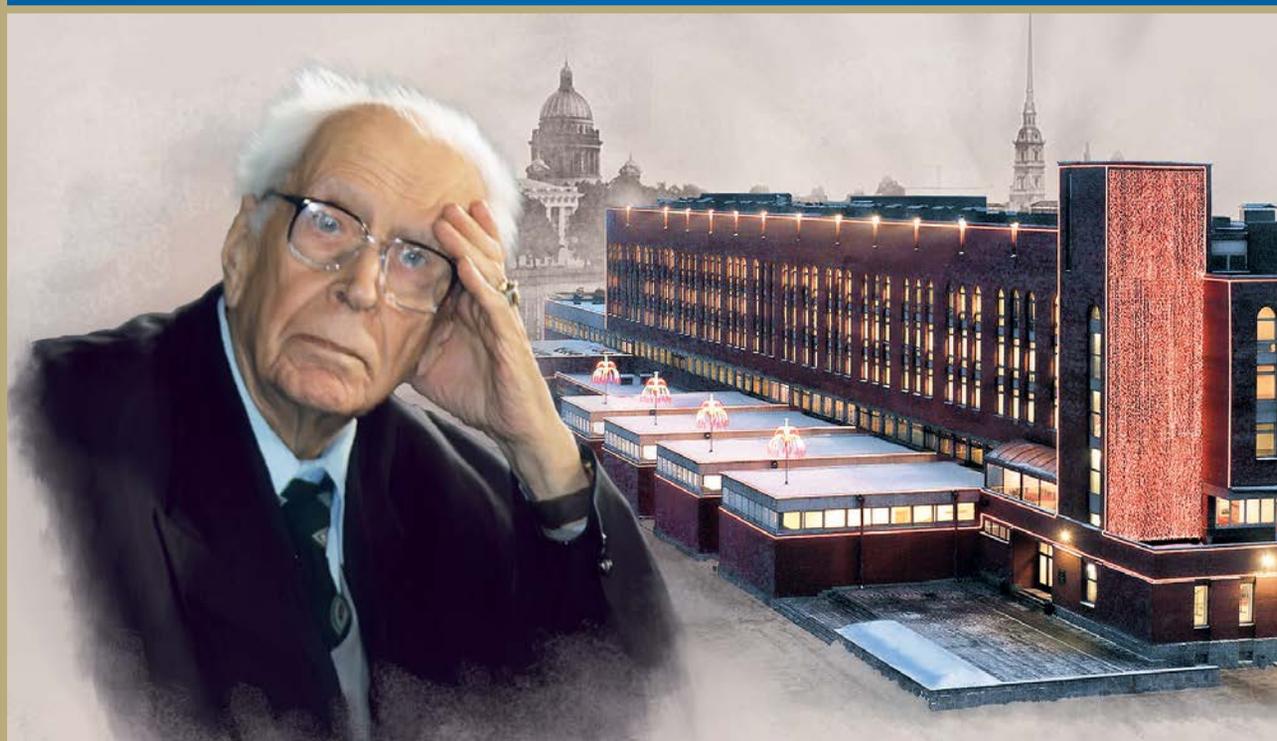


RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
ST. PETERSBURG INTELLIGENTSIA CONGRESS

ST. PETERSBURG UNIVERSITY OF THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

under the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation



DIALOGUES AND CONFLICTS OF CULTURES IN THE CHANGING WORLD

The 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference
May 25–26, 2023



The Conference is held in accordance with the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation V.V. Putin
“On perpetuating the memory of Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov”
No. 587, dated from May 23, 2001

ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL LIKHACHOV SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

The annual International Scientific Conference covering the humanitarian problems of modern times has been held in St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences since 1993. One of the initiators of holding the conference was Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov, an outstanding Russian scientist and a public figure, an internationally acclaimed humanist, an expert in the field of study of culture and records of the Old Russian literature, academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and a foreign member of academies of many countries of the world, Honorary Doctor of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences.

Since 2001, in recognition of Dmitry Likhachov's outstanding contribution to science and culture and as an acknowledgement of the scientific significance of the Conference, the state status of International Likhachov Scientific Conference has been granted to this scholarly forum by a special decree of Vladimir Putin, then President of the Russian Federation.

Along with the University, the cofounders of the Conference are the Russian Academy of Sciences and St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress. Since 2007 the Conference has been held under the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia, in 2013 had the support of the European Academy of Sciences and Arts (Salzburg).

