great to have been inspired in his plans for St. Petersburg by Dutch cities and particularly by Amsterdam. In 1697 the city of Amsterdam arranged a great historic show in honor of the arrival of the Czar in Holland, and ever since those days there have been close and cordial relationships between Amsterdam and St. Petersburg. For the sake of the topic of our conference, let me before I get my main contribution to our meeting briefly give just one example of the ways in which Amsterdam and St. Petersburg collaborate in the realm of culture and of the ways in which they are partners sharing cultural heritage.

When in the early 1990s Professor Mikhail Piotrovsky, director of the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg, was considering the possibility of having satellites of the museum in the West, he was also thinking about Amsterdam. Good relationships had already been established between the Hermitage and the so-called New Church in Amsterdam. This building as its name indicates: a former church on the Central Square in the center of Amsterdam is mainly used for major exhibitions, also materials from that most famous Russian museum had been often on display there. As excellent collaboration had developed between the New Church and the Hermitage, it was suggested that Amsterdam would be

the ideal location for a branch of the St. Petersburg museum, given the historical links between the two cities over the past 300 years.

In 1988 a feasibility study for a Hermitage branch in Amsterdam was conducted. The results of this study proved favorable so a foundation 'Hermitage on the Amstel' was established in 1994. (Amstel is the name of the river on which Amsterdam is built and from which the city derives its name.) The main location of the Hermitage Amsterdam museum is expected to be completed and to be opened this year. But already since the end of February 2004 a smaller building was opened, allowing for small exhibitions and a small educational element, the two cornerstones of the Hermitage Amsterdam. So since that time we in Amsterdam share already the rich cultural treasures of the Hermitage with the people of St. Petersburg, a development for which we are very grateful and of which we are very proud!

And the relationship works both ways, providing mutual benefit. For this same Dutch foundation has helped the Hermitage in St. Petersburg to preserve some of the most impressive works by Rembrandt, perhaps the most famous Dutch painters of all. About twenty of his works hang in the Hermitage, among them the classic 'David and Jonathan', painted in 1642 and purchased and brought over to St. Petersburg by Peter the Great himself. As the number of Rembrandts in the Hermitage became quite large during the nineteenth century, when the Dutch royal family was related through marriage to the Russian imperial family, a special room was built for the Rembrandt collection. When at the end of the twentieth century the State Museum Hermitage did not have the finances to afford the badly needed restoration of this room, the Dutch Hermitage foundation was able to help by raising funds, sending over architects and bringing in a new roof for this section of the museum. Afterwards, an even larger area containing Dutch masters was restored with the help of the Hermitage Friends from Amsterdam.

These are just some examples of the close and cordial relationships between the two cities.

Important as this bit of history from a wonderful relationship and exchange in the realm of art and culture between Amsterdam and St. Petersburg may be, I will not go any further into it, as I think I am invited because of the part of my scientific work that can be designated as 'cultural psychology of religion' (Belzen, 2009). I do realize that to many in the audience the formulation 'cultural psychology

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Secretary General of the International Committee for European Psychology of Religion (1985–2003), member of the International Association for the Psychology of Religion, honorary member of the Italian Association for the Psychology of Religion. Member of the American Association for Psychology.

of religion' will contain at least three words they are not familiar with, and the relationship into which they are brought in this formulation may surprise them even more. Before I articulate my central thesis with regard to what can be learned from scientific research in cultural psychology of religion with respect to or on behalf of the 'Dialogue of Cultures and Partnership of Civilizations', it will be necessary therefore to briefly introduce this area of scientific inquiry. Let me start with a brief explanation of 'psychology of religion', a subject that may raise confusion, given that it is almost unknown and unfound in the Russian Federation.

### Psychology of religion

Should one desire to do so, one could easily sing the praises of the present situation in the psychology of religion: never before there have been so many psychological publications on religion, so many meetings and conferences, such an interest – within as well as outside academia – in what psychology may have to say about religiosity and spirituality. Networks are being established, journals founded, people appointed – the field truly seems to be doing well. From someone who makes his living on the psychology of religion, one might perhaps expect praise such as this. Yet, from an academic one can also expect earnestness and seriousness and, given that, I immediately want to add some remarks that express more concern than praise.

There certainly is great interest in what psychology might have to say about 'religion', religiosity, spirituality and so on. Any book store in the West, especially in the USA, offers dozens of books on these themes, sometimes entire sections devoted to the subject, there are workshops and seminars offered on psychology and spirituality, and so on. It is important to realize, however, that not everything psychological about 'religion' is psychology of religion. Stated even more strongly: it is most likely that the majority of those books and activities do not belong to the psychology of religion. This position grants that the expression "psychology of religion" may itself give rise to problems in understanding. Briefly, what is not meant by the expression is a psychology that belongs to, is part of, or articulates or serves the perspective of any single 'religion'. Psychology of religion is therefore no "religious psychology" (as the discipline was, misleadingly, called for many decades). In the psychology of religion the aim and purpose is to use psychological instruments (like theories, concepts, insights, methods and techniques) to analyze and understand 'religion'. This is being done from a scholarly, distant perspective, as personally detached as possible, as is required in all of the Religionswissenschaften, those scholarly disciplines dealing with 'religion' such as the history, sociology, anthropology, archaeology and economics of religion, and several others. I immediately grant that each religious tradition contains a great deal of psychological insight, that counselors, spiritual directors and other psychologically gifted religious professionals have considerable insight into human psychic functioning. This, however, cannot be considered scientific psychological knowledge, just as knowledge generated by novelists, philosophers and poets also is not called scientific knowledge.<sup>1</sup> Further, there is considerable knowledge and insight of a psychological kind that is directly related to or founded in religious ideas. Well-known examples include C. G. Jung's psychology and the many publications of esoteric and transpersonal perspectives: interesting as they may be, these are not usually considered part of the psychology of religion, not even by the authors themselves.

<sup>1</sup> This is not to say that these kinds of knowledge would be of less value than scientific knowledge! On the contrary and as should become clear, I am well aware of the very limited value of scientific knowledge, especially in the human sciences like psychology; at this place, I want merely to distinguish the different types of knowledge.

Psychology of religion is neither to be identified with what is sometimes indicated as 'psychology and religion' or as 'the dialogue between psychology and theology'. This field, with quite a number of practitioners, is a subfield of theology or of religious studies, and at universities or colleges usually found with departments by these designations. Ever since modern psychology came into being, numerous Western theologians and other religious thinkers have had a lively interest in this discipline focusing on a subject that always has been of prime concern to theologians too: the human soul. I am not going to relate how the understanding of the 'soul' rapidly changed and diverged between the two academic fields, and how especially psychology hastened to get rid of the concept of the 'soul'. The only point now is that many theologians, either because of their practical work as pastors or because of more systematic academic interests, closely followed developments in modern psychology and tried to relate to these in their own work. Some even integrated parts of psychology into their thinking or became at least deeply influenced by what psychology, or what branches of scholarship focusing on human experiences, had to say (see, e.g. Tillich, Pannenberg or Schillebeeckx). All of this, however, does not constitute psychology of religion, understood in the very modest and general sense just mentioned. Only a very limited number of theologians turned to the psychology of religion in the proper sense, some of them even turned into psychologists of religion themselves, taking up theories, methods and techniques from some psychological school and setting out to conduct empirical research or to at least produce psychological analyses of religious phenomena. In general, however, people from 'psychology and religion' or from the 'psychology and theology dialogue' remained interested primarily in broad theoretical issues, more in psychological theories in general than in practicing empirical psychological work, whether on 'religion' or otherwise. To someone primarily interested in theoretical issues, 'psychology and religion' will be far more attractive than the inevitably very limited scope and results of any psychology of religion (which at best relates to 'psychology and religion' as a small element of a much larger whole). For by virtue of their training and their need to participate in discussions and in media of their professional kin, psychologists of religion following trends within psychology in general have often narrowed down their research and reflections to small scale questions, not that interesting to people from the 'psychology and theology dialogue'. Typically, the latter acquaint themselves mostly with the probably most theoretical of all psychological schools, with psychoanalysis. By consequence, students in religious studies usually hear only the grand, but by now a bit old, theories of Freud and Jung, only seldom about more recent developments in psychoanalysis, hardly ever about other branches of psychology, whether related to research on 'religion' or not.

