

ON THE FUTURE OF SUSTAINABLE MULTIPOLAR WORLD ON THE BASIS OF CIVILIZATIONAL PARTNERSHIP

A relatively stable geopolitical development in the decades after WWII was achieved due to an agreement between the three great allied powers (USSR, USA and Great Britain). The agreement signed in Yalta in February 1945 also helped avoid turning a number of regional conflicts (in Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan) and the Cuban Missile Crisis into a new world war and a clash of civilizations. The end of the cold war had also contributed to this trend [Akayev, 2004].

However, the mistakes by Gorbachev and Shevardnadze, unilateral concessions to the West and NATO, dissolution of CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty, and then dissolution of the USSR undermined the basis of the Yalta Peace Agreement, and made the US and NATO think they could set up a unipolar world and turn Russia into a second-class regional power. The foreign policy course taken by Yeltsin and Kozyrev followed the US policy and ignored Russia's national interests. This has led to a dramatic decline in the quality of Russian foreign policy and its position in the geopolitical world order.

After Evgeny Primakov became Russia's foreign minister and then prime minister, this very erroneous policy was gradually corrected. Under President Putin foreign minister Lavrov focused Russian foreign policy on restoring its capacity as a world power. The independent foreign policy of Russia followed the national

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interests of the country and helped revive the Eurasian civilization. This independent policy, however, was fiercely resisted by the US and its NATO allies who wanted to keep their international hegemony, and create a unipolar world with no regard to the United Nations. These contradictions became especially pronounced in the mid-2010s, as a result of the Ukrainian crisis, after Crimea joined Russia, and the West applied sanctions on the country. The basis of geopolitical stability has been broken, and the specter of the Cold War once again haunts the planet. American military circles are on the new spiral of the arms race after starting a number of military interventions (in Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan, and Syria).

On the other hand, in the late 20th century the world entered the era of a historical fault, a long-lasting and deep global crisis due to the change of super-long civilizational cycles. The sun of the 200-years-old industrial civilization is setting, and a new humanistic noospheric integral new world civilization is appearing. The fourth generation of local civilizations that lasted for 500 years under the leadership of the West is being replaced by the civilization of the fifth generation, this time under the leadership of the East. Among other things, the global crisis is being manifested in sharp worsening of geopolitical contradictions between rising civilizations and leading world powers headed by China and Russia, that are standing on the forefront of the integral civilization and formation of the multipolar world, and descending civilizations headed by the US and the EU, that seek to retain the doomed industrial civilization and the unipolar world under Western hegemony.

Under these circumstances we need to urgently shape a new world that takes into consideration the changing balance of forces, with the civilizational activity moving eastward, with China and India in the lead and formation of BRICS and SCO clubs of nations. The measures for the setup of the new world order have been defined in BRICS and SCO documents. Russia has also initiated the “integration of integrations”: the partnership within the Greater Eurasia to strengthen the foundations of the multipolar world. These goals are further

supported by the program of the Silk Road Economic Belt declared by China. The new world order must be oriented toward dialog and partnership of civilizations in response to global challenges of the 21st century. This is the policy that has been consistently pursued by President Putin and Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov.

At the Seventh International Conference in Yalta, which was organized by Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn magazine with support of the Russian Foreign Ministry in Yalta in October 2016, Professor Y. V. Yakovets and I suggested the model of Yalta World-2, a new model of sustainable multipolar world on the basis of dialog and partnership of civilizations. To this end we suggested to set up the Yalta Club of Scholars and Diplomats, with further discussion of this model at the Summit of Civilizations in 2020 (Yalta-2), and in the UN. The Yalta Club was created on December 22, 2016. The founding meeting was held at INES Institute of Economic Strategies in accordance with the proposal of the Pitirim Sorokin – Nikolai Kondratiev International Institute (MISK), approved on the 7th International Conference in Yalta on November 19, 2016. At the very first meeting of the Yalta Club Professor Yakovets and I presented our report entitled “On the Future of Sustainable Multipolar World on the Basis of Civilizational Partnership,” where we outlined the contours of the new model of the multipolar world [*Yakovets, Akayev, 2016*]. Below I will briefly summarize the essence of our proposal.