The agenda of the Conference traditionally includes the most universal debatable contemporary issues related to the controversial tendencies in the development of the human society, to the processes of globalization, to the role of the humanitarian culture and education in the modern world, to the vital problems of inter-confessional communication, tolerance, morality, etc.

At present, within the framework of International Likhachov Scientific Conference, contests of creative projects are held for senior high-school students entitled "Dmitry Likhachov's Ideas and Modernity".

The topic of the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference is "Dialogues and Conflicts of Cultures in the Changing World".

Prominent Russian and foreign scientists participate annually in the Conference, among them are political and public figures, church hierarchs, philosophers, sociologists, lawyers, economists, pedagogues, renowned figures of culture and arts, writers, journalists.

Since 2008 SPbUHSS together with Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation have been engaged in the Diplomatic project of the International Likhachov Scientific Conference "The International Dialogue of Cultures".

To summarize the results of each International Likhachov Scientific Conference the Proceedings of the Conference are published which include collections of the participants' reports and speeches, transcripts of workshop discussions and round tables. The Proceedings of conferences are stored in major libraries of Russia and countries of the CIS, in scientific and educational centres of many states of the world. Working materials of the Conference can be found on the "Likhachov Square" special scientific site (www.lihachev.ru).

In 2001, 2004, 2006, 2009–2012, 2016, 2017, 2019, 2022 the hosts and participants were greeted by Presidents of the Russian Federation V. V. Putin and D. A. Medvedev, in 2008, 2010–2019 by Chairmen of the Government of the Russian Federation.

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To the 300th anniversary of the Russian Academy of Sciences

DIALOGUES AND CONFLICTS OF CULTURES IN THE CHANGING WORLD

The 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference

May 25–26, 2023

The conference, originally called “The Days of Science in St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences” is the 29th in number and the 21st in the status of the International Likhachov Scientific Conference

The Conference is held in accordance with the Decree of President of Russia V. V. Putin “On perpetuating the memory of Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov” No. 587, dated from May 23, 2001



**St. Petersburg
2024**

Scientific editor

A. S. Zapesotsky, Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the International Likhachov Scientific Conference, President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Academician of the Russian Academy of Education, Dr. Sc. (Cultural Studies), Professor, Scientist Emeritus of the Russian Federation, Chairman of the Executive Committee of St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress

Recommended to be published by the Editorial and Publishing Council
of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences

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The Proceedings of the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference held on May 25–26, 2023 in St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences were published in the present collection in accordance with the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation V. V. Putin No. 587, May 23, 2001 “On perpetuating the memory of Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov”. Representatives of 11 countries took part in the 21st Conference.

The 44 authors of the collection include prominent national scientists, members of the Russian Academy of Sciences: A. A. Akayev, Al. A. Gromyko, A. A. Guseynov, A. S. Zapesotsky, T. Ya. Khabrieva, V. A. Chereshev and others; the heads of academic institutions and research centres, university professors, well-known state and public figures, representatives of mass media: Member of the State Council of the Russian Federation, Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia M. V. Shmakov, First Deputy Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Federation Council A. I. Denisov, First Deputy Chairman of the State Duma Committee on Culture Ye. G. Drapeko, Deputy Head of the “United Russia” party faction in the State Duma A. K. Isaev, Rector of the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation A. V. Yakovenko, Director of the Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary M. V. Zakharova, Judge of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation (2000–2020) N. S. Bondar, Director of the Higher School of Translation and Interpreting at Lomonosov Moscow State University N. K. Garbovsky, First Deputy Director General of the Russian News Agency TASS M. S. Gusman, Chairman of the Committee on Science and Higher Education of the Government of St. Petersburg A. S. Maksimov and others.

Foreign authors of the collection include Deputy Minister of Information of Belarus I. I. Buzovsky, President of the Geneva International Peace Research Institute (GIPRI) G. Galice, international expert (Philippines) J. M. De Vega, Professor Emeritus at the Australian National University A. Kevin, President of the United Chamber of Industry and Commerce “Switzerland – Russia” G. Mettan, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Iran to the Russian Federation (2013–2019) M. Sanaei; professors: S. Atlagić (Serbia), Ch. Goddard (United Kingdom), H. Köchler (Austria), O. Roqueplo (France), J. Stokseth (Norway) and others.