As I do not wish this paper to become an enumeration of all kinds of psychology related to 'religion' that are not psychology of religion, I shall mention only one more category: the so-called pastoral psychology. Work done in this field is often of good scholarly quality, but it is the intention behind the work that makes the difference to the psychology of religion in the proper sense: pastoral psychology serves religious purposes, it is the psychology that helps the pastor, a psychology developed and practiced to facilitate the aims of (usually Christian) churches. There is hardly anything wrong with this, of course, and within pastoral psychology people are very often well acquainted with and employ the psychology of religion; the point is that the latter is, in principal, neutral towards its object: it does not want to foster nor to combat 'religion', only to analyze and understand it.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> I admit that the picture painted here is too simple, perhaps too optimistic: most psychologists of religion do have some private reasons for being involved

A critical reply to all of this might be that, regarded this way, there seems not to be very much psychology of religion at all! That is essentially correct. If we take by way of example the largest organization for psychology in the world, the American Psychological Association, and consider its division for the psychology of religion, mid-sized among the APA divisions, we must realize that the large majority of its 2,500-plus membership is not very interested in the psychology of religion in its proper sense. Most of the membership are psychologists with a private interest in 'religion', of whom quite a number are interested in integrating 'religion' into their professional work as, especially, clinical professionals. The psychology of religion is therefore a field of very moderate size with a limited number of practitioners worldwide. This field is doing relatively well and there are indeed praises to be sung, albeit that one should know what one is singing praises about and also what kind of praises can be sung at all.

I would like to mention only some indicators of the vitality of the field, which include the many empirical investigations reviewed by, e.g., Beit-Hallahmi and Argyle. In 1997 they published an updated version of their 1975 *Social Psychology of Religion* and when the two volumes are compared it is impressive to see how much more recent empirical work is included. (The same conclusion can be reached when comparing the subsequent editions of the best available review of empirical research in general by Hood et al., 2009.) Another example: about twenty years ago not a single introduction to the field existed, but now we have several. To a great extent this certainly is the result of the ever increasing number of psychological investigations and publications in general, and also of the fact that 'religion' is a much less taboo theme within psychology than it was only some years ago (even the American Psychological Association recently published a number of best-selling books on the subject).

Religion being a very relevant element of every culture, both past and present, and of utmost importance to numerous people, also to contemporaries, it should be obvious that psychology has always paid attention to religion. In principle, all psychological approaches can be and have been applied in research on religion. As what is regarded as religion or religious is so divers across cultures and historical periods, however, a psychological approach that focuses on the cultural makeup of psychic functioning seems an obvious alley if one wants to study religion psychology. Let me say some words on cultural psychology, and then in the next section continue to explain why especially at a university like the one we are gathered right now, a university of humanities and social sciences, cultural psychological approaches should be welcomed, as they explicitly aim at integrating humanities and social sciences.

### Cultural psychology

Like psychology in general, cultural psychology is a rather broad, heterogeneous enterprise to which many well-known psychologists have made significant contributions. It is important to realize from the onset that cultural psychology is not a psychology entirely different from other kinds of psychology as developed during the discipline's past, nor is it one of its separate subdisciplines or simply a field of application. Broadly stated, and at this point without much specification, cultural psychology is an approach within psychology that is trying to describe, to investigate and to

interpret the interrelatedness of culture and human psychic functioning. It is the part of psychology that tries to take serious the perhaps seemingly trivial observation that both culture and human psychic would not and cannot exist without one another, and that therefore culture is a major factor in all meaningful human conduct and on the other hand traces of human involvement can be traced in all expressions of culture. Culture is here understood as a system of signs, rules, symbols and practices that on the one hand structures the human realm of action, and on the other hand is being (re)constructed and transformed by human action and praxis. It may be instructive to divide cultural psychology at large in different variants (that are obviously not entirely independent from one another, and that can not all be dealt with in depth in this paper).

First of all, and vital to the development of psychology as a body of knowledge, attitudes and skills, cultural psychology investigates how culture constitutes, facilitates and regulates human subjectivity and its expression in diverse psychic functions and processes as postulated and conceptualized by different psychological schools and theories (e.g., perception, memory, mental health, the self, the unconscious, etc.). It is important to note, that the concept of culture employed here is a dynamic one, it does not just mean context or situation.

Cultural psychology goes beyond the common understanding of culture in psychology at large. Whereas contemporary psychology generally recognizes that not only human interactions are influenced by culture, but that also individuals' feeling, thinking, experiences and behavior are shaped by it, cultural psychology conceives of these as being inherently cultural: as being the result of human embeddedness in culture, which is therefore to be considered as a genuine element of all human functioning relevant for psychology. This form of cultural psychology will be dealt with at greater length in this paper. It is the form of cultural psychology usually developed by psychologists. (This latter remark should not surprise, for, as we shall see in a moment, there are also other academic disciplines that use or even make contributions to psychology as a scientific enterprise.)

All conditions and determinants of psychic functioning, whether they are limitative (like psychophysical makeup or social and geographical conditions), operative (like acquired, learned activities), or normative (like rules and norms), are always cultural-historically variable. Therefore, this first variant of cultural psychology consists, roughly, in two forms: a synchronic and a diachronic one. In both forms there is a realization of the historical nature of culture (in its various manifestations) and therefore of human psychic functioning. Yet, in the first form, the emphasis is on psychic functions and processes in contemporary subjects; there is an abstraction of historical variation. In the second form, however, the historical changes in human psychic functioning are being investigated and explained on the basis of modifications in cultural conditions and determinations. Cultural psychology as a whole is an interdisciplinary approach, as will be readily understood with this first of its variants: in both forms of the first variant distinguished here, cultural psychology is in need of collaboration with other disciplines from the social and human sciences. In the synchronic form, psychology relies on information, and sometimes theories, concepts and skills from disciplines like anthropology, sociology, and politicalology. In the second one, historiography, and sometimes even evolutionary biology, are among the obvious partners in theorizing and research.