1. Formation of the Yalta World and Its Main Contents

World War II led to creation of a partnership of three superpowers - the US, the USSR and Great Britain – who fought against the swift spread of the Axis powers of Berlin, Rome and Tokyo, who conquered almost all of Europe and a considerable part of Asia.

The Yalta Conference, which took place on February 4-11, 1945, focused on issues of post-war world order. The main proposals on the structure of the post-war world order and creation of the UN were first considered at the meeting of

ministers for foreign affairs of the three great powers. The USSR was represented at the meeting by the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs Vyacheslav Molotov, his deputy I. E. Maisky and the Ambassador of the USSR to the United States Andrey Gromyko. The proposals drafted at this meeting were considered by Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill, with the three leaders signing the corresponding final version of the documents. It was decided to convene an international conference in San-Francisco on April 25, 1945 to develop the UN Charter. The Charter was signed on June 26, 1945 and entered into effect on October 24, 1945.

Yalta became a symbol of post-war world order arrangement. The new multipolar world started with the creation of the United Nations, and the Yalta agreements helped keep a relatively stable world order for almost five decades. The Yalta accord supported the idea of a balanced post-war world, which took into account the interests of major geopolitical powers and victorious countries so as not allow the next world war to happen and keep the world stable.

While many would consider the post-war world bipolar in nature, it was indeed a multipolar world. China, India, and other countries that formed the Group of 77 in the UN, carried out their policies independently from the two superpowers, which headed opposing economic and military blocks.

The UN was created on the basis of unanimity, giving each of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council – US, USSR, Great Britain, France and China – the right of veto. This provision allowed to make sure that no union of Western states could force its will on the rest of the world. As the Cold War started, and a number of local conflicts began (wars in Korea and Vietnam, the Cuban Missile Crisis, the war in Afghanistan), the UN continued searching for dialog and compromise between the leading countries of the world, which allowed to avoid WWII.

The UN worked on solving many issues of post-war world order, solved conflicts and found solutions to major international problems. The UN authored ten-year development programs, developed the sustainable development strategy

and the strategy of environmental security. Many organizations within the UN had a significant impact on international development.

At the 70th anniversary session of the United Nations in September 2015, leaders of major world powers spoke highly of the UN's role in supporting the world order.

2. Yalta World Order Destroyed

In the late 20th century, however, the role of the UN in regulating world order got significantly weakened as the foundations of the Yalta world order faltered. This happened due to many factors.

Firstly, development of the neoliberal model of globalization in conditions of overwhelming control of transnational corporations and banks with support of international financial and economic organizations (International Monetary Fund, World Bank) led to their desire to weaken international monitoring of their activities.

Secondly, the collapse of the USSR and the world socialist system led to the weakening of the countries opposing the American dictate, and led the US government to believe in the illusion of the unipolar world, their exclusive right to determine the new world order. This position was most fully reflected in Zbigniew Brzezinski's book "The Grand Chessboard" [Brzezinski, 1998].

Thirdly, the US and NATO, not being able to overcome the independent policy and the right of veto of Russia and China in the UN Security Council, started carrying out aggressive actions bypassing the UN. This was evident during the bombing of Yugoslavia, interventions in Iraq and Libya, and the fuelling of the civil war in Syria.

These actions undermined the geopolitical balance in the world and precluded all possibilities for resolving major problems with consideration of interests of different countries and civilizations and led to a new geopolitical crisis

which especially deepened after the US and their allies initiated a coup d'état in Ukraine, and applied sanctions on Russia.

Thus, over the past quarter of a century, after abandoning the principles of Yalta World, political tensions increased, with growing geopolitical conflicts and threats of civilizational clashes. This requires developing new models of a global multipolar world in accordance with the conditions adequate to power ratios in the 21st century, which will allow to lower the threat of a new cold war and the WWII, a destructive clash of civilizations [Akayev, 2004].