President of Russia Vladimir Putin highly appreciates the role of the Likhachov Conference: this scientific forum is “distinguished by a rich agenda, the interested participation of famous scientists and politicians, public figures, representatives of culture and art. This allows us to conduct a productive dialogue on the most important problems of our time, substantive discussion of ways to solve them, taking into account the full range of opinions.”

ББК 72



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

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 Sciences (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 Sciences the Likhachov Memorial Prizes of the Russian Academy of Sciences 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, No. 587

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

Dear friends!

I congratulate you on the opening of the 20th International Likhachov Scientific Conference.

Holding your meetings at the St. Petersburg University of Humanities and Social Sciences has already become a good tradition. I would like to point out that Likhachov Scientific Conference are distinguished by a rich agenda, the interested participation of famous scientists and politicians, public figures, representatives of culture and art. This allows us to conduct a productive dialogue on the most important problems of our time, substantive discussion of ways to solve them, taking into account the full range of opinions. And that is why the Likhachov Scientific Conference attract the unfailing attention of experts and the widest possible audience.

I hope that this forum, dedicated to international issues, will serve to develop fruitful humanitarian ties and strengthen mutual understanding between countries and peoples. And, of course, it will be another contribution to the preservation and further study of the richest creative and spiritual heritage of Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov, whose humanistic ideas are especially relevant and in demand today.

I wish you productive communication and all the best.

President of the Russian Federation

V. PUTIN

June 9, 2022



Dear Friends!

I'd like to welcome you on the occasion of the 19th International Likhachov Scientific Conference that opens today.

Academician Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov paid a lot of attention to St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, he was an Doctor honoris causa of this renowned higher educational establishment. And because of that it is symbolic that your meetings take place exactly here, in SPbUHSS, and they are rightly regarded as a significant event in the life of the Northern capital and the whole country.

I'll mention that well-known scholars and politicians, prominent figures in the fields of culture and arts, representatives of mass media traditionally take part in the forum. Their rich in content and sometimes fierce disputes invariably evoke a massive public response, serve to develop Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov's ideas, that have not stopped being urgent today.

I'm sure that the Likhachov Scientific Conference will carry out its lofty mission in future as well, aimed at expansion of humanitarian cooperation, strengthening friendship and mutual understanding by people.

I wish you success, interesting and useful communications.

President of the Russian Federation

V. PUTIN

May 23, 2019

**Dear Friends!**

I'd like to welcome you on the occasion of the 17th International Likhachov Scientific Conference that opens today.

Your meetings have become an important, expected event in the public life of St. Petersburg and the whole country. It's encouraging that in all those years organizers and participants of the Conference have been keeping alive the established traditions, paying most serious attention to important, basic issues referring to civilization development and dialogue of cultures. They follow the precepts of the great humanist and educator Dmitry Sergeyeovich Likhachov.

I'm sure that this forum will work creatively and constructively, will be remembered for interesting, productive discussions, informal and really friendly atmosphere.

I wish you every success.

President of the Russian Federation

V. PUTIN

May 18, 2017

**Dear Friends!**

Greetings to you all on the occasion of the opening of the International Likhachov Scientific Conference, which has been held in our Northern Capital for many years now.

Your authoritative forum, bringing together the elite of the Russian and global intelligentsia, prominent scientists and cultural figures, has truly become a cornerstone event and grand tradition in the country's public and spiritual life. Importantly, the meeting agenda always tackles the most pressing humanitarian and civilizational problems that are of such critical importance to Russia's present and future.

Today, you have convened to discuss such a fundamental topic as "Modern Global Challenges and National Interests", share your experience, and tally the results of joint projects. I am confident that the proposals and recommendations formulated in the course of the Conference will further the careful preservation of our national cultural heritage and the advancement of the humanitarian ideas of Dmitry Sergeyeovich Likhachov.

I wish everyone productive, mutually-beneficial discussions, much success and all the very best.

President of the Russian Federation

V. PUTIN

May 16, 2016

**Dear Friends!**

I am happy to welcome you in St. Petersburg and to congratulate you on the opening of the 12th Likhachov Conference.

Your forum is an important event in the social life of Russia and of a number of foreign countries. It traditionally brings together representatives of scientific and artistic communities and competent experts.