Secondly, numerous publications have traditionally been devoted to efforts to detect and determine the human involvement in all kinds of cultural products. Whereas in the first variant of cultural psychology, the understanding of culture is more or less anthropological, on a macro-level, in this second variant usually a much more elitist and restricted concept of

in this work, reasons that may be partly religious too; yet, as in all sciences of religion, psychology of religion should observe an epistemological 'episteme' in the Husserlian sense: it should refrain from passing judgment on axiological pronouncements and on claims to ontological truth of the religions it studies. This position is difficult to master and requires considerable training to even begin to understand it. However, the attempt to do justice to religions other than one's own and to be critical toward one's own religion as well, are essential elements for any scientific study of religion.

culture is employed. Attention is given to products of so-called "high culture," like novels, movies, operas and other arts, but also to entire areas like peace and war, sports, advertising, organizations, international affairs, and to important domains like socialization, sexuality, and courting, labor, death and dying. Each of these subjects can and is also being studied by other scholarly discipline to which psychology in such case often relates as an auxiliary discipline. In fields (to be distinguished from disciplines!) like cultural studies, education or arts, the discipline of psychology is often called upon to explore the human involvement in the phenomena studied. In these cases typically some kind or another of psychology (particularly psychoanalysis) is applied. Although this may and has been done by psychologists (especially psychoanalysts) themselves, frequently in these cases, it is done by researchers and authors without a psychological training. Or, if psychologists are hired in these contexts, they obviously are serving a goal other than the development of (new) psychological theory.

A third variant of cultural psychology will be mentioned here briefly. It is common to find an understanding among cultural psychologists that different cultural contexts, different times, as well as different places, produce different psychologies, partly as a result of their being developed with or on subjects who are psychically differently constituted, and that the history of psychology is not about natural facts, but about socially generated constructions. Therefore, within cultural psychology there is, on the one hand, attention to so called indigenous psychologies: the psychologies as developed and employed by local people (as distinguished from Euro-American psychologists, who produced almost all of the present academic psychological knowledge), as in parts of the world other than on both sides of the Atlantic. On the other hand, there also is a fair amount of attention given to the history of psychology as a western enterprise. As will be clear, in this third variant there is again collaboration with experts on local cultures (whether academically trained in the western tradition, like anthropologists, or not) respectively with historians, especially intellectual historians (or with historicizing philosophers).

As this paper is not intending to be an introduction of cultural psychology, not even of cultural psychology as applied in research on religion, I shall not go deeper into the subject. In the context of our conference on Dialogues of Cultures and Partners of Civilizations, I want to share something with you that has become very important and dear to me, but which from a psychological perspective will only be regarded as a non-specific result of cultural psychological research on religion. Let me therefore now switch to a more philosophical or methodological level of reflection.

#### **Cultural psychology: heir to the hermeneutical Mainstream in general psychology**

In the philosophy of science, we distinguish between two methodological mainstreams in psychology: an empirical-analytical and a hermeneutical one. Although no longer known to most psychologists in the West, I assume the audience is still acquainted with this general distinction and shall therefore not elaborate it as such, I shall restrict myself to discussing briefly the hermeneutical research tradition in empirical psychology.

According to some authors, psychology at present is a 'changing discipline', turning away from its former emphasis on laboratory studies, experimental design, statistical analysis and an epistemology based on a particular conception of the natural sciences, where the empirical-analytical approach is appropriate. Psychology would become more 'ecological valid' by conducting more 'real world' studies. This move can be observed on several levels. First, psychology has become more open to research on a range of previously neglected

areas, which are central to the psychology of everyday life (cf., e.g., the many studies on the self or the increase in studies on autobiographic memory). Second, there is greater openness to different types of data-collection, with a growing number of researchers and authors employing a variety of approaches going by names such as narrative, semiotic, critical, feminist and ecological psychology, that are all indebted to hermeneutical thinking. In these circles there is a preference for methods and techniques like 'grounded theory', ethnomethodology, field studies, case studies and for so-called qualitative research in general. Psychoanalytical research is also given added scientific respect when its hermeneutical nature is acknowledged. Third, more studies are attempting to include appropriate participant groups, moving beyond the student population from which most 'subjects' for experimental psychology have been taken.

Modern psychology in the West has co-opted the term empirical and reduced it to measurement, statistical analysis and experimentation. Many psychologists refuse to accept psychoanalysis, phenomenology, or other forms of qualitative research as 'scientific' because they would not be "empirical." To assuage this claim, I focus upon the presuppositions supporting the methodological procedure involved in hermeneutical research.

1. The human world (which is the focus of the social sciences) is viewed as structured by co-constructed meaning. Those meanings connected to thinking, talking, feeling, wanting and acting as well to the objectifications of human praxis (like texts, arts, architecture etc.) cannot be observed by 'objective' instruments. The exploration of realities structured by meaning is in need of interpretative approaches. Their formulation can be one by the researchers alone, or in collaboration with the research participants. The development and reflection of the interpretation(s) should be methodically controlled.

2. The human world is regarded as possessing a process-character: meaning changes and must be co-constructed by the participants over and over again; this process is open-ended (participants do not just re-construct meaning or produced "fixed narratives once and for all").

3. There is a return to experience in the original, Aristotelian sense. The Latin 'experientia' is the translation of the Greek 'empereia.' The word 'empirical' has been co-opted to the methodological-technical practices of the 'sciences' in the specific understanding of 'science' as risen in and since Modern Times. The original Aristotelean sense implies also a return to 'data' in the original sense of the word. (This word is derived from the Latin 'datum': that which is given, versus 'factum': that which is made.) Therefore, along with recognition of the central role of language and discourse, there is a preference to work with experience in the real world as opposed to experimental laboratory contexts. Hermeneutical research does not try to 'bring about' experience in a controlled laboratory setting, but proceeds from what is 'given' already (e.g. autobiographies, letters, observations in real-life situations, and narratives provided by interviews).

4. Research is seen as a process, as a set of dynamic interactions, with openness for research participants, situations, and methods. Research participants are left as much as possible in their ordinary situation and way of functioning, they are not taken out of their 'world' into a laboratory, nor are they submitted to experiments, questionnaires or other instruments in control of the researcher only. In hermeneutical research, nothing is fixed a priori; there is no reliance on one method only (in fact, sometimes a method has to be invented or designed as the research evolves). Research is empirical to the extent it is driven by the facts of experience and of the world as it appears to the subject.

5. Research participants are accepted as authoritative about their own experiences in their own right. Researchers try to be open to participants' perspectives and try to avoid translating the subjects' perspectives into the perspective of the researcher or into that of a given theory. They enter in an active dialogue with participants, often returning to them with the results of the investigation in order to discuss them.

6. Researchers not only attempt at nomothetic knowledge (about what 'is always' the case, recurring across particular situations), but also at idiographic knowledge (about what 'once was'). Nomothetic knowledge is ideally formulated in law-like propositions, idiographic knowledge is not. Idiographic knowledge should not be equated with N=1 methodology or with case studies. According to Windelband (1894/1904), who introduced this distinction, while idiographic knowledge might be knowledge of single persons, it might also be knowledge 'of an entire folk, [of] the peculiarity of a language, religion or legal system, of a product of literature, of art or of science'.

7. Hermeneutical research tends to be reflexive: researchers are reflecting throughout the investigation on what they are doing and on their own role in the entire research.

8. Hermeneutical research has an inclination towards case studies focusing on how or what questions, as distinguished from why question. Hermeneutical research does not focus upon questions of causality.

9. Hermeneutical research frequently is oriented towards treating lives and cultural phenomena as texts to be interpreted, and models itself after literary theory. Accordingly, empirical data such as transcriptions of interviews, notes from ethnographic fieldwork, historical documents are employed.

Hermeneutical research yields a different style of reporting than objectivist, positivist social science and does not parody the style of the natural sciences. Whereas in the latter, the tested hypotheses, tables and figures speak for themselves (and only need to be presented, not to be written), the style of a hermeneutic researcher is not like that of an external privileged reporter. Data and theory need to be woven into a literate text, and many authors from the qualitative humanistic tradition feel they should perhaps turn to the tools of the novelist and the artist to report their findings.