US Presidential elections in 2016 became a starting point for accelerating formation of a new world order, which will be based on interests between different states and civilizations, and using the mechanisms of dialog and partnership in response to the challenges of the 21st century. This trend will emerge gradually, as western governments will drift further and further away from the real interests of peoples of these countries. This will create preconditions for the future model of a sustainable multipolar world, which will correspond to the realities of the 21st century.

3. Objective Considerations for Transition to a Future Model of Multipolar World

As we study the future of the new model of sustainable multipolar world on the basis of dialogue and partnership of civilizations (Yalta World-2) we must take into account deep transformations that are happening and will continue happening across civilizations in the 21st century. These transformations have been studied in works and reports by leaders of the modern Russian school of civilization research over the past 25 years [Yakovets, 2013].

What are these deep transformations like?

Firstly, the end of the 20th century saw the completion of the 200year long industrial capitalism cycle of the world civilization, which had started with the industrial revolution in the end of the 18th - early 19th centuries, and the end of the

five-century long fourth generation of local civilizations, dominated by the West. This serves as the main content of the global civilizational crisis of the late 20th – first quarter of the 21st centuries.

Secondly, since the beginning of the 21st century vanguard countries (especially China) started building the foundations of the integral world civilization, with a differentiated and active fifth generation of local civilizations under the leadership of the East. These processes will be more fully developed in the second quarter of the 21st century. The historic pendulum is shifting from the West to the East; this will become more evident in the second quarter of the century and undeniable in the third quarter. Further differentiation of the world of local civilizations will continue, with them become major players on the international geopolitical arena.

In the long term, their number is expected to grow due to differentiation of the Muslim civilization into several local civilizations.

Thirdly, the relationship between civilizational progress factors will change as well. If previously the decisive factors included population growth and growth of workforce, with use of new cheaper natural resources, due to depopulation and exhaustion of a number of natural resources and growing environmental expenses, in the 21st century we will see demographic, natural and ecological factors become barriers to economic growth. The leading position will go to innovative, technological and socio-cultural factors.

Fourthly, the accelerated integration and globalization processes have shifted the center of gravity in determining the fates of the civilizations to the supranational level, the level of local civilizations and their unions and the global level. This is where the nodes of contradictions that determine the historical trends of future development are located.

Fifthly, geopolitical and geocivilizational relationships in the second quarter of the 21st century will be determined by the leaders of the 2020s, and in the third quarter - leaders of the 2050s. There's a growing gap between generations and a threat of losing the most part of the accumulated scientific, cultural, and socio-

political heritage during changing generations. This moves to the forefront the problem of methods of transfer of civilizational heritage to new generations.

Sixthly, the accumulated arsenals of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction and rapid improvements in technology make it almost impossible to use the means of resolving intercivilizational and geopolitical contradictions by means of conventional warfare. It is vitally important for the global community to devise ways to demilitarize the economy and the society, and exclude wars and terrorism from the geopolitical practice. We must transition to other methods of solving contradicting interests of civilizations and states. This makes especially significant the problem of using the accumulated military and technical potential for managing natural and technological disasters, and formation of the global system for regulating these process under UN leadership. The role of aggressive military unions like NATO must be considerably reduced or they should be disbanded altogether.

These factors make it necessary to build the new model of the multipolar world (Yalta World-2) on a set of different principles, considering the experience of Yalta world formation, and the new objective conditions and trends of civilizational development.

4. Principles of Forming Yalta World-2

The following main principles and parameters of the new multipolar world on the basis of dialog and partnership of civilizations can be defined.

Point one, this model has *a civilizational character*. The model is based on the assumption that the 21st century is the century of local civilizations that become principal actors on the geopolitical arena, replacing the nation states and superpowers which dominated the international scene in the 20th century. The number of recognized and unrecognized sovereign states is currently reaching the figure of two hundred and twenty. These states include giant countries like China and India with more than 1 billion people, and many smaller countries with several

tens or hundreds of thousands of residents who do not have the capacity necessary to reproduce their population on their own.

At present there are twelve local civilizations of the fifth generation on the planet: three European civilizations: (Western European, Eastern European and Eurasian), six civilizations of Asia and Africa (Chinese, Indian, Japanese, Buddhist, Muslim, and African), and three civilizations of America and Oceania that had recently split with the Western civilization: North American, Latin American and Oceanic civilizations.