Under globalization, the issues of extending the dialogue of cultures, preventing ethno-confessional conflicts are of paramount importance. There is compelling evidence that the humanistic ideas of academician D. S. Likhachov, an outstanding Russian enlightener and public figure, are still up-to-date.

I am convinced that the suggestions and recommendations drawn up in the course of your meeting will be sought after in practical terms.

I wish you new achievements and all the best.

President of the Russian Federation

V. PUTIN

May 17, 2012



Dear Friends!

I would like to welcome participants, hosts and guests of the 11th International Likhachov Scientific Conference!

Your forum, traditionally gathering the cream of the Russian intellectual community, prominent scientists and public figures from all over the world in St. Petersburg is an outstanding and remarkable event in the international scientific and cultural life. It is crucial that the topics of the Conference precisely reflect the most urgent and acute humanitarian issues, the main of them being promotion of the dialogue of cultures and civilizations in the modern world, establishment of moral and spiritual foundations of the society. And certainly, one of the priority tasks for you is preserving the invaluable legacy of Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov, which is as relevant and significant as before.

I wish you fruitful and constructive discussions, interesting and useful meetings.

Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation

V. PUTIN

May 5, 2011



Dear Friends!

I am sincerely pleased to see you in Saint Petersburg and open the 10th Anniversary International Likhachov Conference.

This reputable forum is always notable for the substantial membership, comprehensive and effective work, and wide spectrum of issues to be discussed.

I am sure that the today's meeting devoted to the dialogue of cultures and partnership of civilizations should be one more step forward in promoting interconfessional and international communication to bring people closer to each other. And, certainly, again we can see so many prominent people together, among which are scientists, public figures, intellectuals, representatives of arts community, everyone who shares notions and opinions of Dmitry S. Likhachov.

I wish you good luck and all the best!

Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation

V. PUTIN

May 11, 2010



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 Sergeevich 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.

Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation

V. PUTIN

May 22, 2008



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.

President of the Russian Federation

V. PUTIN

May 25, 2006



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.

President of the Russian Federation

V. PUTIN

May 20, 2004



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.

President of the Russian Federation

V. PUTIN

May 21, 2001

WELCOME ADDRESSES TO THE PARTICIPANTS AND GUESTS OF THE 21st INTERNATIONAL LIKHACHOV SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

**To the organizers, participants and guests
of the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

Dear friends!

Welcome to the 21st Likhachov Conference. This reputable scientific forum plays a substantial role in the development of humanitarian ties and strengthening of trust and understanding between nations. Famous scientists, public figures, and experts gather every year here.

Today's agenda poses issues related to enhancing economic efficiency, improving the national education system and strengthening of traditional values. All of these are pressing challenges, and the future of our country largely depends on addressing them.

It is important that all constructive proposals be implemented for the benefit of people. I wish you fruitful work and all the best.

*Chairman of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly
of the Russian Federation*

V. V. VOLODIN

Moscow, May 25, 2023

**To the organizers, participants and guests
of the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

Dear organizers, participants and guests of the 21st Likhachov Conference!

I welcome you at the opening of our annual international scientific forum. The Likhachov Scientific Conference always has an eventful and relevant agenda. Well-known scientists and politicians, art and culture personalities take part in the discussions.

This year's Conference will discuss multipolar world order, the confrontation of traditional values and the "new ethics" of the collective West, and Russia's place in a dynamically changing world.

Since 2001, the Conference has evolved into one of the largest international forums for scholars of the humanities; and its results offer solutions to the urgent problems of our time for the entire world.

I wish you fruitful discussion of the agenda, further development of the Conference as an effective form of promoting the ideas of Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov and bringing them to the Russian and global communities.

*First Deputy Head of the Administrative Directorate of the President
of the Russian Federation*

S. V. KIRIENKO

Moscow, May 24, 2023

**To the organizers, participants and guests
of the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

I cordially greet organizers, participants and guests of the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference.

Over the years, the forum has established itself as an important discussion platform in the Northern Capital of Russia where prominent scientific, expert, social and political figures from different countries gather every year. The key to success is an eventful agenda devoted to discussing topical issues of cultural and civilizational development. In the current turbulent situation, such a comprehensive, depoliticized exchange of views is particularly important.

It is gratifying that representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited in Russia actively participate in the Conference. For our part, we are ready to continue to do everything possible to facilitate and support this.