#### **Important non-specific results of hermeneutical research**

After this introduction of psychological research on religion and of the hermeneutical approach in cultural psychology, let me come to my main contribution to our conference today. Because of the limitations on time, I shall be very brief. Paradoxically perhaps, I do not want to point out to you any specific results from cultural psychology of religion, interesting as they may be, but rather want to highlight a rather non-specific result of this type of research, a result that may be considered of no importance to a positivistic scientist, yet of utmost importance to the questions and issues that have brought us together here, as we reflect on possibilities for the dialogue of cultures and the partnership of civilizations.

It is in all likelihood because of the different way of proceeding in hermeneutical research, that one can distinguish a remarkable, though totally non-specific result with this type of research. Over the past decades, I have witnessed time and again, with numerous colleagues, students and researchers, that the hermeneutical approach

in research, requiring getting into contact with research subjects, actually meeting and talking to them (rather than sending out questionnaires or submitting them to anonymous experiments in psychological laboratories) leads, almost all by itself, to greater knowledge about, to greater respect for and to greater understanding of research participants, their subcultures and their religious traditions. When researchers go and travel to countries where they investigate phenomena, practices and people that were previously foreign to them the merging of horizons as required and practiced by hermeneutical research leads to the researchers being transformed themselves: they return from their work as persons with a better understanding, with less prejudices and less inclination to force their subjects and the traditions they belong to into prefixed categories of even so-called scientific Western knowledge. The same happens when researchers engage on working on phenomena or questions related to one or more of the minorities that characterizes European societies nowadays: the requirement to meet people in their real world, to try to learn their language, to win their confidence and to try to get acquainted with their customs, traditions and philosophy of life is turning researchers themselves into milder participants in their own subcultures, into persons less inclined to prejudice towards others and into citizens with peaceful attitudes. Mind: I am not suggesting that researchers are taking over convictions or customs of their research participants, nor am I suggesting that they should do so. And in no way am I saying that researchers need to like or start to like the persons they encounter in their work. All of this is not at stake. But what I do observe, is that hermeneutical researchers who not only talk about but also talk to and especially converse with the people they claim to do research on, turn into culturally sensitive citizens able to dialogue with partners from other civilizations.

My recommendation and urgent plea, therefore, is a two-fold one. First of all, to those who seek to increase the capacity for the dialogue of cultures, I am saying that cultures exist only in and through human beings, it is human beings belonging to different cultures who may enter into a dialogue, not those cultures as such. Politicians, church hierarchs, writers and many other public figures will therefore be well advised to take notice of the hermeneutical tradition in psychology and other social sciences and to realize that the modus operandi of this scholarly tradition can contribute greatly to enhancing their own skills and competence in cultural dialogue. Secondly, those psychologists and social scientists among us working entirely and only within the empirical-analytical tradition and only employing experience-distance methods and techniques, I want to remind of the hermeneutical tradition in research and of its potential to contribute to generate other, but at least equally necessary results than they are obtaining already, and especially of the non-specific benefits like greater tolerance in actually dealing with equally human partners from foreign civilizations.

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## A DIALOGUE OF DEMOCRACIES?

It is a pleasure and an honour to take part in these proceedings. The name of Dmitri Likhachev is synonymous everywhere with the values of humanism and personal integrity, based on a belief that what unites us is much more important than what divides us. Likhachev himself defended these values in a manner that was an example to all of us, outside as well as inside the country of his birth. In Scotland, where I work, Likhachev's many achievements were recognised not only by the University of Edinburgh, where he received an honorary doctorate in 1964, but also by the University of Glasgow, where he was a visitor in the 1980s.

For many years, including almost all of the years in which Likhachev was a Soviet citizen, there was a very obvious division between us; it was even a physical division, in the Iron Curtain that separated the two parts of Germany, and the two parts of its capital city. Now, the Wall has gone, and in Berlin, it's not even easy to find where it used to be. But 'the Wall in the mind' is still there, and not just in Germany. It turns out that it was not only an Iron Curtain that divided us, but different histories and cultures. And different understandings of the values we think we share, including democracy.

Russia, as President Putin has made clear, is a democratic country. And it is a country that has made its own contribution to the development of democracy, sometimes ahead of others. One example in which Russia took the lead is in extending the vote to women. Among the first countries to do so was Finland, in 1906 a part of the Russian Empire. In 1917, when elections took place to the Constituent Assembly, women had the vote on the same basis as men. And under the Soviet constitutions from 1918 onwards, men and women had the vote on the same basis, from the age of 18. In Britain, women were not admitted to the franchise on the same basis as men until 1928; in France, not until 1944; in Switzerland, not until 1973.

But Russia, the former president has also made clear, is a country that will construct its own kind of democracy in its own way. It will not be a 'second edition of, say, the US or Britain', where liberal values had 'deep historic traditions'. In Russia, the state and its institutions and structures had 'always played an exceptionally important role in the life of the country and its people. For Russians, a strong state is not an anomaly to be got rid of. Quite the contrary, it is a source of order and the main driving force of any change'. Democracy in Russia, as he told Slovak television in 2005, would be 'adapted to the realities of contemporary Russian life, to our traditions and our history. And we will do this ourselves'.

From about this time, Russian leaders – at any rate, the deputy head of the presidential administration – began to advance a more elaborate version of this thesis: that Russia should be not just a democracy, but a 'sovereign democracy'. In other words, a state that is in a position to take its own decisions, without coming under the undue influence of other members of the world community. What was important, Surkov told a meeting of United Russia in September 2006, was the kind of policies that would give Russia back her status as a major world power that was genuinely independent. Almost all the world's constitutions included a reference to sovereignty; but only a few dozen states were actually able to exercise it. The others had neither the military nor the

economic capability that would allow them to make their own decisions and not do what they were told. 'Who', asked Surkov, 'has said that we should stop trying to be a sovereign people?'

The theory of 'sovereign democracy' acquired much of its significance from the 'coloured revolutions' that took place in a number of formerly communist-ruled countries in the early years of the decade. From the point of view of those who engaged in them, they were a popular movement, led by young people, using new forms of communication – the internet, mobile phones, and pop music. They were organised in networks of activists, and they took particular interest in elections that appeared to have been falsified by a corrupt and incompetent elite. In Serbia, in Georgia, in Ukraine and in Kyrgyzstan they forced new elections, and it was these elections that brought their leaders to power – Kostunica, Saakashvili, Yushchenko and Bakiev.

But there was a different view – one that was favoured not only by the Kremlin, but by many in the West as well. From this perspective, the whole process had been engineered from the outset by the United States, and by nominally independent agencies such as the Soros Foundation. Money had been voted to support them; activists had been trained in methods of non-violent regime change; exit polls were funded by Western embassies so that official election results could be challenged as soon as they were announced. Seen from this perspective, what had taken place had nothing to do with democracy and everything to do with the extension of Western control into a part of the world that had formerly been part of the Soviet sphere of influence. Ideally, it would lead eventually to NATO and perhaps also European Union membership.

This was a view that perhaps exaggerated the unity of purpose in Western capitals. And it underplayed the incompetence and corruption of local elites. Indeed, both views were oversimplifications. The division, in the first place, was never one between an isolated regime and a united opposition. Elites were divided, and so were the citizens. Not least in Ukraine, which has always been a divided society, and where support for the 'Orange' cause in the West was matched almost exactly by support for the 'Blue' cause in the Russian-speaking East. Even in the re-run of the second round of the presidential election in December 2004, Yushchenko won just under 52 per cent of the vote, which was hardly an overwhelming mandate. Yanukovich had more than 44 per cent, and took more than 90 per cent in some regions.