By the middle of the 21st century, due to differentiation of the Muslim civilization, it may split into five or six local civilizations: Arabic, Persian (Iran), Indian Muslim, Pacific Muslim, European Muslim, and, possibly African Subsaharan Muslim civilizations. The six civilizations of the Christian world will be opposed by five or six civilizations of the Muslim world [Akayev, 2015]. We can also distinguish two Hinduist-Buddhist civilizations (Indian and Buddhist), and two Confucian-Taoist civilizations (of China and Japan).

Each of these worlds will include states that constitute these local civilizations and their enclaves in other civilizations, and their diaspora worldwide. The civilizations will be mixed further, and civilizational contradictions will increase not only among civilizations but within separate civilizations as we see it now happening in Western Europe [Yakovets, 2015].

To this end, the main problem we have to solve today is to find optimal conditions for development of rational relations between local civilizations, and prevent possible confrontations, which, with present-day mass destruction capabilities can simply destroy the entire world. [Moiseev, 2003].

Point two, in the long term, relationships between civilizations must be based on *the principle of multipolarity*, equality and consideration of various interests, and resolution of all contradictions on the basis of compromise and consensus. The attempts to build a unipolar or bipolar world, dominated by leading civilizations (superpowers) would be quite dangerous and self-defeating. The future will be the time of equality and consideration of unique interests and

attributes of each civilization, with the global diversity intact. We need to take into account the fact that local civilizations will be considerably different, both in terms of their territory and the number of their population, the amount of their natural resources and their economic and socio-political form of government, level of development of science and culture and religious and civilizational values. The resilience of the humankind will depend on our ability to preserve, enrich and transfer to the next generation this civilizational diversity. We will also need to consider conflicting interests in the process of interaction and inevitable conflicts and local altercations, and solve these problems taking into consideration their cultural specificity. All decisions must be based on consensus.

Point three, growing risks of civilizational development, especially environmental and technological, will require radical global solutions and optimal distribution of competences between three levels: global (UN and other international organizations), regional (integrational and civilizational unions) and nation states. As the importance and responsibility of regional and global levels is growing, and nation states retain their sovereignty, we must remember that as the number of sovereign states will increase, we will need to avoid the mistakes made by the European Union with its strict integration and excessive competencies of the EU leadership. Meanwhile, increased interdependence and risky nature of global development will require a stronger role and responsibility of global bodies, especially the UN as the central link representing the interests of the entire humankind, all civilizations and states. This will require further reorganization of the United Nations and will increase its role in the new model of the multipolar world [Akayev, 2004].

Point four, manageability of contradictory process dynamics ***must be improved*** at all level of civilizational and national dynamics. We need to develop, and gradually implement science-based forecasts and strategies of civilizational development in close cooperation between different levels of decision-making: global, regional, and national. There will be a need to improve the competency and responsibility of all decision-makers at all levels.

Point five, the general public must have stricter control over the activities of regional and global government bodies, transnational corporations and banks and monitor the process of overcoming continuously emerging risks. In these conditions NATO's existence (as the existence of other local military and political unions, provoking the arms race and heightening intercivilizational contradictions) will become meaningless. At the same time, there will be a need to develop the global security system and gradually lower the threats of military conflicts, with the UN Security Council playing the pivotal role in the process.

Point six, considering the complex nature of long-term contradictory processes of civilizational development, it is necessary ***to increase the science-intensive factor*** in regulating global civilizational processes. Government bodies today are far removed from the achievements of science, and therefore may fail to have a strategic vision of management effectiveness. The first step in expanding the science-intensive factor is the creation of scientific consulting committee under the UN Secretary General. A system must be created to encourage active participation of scholars in development of long-term and super-long term forecasts and the process of substantiation of strategic priorities at all levels – global, regional, and national. This process will be aided by the development of a new social studies paradigm, corresponding to the realities of the 21st century. Such a paradigm is being actively developed by Russian schools of thought with participation of scholars from other civilizations. One of the examples of the future scientific vision is the promising new model for sustainable development of a multipolar world on the basis of the dialog and partnership of civilizations.