I am convinced that this meeting will help strengthen international humanitarian ties and mutual understanding between countries and peoples. And, of course, it will make a valuable contribution to the preservation and popularization of the rich intellectual heritage of Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov.

I wish you interesting discussions and all the best!

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation

S. V. LAVROV

Moscow, May 25, 2023

**To the organizers, participants and guests
of the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

Dear friends!

On behalf of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, I warmly welcome you at the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference!

This event is vivid evidence to the relevance of Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov's ideas today. At the same time, it is also a manifestation of the commitment to developing his views and applying them in modern historical conditions. Each Conference offers a broad and rich program of fruitful meetings and discussions touching on aspects of the cultural agenda.

Prominent experts take part in the forum. What's more, the Conference involves a large audience of schoolchildren from cities, towns and villages of our country.

It is difficult to overestimate the scientific and moral significance of Dmitry Likhachov's personality for Russia. The name of the academician is inextricably linked with the history and culture of St. Petersburg.

I wish everyone fruitful work, interesting meetings and further success!

Minister of Culture of the Russian Federation

O. B. LYUBIMOVA

Moscow, May 24, 2023

**To the participants
of the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

Dear colleagues, Dear friends!

On behalf of the Russian Academy of Sciences and on my own behalf, I cordially welcome all the participants in the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference.

This scientific forum, which traditionally brings together the cream of the Russian intelligentsia, prominent scientists and public figures at St. Petersburg, has a deservedly high status. It is held under the Decree of the President of Russia Vladimir Putin No. 587 "On Commemoration of D. S. Likhachov" of May 23, 2001.

The theme of this conference, "Dialogues and Conflicts of Cultures in the Changing World", very accurately reflects today's agenda. The need for a renewed model of international relations is evident at this critical point in global development, and it is vital to maintain an optimal balance between the identity of cultures and civilizations and their openness to dialogue and mutual enrichment. Noteworthy, these are the principles of interaction between cultures that were developed and defended by our great contemporary Academician Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov in his scientific work and public efforts.

The 21st International Likhachov Conference is attended by scientists who work in a wide variety of fields and areas, which embodies the multifaceted interests of D. S. Likhachov who has always advocated for the integration of scientific knowledge.

There is no doubt that the ideas and proposals expressed during the Conference will serve to popularize humanistic values, develop intercultural dialogue, and strengthen mutual understanding among nations.

I wish all the participants of the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference creative work and engaging, insightful communication.

President of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Academician
G. Ya. KRASNIKOV
Moscow, May 25, 2023

**To the participants and guests
of the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

Dear friends!

On behalf of the multi-million Russian trade union movement, uniting the most conscious workers concerned about the future of our country, we cordially welcome all the participants in the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference!

Today the world stands on the threshold of a global change, brought about by the collapse of the post-World War II framework of international relations. We have no doubt that Russia will not only withstand the ordeal that has befallen it, but will also take its rightful place in the changing global world.

Our unique scientific forum is designed to find answers to the questions of forming an effective strategy of Russia's development in the global world and protecting its cultural values.

The Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia is proud that by organizing the Conference, our trade union university fulfills President Vladimir Putin's assignment to perpetuate the memory of Academician D. S. Likhachov.

We sincerely wish the participants of the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference fruitful and constructive work and new creative achievements!

*Member of the State Council of the Russian Federation,
Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia*
M. V. SHMAKOV
Moscow, May 22, 2023

**To the participants, organizers and guests
of the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

Dear friends!

I am glad to welcome you at the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference! For more than two decades, this large-scale forum has traditionally brought together representatives of science, government and the public within the walls of Saint Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, becoming a platform for discussing the most important humanitarian issues of our time.

More than one and a half thousand participants from different states annually gather at this signature cultural event of our city and country. Its program includes issues of key importance for the present and future of our Motherland.

In view of the Conference's 2023 theme – "Dialogues and Conflicts of Cultures in the Changing World" – the words of the outstanding scientist and educator Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov about the fate and role of Russia in the global socio-cultural space are taking on particular value and special significance.

I have no doubt that this Likhachov Conference will strengthen international cooperation and boost new educational projects.

I wish everyone successful and fruitful work and all the best!

Governor of Saint Petersburg
A. D. BEGLOV
Saint Petersburg, May 25, 2023

ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL LIKHACHOV SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

Information

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 No. 587, May 23, 2001 “On perpetuating the memory of Dmitry Sergeyeovich Likhachov”).