Nor was it just a matter of voting. With a group of colleagues, I have been investigating some of the attitudes that prevailed at this time with the help of focus groups conducted in various parts of the country. Essentially, there were two narratives. For those who took an 'Orange' view, the movement that forced a re-run of the presidential election was a spontaneous one, directed against a corrupt and discredited 'Kuchmizm'. And it was seen as a genuine revolution, with an ancestry that went back to France in 1789. But there was a very different view: one that saw the Orange movement as an artificial one, exploited by political technologists and funded by outside powers, the latest in an orchestrated sequence that was intended to instal pro-Western client regimes throughout post-Soviet space. From this perspective, there had been no revolution at all, just an elite coup that had led to higher prices and a breakdown in relations with Russia.

The crucial moment, in all of these changes, was an election that was successfully overturned by a popular insurgency. But what was a 'free and fair election'? For some time, it had been a judgement that could safely be left to the

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Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which had a broadly inclusive membership. But it began increasingly to be argued that the ODIHR had become a means of imposing what were effectively Western judgements on other countries. In 2007, and again in 2008, no basis was found on which the ODIHR could organise a monitoring mission of a kind that was acceptable to both sides. Indeed the basis of operation of the OSCE itself came under increasing challenge. As a result, we seem further away than ever from a common understanding of the characteristics of a 'free and fair' election.

Indeed, in some ways we are back where we were in the Soviet years. The West claims to practise democracy, and rejects the claims of the East (that is, refuses to accept that Russia and other countries have had an election they are willing to regard as 'free and fair'). But the East, just as in the Soviet years, does not claim to be a democracy in the same sense as the West, and advances a different definition ('sovereign' democracy in this case, rather than 'socialist democracy').

Is there a way forward? Perhaps there is, and first of all, through a process of dialogue that can help us move towards more genuinely universal norms. It might start with a recognition by the Western countries that there are aspects of their political practice that are difficult to reconcile with any useful notion of 'democracy'. For instance, in the Baltic republics, where a substantial minority of the local population do not have the vote and have been denied citizenship, even though in many cases they were born in the republic and have always lived there. I find it difficult to understand myself how extensions of the European Union can be agreed without the consent of the citizens of its member countries, and how the Lisbon treaty can be legislated without a referendum even when (in Britain) all the political parties promised one. Or how it appears to be necessary to have a second referendum if the only country that holds one (Ireland) decides to vote against it.

But a 'dialogue of democracy' would also be easier if it was acknowledged that Russia had also made it increasingly

difficult for ordinary citizens to hold their government to account. Many of these changes followed the Beslan hostage-taking crisis of September 2004, although they were being considered before it. In one of the most important, the single-member constituencies that had returned half of the membership of the Duma were abolished. Not only this: the opportunity to vote 'against all' parties and candidates was removed, and so was the minimum turnout requirement. The opportunity to contest elections was limited to parties registered by the authorities, and it became increasingly difficult to register a party as the minimum membership requirement was raised to 50,000. Non-governmental organisations were placed under increasingly strict control; independent media outlets found it increasingly difficult to operate; anti-government demonstrations were increasingly likely to be broken up.

None of this appeared to be necessary, in that it is generally accepted that the current Russian leadership enjoys a high level of popular support and would win an election in whatever way it was conducted. At the same time, a more centralised system is likely to lead to unfortunate consequences. The weaker the courts, the more likely that the rich and powerful will buy the decisions they want instead of taking the risk of an adverse judgement. The more powers are concentrated in the executive, the less opportunity for the legislature to expose incompetence and improve the quality of legislation. The less government can be held to account through the courts or the printed and electronic media, the greater the risk that the enormous revenues that come from natural resources will find their way into the pockets of state officials.

Speaking shortly before the 2007 Duma election, President Putin drew attention to a 'long-standing problem' in Russian society: the 'alienation' that had existed since Tsarist times between government and the citizens they claimed to represent. It is a problem to which Western countries have not themselves made a wholly adequate response. There would be everything to gain if we discussed this kind of issue without pretending on either side to a monopoly of wisdom.

**A. V. Yakovenko<sup>1</sup>**

## **INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOGUE AS A MEANS FOR ESTABLISHING PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND STABLE DEVELOPMENT**

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,

The problems of inter-civilizational communication attained in this last decade a due consideration by science, politics and diplomacy and became one of important components in current international relations.

The reason for this consideration and urgency involves, first of all, realization of the conflict potential in growing inter-civilizational contradictions of the world today. And these contradictions, at that, are increasing under the conditions of growing competition between the value reference points and the civilization model of development. A threat of the inter-civilizational competition flowing into a confrontation

state appeared, whereas order of the day encounters a task of preventing the international situation development by such a dangerous scenario. Such a state of affairs has clearly occurred following cessation of the 'cold war'.

In this connection, the pledge of peaceful coexistence and stable development at the current stage seems to be in the maximal and mutually useful interaction among all cultural and religious traditions which is only possible via regular dialogue between civilizations and their representatives. One should particularly note the growing role of the religious factor under the conditions of progressing globalisation of the world politics, economy and finances.

The conceptual consideration of the role of this phenomenon is associated with the necessity to refer approaches to urgent international problems with the basic values of the main world religions constituting the spiritual-moral basis of the solidarity common to all mankind. Without taking these principles into consideration it will be difficult to attain just solution of urgent issues of the world development on the really collective and rightful basis, to create the atmosphere of confidence and common understanding in relations among the states in the epoch of globalisation under conditions of

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arising multi-polar situation when competition escalates into inter-civilizational dimension. Leaning upon the common moral denominator that has always existed in the basic world religions prompts strengthening of intercultural harmony, constructing of criteria of following civic rights and freedom within the context of a person's responsibility in the face of society.

One cannot rule out a well felt peacemaking potential of the leading religions that becomes more and more essential for prevention of the 'collision of civilizations', for overcoming various forms of extremism, the roots of which extend to the past and are provoked by today's events: disproportion of economic development of North and South, breach of human rights even within the context of fighting terrorism, defamation of religions, and the threat to preservation of peoples' national-cultural identity and traditional ethical principles.

We see our task in creation of favourable political-diplomatic field for arranging an interreligious dialogue aiming, among other goals, at neutralising the attempts to politicize religious extremism.

Russia undertakes maximum efforts for organic interweaving of the religion dialogue into the canvas of international communication within the frames of intergovernmental organisations and fora including those in line with the Islamic conference organisation, Islamic organisation for education, science, and culture, League of Arab States, inter-Parliamentary Assembly of Orthodoxy, and others.

The conduction of World Summit of Religious Leaders in Moscow in July 2006 became an important step in advancing such an approach.

Today, this issue is being debated in the framework of the UN, Council of Europe, OSCE, CIS, other international organizations and fora. Serious attention is paid to the initiatives for development of interreligious dialogue and religious dimension of intercultural dialogue, the initiatives having been advanced by various subjects of the international law, civic society organisations.

The UN is the most important tool for such work. The organization provides great possibilities for promoting inter-civilizational, intercultural, and interreligious dialogue at the world level with participation of representatives of the states, non-governmental communities, activists of religion, science, culture, mass media.