Point seven, an important condition for creation of a sustainable multipolar world is the ability to overcome the large gap in economic, social, energy and ecological imbalance between different civilizations, countries, social strata, and generations, which leads to deep geopolitical contradictions, and a rise in migration flows. Creating equal conditions for life and development throughout the planet must become the central point in the work of the UN, other unions of countries and separate states.

5. Stages of Formation and Development of the Multipolar World

It is obvious that radical transformation of the current system of geopolitical relationships, which has been shaped over many centuries, cannot be carried out within a short historical period. It will take several decades and require a very gradual approach to implementing the aforementioned principles of multipolar world order on the basis of dialogue and partnership of civilizations, resolving a great number of contradictions that have accumulated. The new generation of national and international leaders will help move this process forward.

I suggest the following stages of shaping and development of the suggested model of the multipolar world [Yakovets, Akayev, 2016].

This model will be defined for the period of the second and third quarters of the 21st century, with the integral, humanistic and noospheric civilization of the fifth generation of local civilizations

At the first stage (2016-2000) the Yalta Club will work on the sections of the report entitled “On the Future of Sustainable Multipolar World on the Basis of Civilizational Partnership.” This report will be prepared in 2017 by a group of scholars, diplomats, and politicians representing all civilizations. The text of the report will be discussed at working group sessions and at the meeting of the Club in Yalta in October 2017. After the amendments are introduced, it will be submitted to the Board of Trustees of the Yalta Club in February-March 2018. Further on, it will be reviewed at the round table discussions at the 72nd session of the UN General Assembly together with the project of the UN Resolution on declaring the decade from 2020 to 2030 the Decade of Civilizational Partnerships, The Summit of Civilizations will be held in 2020 (on the year of the 75th anniversary of the Yalta Conference) to discuss the strategy of arranging a multipolar world on the basis of civilizational partnerships and the Strategy Road Map.

These documents will be translated into the major world languages, published online and delivered to the governments of Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Iran and other interested countries for inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

It will take another ten years to discuss and develop the main principles and mechanisms of the model. It will then be discussed at summit meetings dedicated to separate strategic priorities. After that the UN will be reorganized into a system of international organizations. After that the law will be enacted.

This will create the necessary conditions for achieving the Goals of Sustainable Development Through 2030, approved by the UN Summit in September 2015. Concurrently, a system of new goals and strategies for achieving these goals will need to be developed. This system will have to meet the requirements of new terms and conditions of civilizational development through 2050.

The third quarter of the 21st century will most like be spent in conditions of a full-scale model of sustainable multipolar world, which will thrive on the dialogue and partnership of civilizations, and regularly amended with consideration of substantial changes in conditions of development and other changes in the world of civilizations.

If this optimistic scenario is implementing by the leaders of the 2020s and the 2050s, and if it is supported by the majority of the human race, the last quarter of the 21st century will be the time of sustainable multipolar international cooperation through dialogue and partnership of civilizations. This strategy will help us find answers to new challenges, which will inevitably appear in the in the coming decades and require joint work of all civilizations, states, social strata and generations.

Russia will play a leading role in developing the new model of the multipolar world on the basis of partnership of civilizations. This will help Russia emerge in the vanguard of the efforts to overcome the contemporary geopolitical crisis and form a sustainable geopolitical climate. This, in turn, will help

implement the goals of sustainable development adopted by the UN summit in September 2015 for the period through 2030.

In conclusion, I would like to call upon all interested scholars and diplomats, public and state figures, representatives of all local civilizations to take an active part in the work of the Yalta Club to promote the evidence-based report, entitled **“On the Future of Sustainable Multipolar World on the Basis of Civilizational Partnership”** and presenting it to heads of leading countries of the world, various civilizations and the UN, and then assist in considering **the Strategy of Sustainable Multipolar World Order on the Basis of Dialog and Civilizational Partnership** at the UN General Assembly and its practical implementation by the UN.

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