The co-founders of the Conference are the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress (founders: Zh. I. Alferov, D. A. Granin, K. Yu. Lavrov, D. S. Likhachov, A. P. Petrov, M. B. Piotrovski, A. S. Zapesotsky). Since 2007 the conference has enjoyed the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.

Traditionally, the most universal debatable challenges of the present time are put on the agenda of the conference: “Dialogue of cultures under globalization”, “Education in terms of the new cultural type formation”, “Culture and global challenges of the world development”, “Humanitarian issues of the contemporary civilization”, “Contemporary global challenges and national interests”, “Global world: system shifts, challenges and contours of the future”, “Global development: challenges of predictability and manageability”, “Global conflict and the contours of a new world order”, “Dialogues and Conflicts of Cultures in the Changing World”, etc.

Every year the greatest figures of the Russian and foreign science, culture and art, public and political leaders take part in the conference. The following members of the Russian Academy of Sciences have taken part in the conference in recent years: L. I. Abalkin, I. O. Abramova, A. A. Akayev, G. A. Arbatov, N. P. Bekhtereva, O. T. Bogomolov, V. N. Bolshakov, V. A. Chereshev, A. O. Chubarian, A. V. Dmitriyev, S. Yu. Glazyev, M. K. Gorshkov, R. S. Grinberg, An. A. Gromyko, A. A. Guseynov, T. Ya. Khabrieva, M. P. Kirpichnikov, M. I. Kleandrov, G. B. Kleiner, A. A. Kokoshin, A. B. Kudelin, V. A. Lektorsky, A. G. Lisitsyn-Svetlanov, I. I. Lukinov, D. S. Lvov, V. L. Makarov, V. A. Martynov, V. V. Mironov, N. N. Moiseyev, V. V. Naumkin, A. D. Nekipelov, R. I. Nigmatulin, Yu. S. Osipov, A. M. Panchenko, N. Ya. Petrakov, V. F. Petrenko, M. B. Piotrovski, E. I. Pivovarov, N. A. Platch, V. M. Polterovich, Ye. M. Primakov, B. V. Rauschenbach, Yu. A. Ryzhov, N. P. Shmelyov, N. N. Skatov, A. V. Smirnov, V. S. Styopin, V. A. Tishkov, M. L. Titarenko, J. T. Toshchenko, Yu. S. Vasilyev, V. L. Yanin, B. G. Yudin, A. S. Zapesotsky, T. I. Zaslavskaya, 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, A. V. Darinsky, Yu. S. Davydov, E. D. Dneprov, Yu. U. Fokht-Babushkin, N. K. Garbovsky, V. G. Kineliyov, I. S. Kon, A. S. Kondratyev, V. G. Kostomarov, V. V. Krayevsky, O. Ye. Lebedev, A. A. Likhanov, G. V. Mukhamedzianova, V. S. Mukhina, V. A. Miasnikov, N. D. Nikandrov, A. M. Novikov, O. A. Omarov, A. A. Orlov, Yu. V. Senko, A. V. Usova, G. N. Volkov, G. A. Yagodin, S. F. Yegorov, V. I. Zagvyazinskiy, I. A. Zimniaya, Yu. P. Zinchenko, V. Mitter (Germany) and others. Such public and state figures as P. Bülbüloğlu, V. Ye. Churov, A. I. Denisov, Ye. G. Drapeko, G. M. Gatilov, Al. A. Gromyko, M. S. Gusman, G. A. Hajiyeu, A. K. Isaev, S. L. Katanandov, K. I. Kosachov, S. V. Lavrov, Ye. I. Makarov, V. I. Matviyenko, A. A. Pankin, V. N. Pligin, H. M. Reznik, K. O. Romodanovsky, M. V. Shmakov, A. A. Sobchak, E. S. Stroyev, A. V. Yakovenko, V. A. Yakovlev, M. V. Zakharova, K. F. Zatulín 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, N. V. Burov, N. M. Dudinskaya, I. O. Gorbachov, D. A. Granin, Z. Ya. Korogodsky, K. Yu. Lavrov, A. P. Petrov, M. M. Plisetskaya, E. A. Riazanov, M. L. Rostropovich, G. V. Sviridov, A. A. Voznesensky, and others.