Within the frames of this universal organisation, a number of inter-civilizational formats are now active, and Russia also takes active part in this. Among them are the Triangular Forum on Interreligious Cooperation for Peace, Ministers' sessions on interreligious cooperation for peace, and the high level Dialogue on prompting interreligious and intercultural mutual understanding and cooperation for peace conducted in 2007. The Dialogue became the biggest forum dedicated to discussion of the interreligious and intercultural cooperation problems for prompting tolerance, mutual understanding and attaining of universal esteem for the issues of freedom of religion, convictions, and cultural variety. A high ranking representative of the Russian Orthodox Church took part in it for the first time.

The Madrid International Forum on Interreligious Dialogue (16–18 July 2008) carried on the Dialogue's work together with the high-level Session of the UN General Assembly on this problem (12–13 November 2008) that was attended by 80 delegations, some of them being at the level of State and Government leaders.

A noticeable role in the work of the UN in this area is played by the Civilization Alliance founded under the UN aegis in 2005 by the initiative of Spain and Turkey; the religious component in this Alliance is still at the formation phase but seems to be able to soon occupy a more distinguished place.

Yet at the very early stages of the Alliance foundation, we saw its potential for mobilisation of the international community's collective will for strengthening inter-civilizational harmony, attaining the harmony among cultures, societies, and religions, and joined the collective effort of its implementation as a member of the so called Group of the Civilization Alliance Friends.

We are sure that the positive experience accumulated in this sphere should be bolder developed in the framework of the UN, and in this connection we think it rather significant to hold the International Year of culture rapprochement in 2010 and we support the participation of the main religious leaders in it.

We proceed from the fact that the current phase of interstate relation development necessitates the operative character for such a dialogue, as it requires an immediate response to modern challenges that have a religious component.

In September 2007, at the UN General Assembly, Russia advanced an initiative of foundation of the Religion Consultative Council under the UN aegis. The main task of the Council, in our opinion, must comprise the task of arranging a wide-scale dialogue between confession representatives and international organisations.

Such structure could unite representatives of Christianity (Catholic, Protestant, Ancient Oriental, Orthodox churches), Islam (Sunnis, Shiites), Judaism, dharmic religions (Buddhism, Hinduism), and Shinto. Being religious in its essence, the Religion Council in its activity would use secular forms and methods. Its competence could cover such issues as interreligious dialogue and the dialogue with non-religious ideologies, preventing defamation of religions, manifestations of intolerance and xenophobia, promoting protection of the places of religious devotions and sacred objects; preservation of cultural-civilization variety under conditions of globalisation, prompting arrangement of regional conflicts having a religious component.

The Russian initiative was met at the UN with approval on the whole, and a statement recommending to the states-members of UN to consider among others our proposal about the Religion Council was included into the UN General Assembly Resolution 'Encouragement of interreligious and intercultural dialogue, mutual understanding and cooperation for the welfare of the World' passed in co-authorship with Russia in November 2008.

Nonetheless, one has to take into consideration that a number of countries either reject the idea of embedding religious component into international dialogue proceeding from the principle of separation of the church from the state, or regard this idea rather guardedly paying their attention mainly to the responsibility of the states for provision of freedom of conscience. Sometime this idea is regarded from the standpoint of accordance of additional freedom for various kinds of sects or pseudo-religious groups and trends. In addition, some countries apprehend possible competition for existing formats of inter-civilizational and intercultural dialogue started on their initiative, or they apprehend general strengthening of Russia's position in interreligious dialogue.

In response, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia S. V. Lavrov reporting at the conference of foreign affairs ministers 'The common world: progress through multiplicity' in Astana in October 2008 emphasized that 'the point is just a creation of a permanent consulting area'.

As the first step towards establishing the Religion Council, our partners were proposed to work on foundation of such a structure within the UNESCO frames. Advancing in this direction the Russian Orthodox Church in its appeal to the UNESCO Director General initiated the creation of a high level group under the Director General on interreligious dialogue. In the opinion of the Russian Orthodox Church

opinion, the Group could work on promoting the intercultural dialogue via education, science, culture, and mass media in accordance with the UNESCO medium-term strategy for 2008–2013. One should note that, considering the growing attention this organization pays to inter-civilizational and inter-religious issues, UNESCO met such an appeal with approval.

In conclusion, one should say that, irrespective of how the problem of the interreligious dialogue mechanism is solved, the necessity of involvement of healthy forces potential in the world religious community, as S.V. Lavrov said, becomes more and more evident while its prompting and strengthening is the barest necessity of the world politics.

A. S. Zapesotsky<sup>1</sup>

## THE POST-SOVIET AREA AS A ZONE OF GLOBAL CONFRONTATION (Thoughts on the Upshot of the 8th International Likhachov Scientific Conference)

In the post-Soviet period, conflicts among some states that appeared in place of the disintegrated USSR have become, alas, a chronic phenomenon in international life. Such a course of events prompts one to comprehend the position of our own country and its neighbours in modern world in the light of some actual geopolitical theories.

‘Why isn’t Ukraine Russia?’ – that is the question that a fortuneless Ukrainian politician, who was conducive to many current difficulties of this ‘independent’ nation newly brought to light, put in the heading of his book. Today, a good many scientists study this question. Although, to be quite true, in a fairly different sense: Why does such a brotherly state keep showing its hostility towards Russia, why cannot it reach stability for so many years in its independent development?

The confrontation because of the gas seems to be due to a mere profit. But on the international scene Ukraine is indeed dissimilar to Russia or, for instance, to Kazakhstan, while it is astonishingly similar to Georgia or, for instance, Estonia. Ordinary everyday logic operating with geography, size of states, culture, history, cannot help to understand this.

### The conflict of civilizations?

I will take a risk upon myself and suggest a version of the occurring events. It is not my own version. It is rather a synthesizing of specialists’ utterances, sketches in the margins of a book of collective works ‘The Proceedings of the 8th International Likhachov Scientific Conference’ that was held at our University in 2008. The Book has been published at St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, it is quite voluminous and includes papers by nearly 300 representatives of scientific and political elite dedicated to actual problems of the world development. Among the participants there are over 40 members of national state academies of sciences of different profiles, about fifty world-famous professors from countries of the West, Japan, India, the Arab world, the CIS; Director General of the UNESCO (2001–2004) Federico Mayor; Presidents George Sampaio of Portugal (1996–2006), Megavati Sukarnoputri of Indonesia (2001–2004), Askar Akayev of Kirgizstan (1990–2005), General Secretary of the European Council (1999–2004) Walter Schwimmer, etc. The volume practically opens

for a reader a ‘section’ of the main currencies in a modern humanitarian thought, presents so to say news from the scientific forefront.

Modern scientific discussion in the sphere of international politics is obviously motivated by the political theory proposed over 10 years ago by a Harvard Professor Samuel Huntington in his book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Re-Making of the World Order*. His main idea involves prognostication of world civilization conflicts for the 21st century based on cultures rather than territories and raw material resources so specific for the wars of past epochs. Of course, this work appeared not in an empty place. It is easy to find its ideological forerunners: from Russian thinker N. Y. Danilevsky to Spengler and Toynbee in the West. Problems of interactions among cultures were also intensively worked upon in the middle of 1990s in parallel with Huntington at our University under the guidance of academician D.S. Likhachov, of course, from a standpoint essentially different from that at Harvard. With all the differences of approaches by the end of the 20th century, nearly everyone understood that culture plays a greater role in the world development than it had been thought before. The work by Huntington, however, had a specific echo because it corresponded to the interests and psychology of the governing elite in the USA, dictated a new look at the world from that country, outlined an obvious ideologeme under the conditions of the USSR disintegration and a bipolar world order.

### The West: the leader surrenders its positions

Today, after the West has developed this theory and made it a basis of its international practice accentuating the conflict, its interests are not being realized so simply. So much so that theoreticians start mentioning a ‘decline of the West’, ‘convulsions of the world order arrangement’, a ‘collapse of civilizations’, etc. Export of the American kind of democracy, lifestyle, mass culture, values of the USA society of consumption proved to be unclaimed by a considerable portion of the world community. The striving of America for solidification of its leadership in the whole world has finally led to the unheard-of growth and spreading of anti-Americanism. The USA elite holding power experiences confusion that has become difficult to hide.

Certainly that country even today remains the world’s most powerful nation in economic and military aspects. According to some calculations, the USA spend for maintaining their military might nearly as much as the rest of the World. The America’s informational influence seems to be less noticeable but might even be more important. Three American corporations produce over 90 per cent of all of the world news. It is characteristic that today in the USA only 3 per cent of the population are engaged in the rural economy, about 13 per cent in industry, whereas over 60 per cent are engaged in information production and exchange.

In the world scene, however, shifts of a principle nature occur. The West surrenders its positions, and quite fast, too.

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The USA's share of the gross domestic product in the world dropped from 35.4 per cent in 1966 to 22.5 per cent in 2005. In 2006, the total gross product of the developing countries for the first time exceeded that of the gross domestic product of the developed countries. Demographic tendencies have become a very serious problem. The fraction of Christians in the whole world is rapidly decreasing. The fraction of English-speaking people is decreasing, too. In the USA, the Anglo-Saxon protestant culture is still a domineering one but, according to official prognostication, by 2050 white people there will only amount up to about 40 per cent of the population. It seems to be high time to prognosticate what state languages people will speak. In any case, a number of American universities are already training in the Mandarin Chinese language.

One of the main axes of the event development in modern international relationships has involved a confrontation between the West and the Muslim world. Next to the former centres of force, China and India arise. Professor Y. G. Yassin of the Higher School of Economy (State University) noted this point in the Conference saying that these countries are now passing a late industrialisation proceeding from their strong competition advantages and, in the first place, the high quality cheap labour force, well-disciplined and easily trainable. They have all the possibilities to use western technologies, too, and they implement them on the mass scale. Those who think that the developed states exploit the developing those should understand that, in case with China and India, the situation is quite a reverse one.

In scientific circles, the thesis is more and more actively discussed that the USA that became the only superpower at the end of the 20th century have failed in their role as the exclusive leader. The critics declare that the model of neo-liberal capitalism had existed for nearly three decades and led America into a dead end; while the striving of George Bush's administration to enforce it everywhere has nearly become a dangerous sectarianism, a false religion even. Among some scientists it is almost a popular joke that now it is necessary to save the world capitalism from neo-liberalism; a problem of painless exit of the West from the regime of the world hegemony.

Along with all this, in the course of the Conference, quite a lot was said of the termination of the epoch of national states. Competition under the conditions of globalization acquires an intercivilizational dimension. The Third Reich proved to be the last national project and it, too, infamously failed. Within the frames of this concept, Churchill's genius was evident in that, commanding a vast potential of the British Commonwealth, he quite voluntarily joined the new Anglo-American Empire headed by the USA. Stalin created an immensely powerful Slavic-Soviet Empire. Charles de Gaulle had felt that the fate of France sitting alone between these two empires was trifling, and he had supported the idea of forming the European Union (initially, the Latin Empire).

Within the frames of such an understanding of the course of events, the formation of modern civilizations seems to be rather a creation of the union of nations. Hence, the problem of a quest for more rational configurations, of construction of one or another civilization. I would note that such an understanding of events raises no principal objections from the specialists. Incidentally, according to Huntington, there are 7 or 8 world civilizations. The principles of their distinguishing involve language, religion, and history. The 'Slavic-Orthodox' civilization, in his interpretation, does essentially differ from the western one: by the religious grounds and their consequences. Well, not quite everyone agrees with this.

Still, how sharp will the competition among civilizations be, how unavoidable will the conflicts be? Here, too, there is no common opinion. Many of the experts, as Askar Akayev, believe that 'in the human genome, there are no

links predetermining antagonistic element in his or her attitude towards their likes. At a higher level of nations and multinational formations, some standards will be added that are essentially a social agreement'. But at the Conference, a most interesting paper was presented by the corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences A.V. Smirnov of Institute for Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences; he emphasized a high probability that the cultures quite distant from each other, for instance the Christian West and the Muslim East, are in principle unable to reach a complete enough mutual understanding because of the differences in the mechanisms of thinking and perception of reality. This concerns not all the life spheres but primarily ethics, politics, organization of state power, attitude towards the world, understanding of the life's ultimate aim, etc. Of course, the distance from incomplete understanding to conflict is rather considerable, and still...

And still, in opinion of a number of specialists, the USA are worried: it is quite possible that their elite extrapolates onto the planet's future leaders the logic of behaviour that leads them today: 'Why go into interests of those who are weaker than you? Why respect the weak ones and come to an agreement with them?' The dialogue of cultures is only possible in equality of forces, this opinion was told us by the guru of modern sociological thought of America, Professor Immanuel Wallerstein of Yale University. But if so, then why should China in 20 or 30 years behave towards the USA differently from how America has just acted in Yugoslavia?

It would seem that, proceeding from this logic, the USA should strive to some kind of integration with the European Union and Russia. Then only, according to demographic characteristics, Christian civilization becomes comparable with China, India and the Muslim world, whereas by the economic power it will still be superior to all of them for a long time. That is exactly what many Europeans think: 'It seems incomprehensible why the USA during these last years so eagerly oppose the politics of the EC rapprochement with Russia,' questions the German political scientist Alexander Rar put in his paper.

### How America guides Europe

It seems that the reason involves just the lack of wish to come to agreement, to unite with weaker ones. The key question is: to unite in what precise form? In the opinion of Bush's administration, the weak ones should be controlled. To be more precise: they should be ordered about. In this connection, maybe America needs no strong Europe and, even more so, no strong Russia. This is the version of some participants of the Conference. And it does contain a certain logic explaining interconnection among such different events as conflict behaviour of Poland, Estonian excesses around the 'Bronze Soldier', the activities of Mikhail Saakashvili, the closure of Ukrainian gas pipe valve in its route to the EC from Russia, etc.

No doubt, some convincing opponents will appear in respect to this viewpoint. Say, in former 'Soviet satellites', even without prompting by the USA, there are enough reasons to hate Russians. And there are quite a few theories in this respect. For instance, the absolutization of mentality differences originating from the differences in modifications of Christianity and historical experience. On such an ideological basis, Poland tries to declare itself a bordering guard of Europe protecting the latter from the 'barbarians from the East'. But why Finland, for instance, does nothing of the kind? Why Germany builds relations with our country in an utterly different way from England? Why Kazakhstan behaves quite differently from the Ukraine? For all these questions experts so far find only one more or less convincing answer: the relations between modern Russia and other countries of the

world quite significantly depend on possibilities of influencing these countries by the USA.

Any modern state is in its way a unique and specific unit of the geopolitics. Whereas the USA try to marshal and 'rank' them as much as possible in their project of the global architecture. It is not difficult to discern the levels, 'floors' in this construction.

Somewhere upstairs, almost next to the USA sits England declaring itself in the affairs of European Union a loyal member of that community. Whereas in fact it is but a representative of the USA who has been charged with supervising the neighbours. In the opinion of Professor I.N. Parin, Dean of the International Affairs Department at the Diplomatic Academy (Moscow), those two countries implement a geopolitical project of a New British Empire: 'The NBE is the main geopolitical and geo-economic subject of the modern world formed after the Second World War by the largest British-American transnational corporations and banks'.

Some lower floors include a part of the European Union sitting behind the English Channel. In the European Union, nothing is quite simple. Yet 15–20 years ago, the USA controlled its development indirectly: through the leading countries of Western Europe, to every one of which their own strings had been extended from beyond the Atlantic. The inclusion of the former Warsaw Pact countries and the USSR republics in the EC is known to have been accomplished under the dictation by the West and led to a most curious situation. The project of the European Union extension was carried out with the state funds of its old members, Germany in the first place who became the donor. But in the end practically all basic branches of economy of the countries – the new members turned out to be privatized by private companies of the Old Europe. For instance, nearly nothing was left to Czechs in their own country, apart from employment in the service sphere and not sufficiently remunerative rural economy. Bulgarians have been allowed to have small restaurants and mini-hotels on the Black Sea shore but electricity to these enterprises is provided by Austrian networks, etc. All these countries are just the sources of cheap manpower well adapting in the West. As one Estonian journalist noted: 'In our newspaper business everything is well. Only there are no more readers. Everyone who could do so went to the West'. Just pensioners and the political elite remained, the latter being well controlled by America in the new EC countries.

The technologies of such a control have been developed as quite unique. The Comintern could not even imagine their like. It had been started yet under socialism: the support and nourishing of the dissident layer. Then the cultural exchanges, probation periods, programmes of various foundations. All was put on stake on the leaders of intelligentsia who had acutely felt the charm of the West 'soft power': a variety of goods, consumption abundance, domestic comfort, cultural values, etc. At the moment of the demolition of the socialist system, just these very people were brought to power. Now their relations with the Old Europe are being rather peculiarly built. The USA control over Germany or Italy, for instance, that had been after the War practically absolute, is now gradually weakening. Incidentally, many West-European analysts believe that current leaders of Germany and France would not have won during the last election if America were not disappointed with the excessive independence of their predecessors... So, when the common European interests of the West European countries start prevailing over the trans-Atlantic interests, Poland, Baltic countries and other novices begin to pull veterans of the European Union up. Such is the mechanism of their controlling from behind the ocean.

Walter Schwimmer has counted 48 states in Europe, 200 languages and dozens of religious confessions. For the

USA it would be sensible to unite this whole Babylon, but not too tight either, not to the point of rallying. The Europeans are allowed to solve independently a vast majority of second-rate problems by the principle of local government. For controlling the key decision-making some or other 'groups of common interests' quite promptly created by the NBE, are used.

### Three alternatives for Russia

As is well known, further extension of the EEC to the East proved to be too hard for its initiators to proceed with. In order 'to gobble up and digest' Russia, the Ukraine and Belorussia, some initial investments are necessary which are quite incomparable by their scale with mastering Czechia, Bulgaria, the Baltic countries. Let alone the absence of respective political premises.

How to include three foreign Slavic peoples into the integrated scheme? It turns out to be desirable to place all of them on the lowest floors of the project. To invest money selectively, mainly that of the private capital, and into the most profitable branches, to use Russia, the Ukraine and Belorussia as a source of raw materials and manpower. To do this, it is necessary first to separate and weaken them maximally.

It has thus happened that, among these Slavic states, the Ukraine proved to be a weak link. Like Turkey, by its scale it is too large to enter the EC. But some religious, cultural specifics as well as specifics of the newly born elite make that country quite convenient for performing the function of a zone of constant instability in Eastern Europe, per sample of the South-European 'abscess' formed in the place of the former Yugoslavia.

In this capacity the Ukraine is quite useful for the Anglo-American project because it torpedoes two other competing super-ethnic projects of the modern world order. One of these: 'the building of the common European home', was a concept very popular in Europe and in the USSR of the Gorbachev's period. One should note that in Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany (in particular) and a number of other countries this idea is quite popular even now. The USA initially, too, supported it – up to the crush of the USSR. Then they made everything they could in order to bury this project. For instance, Reagan quite firmly promised Gorbachev (and this is documented in respective protocols) that the NATO would be disbanded simultaneously with the Warsaw Pact. Then the West guaranteed that the East Germany uniting with the West Germany would enter the NATO but there will be no further extension of this block to the East. Then the NATO started negotiations of further extension but with no bases in the East Europe. And what has happened by today we know only too well. Under these circumstances, it is rather difficult to build a united Europe, which is exactly what some people wish.

The European House from Gibraltar to Bering Strait seems hardly interesting for the USA. The result of such an integration would mean the appearance of a powerful subject of geopolitics capable of talking to America on equal terms. But the third project is quite unacceptable from the USA's point of view. It involves building of a Eurasian Union uniting around Russia: similar by its composition to the USSR but integrated with a less rigid political structure. To the man in the street of the post-Soviet epoch this might seem a complete utopia but the specialists regard this business otherwise.

In opinion of many participants of the Conference, this geopolitical project is now in nearly the same stage of implementation as the EC 25–30 years ago and has a very serious economic basis indeed. For instance, the transport services for the freight flow between Europe and Asia might yield a greater profit than selling oil and gas today. According to the data cited by I. N. Panarin, in industrially developed countries the export of the transport services alone exceeds 250 billion dollars a year. A specialized freight train passes

to western borders of Russia from Nakhodka in 9 days, and it can reach Western Europe in 12–14 days, whereas the traffic term of the same freight by the sea across the Indian Ocean takes 35 days. In addition, this whole way can be passed on the basis of renewable and cheap energy sources. And the Northern Seas way constitutes just a half of the current route across the Indian Ocean, and is 30 per cent cheaper, too. There is also a serious cultural basis for the implementation of this project extending beyond Huntington's theory. The 'non-western' cultures today are worried about problems of their own modernization. The American way of modernizing has been rejected by them. Whereas the Russian version realized during these past centuries in the Middle Asia is much more readily acceptable, as R. Khairov (UNESCO, Uzbekistan) said.

#### **The Ukraine: a road to nowhere?**

Of course, one might argue with Huntington on the degree of differences between the 'Slavic civilization' and the 'Western' one, but one cannot ignore that during the past

10–12 years the Ukraine was indoctrinated by his formulas. Separation, isolation of the Ukraine from Russia is carried out primarily in these three spheres of culture: language, religion, history. To join NATO, to remain beyond the bounds of the EEC for long decades if not forever, to be ruined in the course of internal fights among regional elites – this is the price that people of the Ukraine are condemned to pay by one of the development scenarios for stability of one of the world domineering projects.

How much this scenario will be realized is difficult to predict. Many people, including people in Russia, expect from Obama something like a continuation of the Roosevelt's 'New Course': the ideology of positioning the USA in the world based on entirely different principles from those of the Bush's administration. Sceptics have already calculated that during last decades, under the very dramatic changes of the American Presidents, their politics changes by less than 10 per cent. Will the Slavic vector of the USA politics get into the 10 per cent?

At present, most analysts are not inclined to demonstrate any optimism in this respect.

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