Since 2007 in the framework of the Conference there has been held Likhachov forum of high-school students of Russia (since 2014 – International forum of high-school students), which gathers winners of the annual competition of creative projects entitled “Dmitry Likhachov’s Ideas and Modernity” from all over Russia and abroad.

Supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, the Diplomatic Programme of the conference “International Dialogue of Cultures” has taken place since 2008. Ambassadors of foreign states present their reports and give their opinions on acute challenges of present time.

In 2001, 2004, 2006, 2009–2012, 2016, 2017, 2019, 2022 the hosts and participants were greeted by Presidents of the Russian Federation V. V. Putin and D. A. Medvedev, in 2008, 2010–2019 by Chairmen of the Government of the Russian Federation.

The collection of articles is published on the results of the Conference every year. The copies of the volumes are present in all major libraries of Russia, the CIS countries, scientific and educational centers of many countries in the world. The Proceedings of the conference are also available on a scientific website “Likhachov Square” (at www.lihachev.ru).

CONTENTS

Decree of President of the Russian Federation “On Perpetuating the Memory of Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov”	3
Greetings of Vladimir Putin to the Participants of the International Likhachov Scientific Conference	4
Welcome Addresses to the Participants and Guests of the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference.	8
About the International Likhachov Scientific Conference (Information)	11

REPORTS

A. A. AKAYEV , <i>President of the Kyrgyz Republic (1990–2005), academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic, foreign member of the RAS, Senior Research Fellow of the Institute for Complex Systems Mathematical Research under Lomonosov Moscow State University, Dr. Sc. (Engineering), Professor</i> TRANSITION TO A NEW MULTIPOLAR WORLD ORDER: THE BIFURCATION POINT HAS BEEN PASSED	16
S. ATLAGIĆ , <i>Professor of the Department of Political Sciences at the University of Belgrade (Serbia), Dr. Sc. (Political Studies)</i> WHAT DO WE NEED FROM RUSSIA? SERBIAN VIEW OF RUSSIA’S ROLE IN THE BALKANS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21st CENTURY	20
D. O. BABICH , <i>Journalist and columnist for the news agency “RIA Novosti” (Moscow), Member of the Russian Union of Journalists</i> INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE AGAINST RUSSIA: HISTORY, PRESENT, PROSPECTS	22
N. S. BONDAR , <i>Judge of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation (2000–2020), Head of the Judicial Law Center of the Institute of Legislation and Comparative Law under the Government of the Russian Federation (Moscow), Dr. Sc. (Law), Professor, Honored Lawyer of the Russian Federation, Honored Scientist of the Russian Federation</i> THE CONFLICT OF CULTURES OF MODERN JUDICIAL-LEGAL SYSTEMS: SOCIAL JUSTICE OR ECONOMIC PRAGMATISM?	23
J. M. D. DE VEGA , <i>Professor at the Philosophy and Humanities Department of the College of Arts, Education and Sciences of the National University of the Philippines (Manila), Ph. D., Master of Philosophy</i> ON THE QUESTION OF THE GLOBAL BALANCE OF POWER, RUSSIA VS NATO AND THE DANGERS AND BANKRUPTCY OF UNIPOLARITY: IN DEFENSE OF MULTIPOLARITY	27
Ye. G. DRAPEKO , <i>First Deputy Chairman of the Committee on Culture of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation (Moscow), Deputy to the State Duma of the Russian Federation, Ph. D. in Sociology, Honored Artist of the RSFSR</i> CULTURAL CODE AS A BASIC ELEMENT OF IDEOLOGY FORMATION	33
G. GALICE , <i>President of the Geneva International Peace Research Institute (GIPRI, Switzerland)</i> TOWARDS A LARGE FREE CONTINENTAL EUROPE	35
N. K. GARBOVSKY , <i>Director of the Higher School of Translation and Interpreting (Faculty) at Lomonosov Moscow State University, Academician-Secretary of the Department of Education and Culture at the Russian Academy of Education, Dr. Sc. (Philology), Professor</i> CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS	38
Ch. GODDARD , <i>Professor of the Department of International Private Law at Kutafin Moscow State Law University (MSAL), Master of Laws, Bachelor of Architecture (Great Britain)</i> DIALOGUES AND CONFLICTS OF CULTURES IN THE CHANGING WORLD	41
Al. A. GROMYKO , <i>Director of the Institute of Europe of the RAS (Moscow), Corresponding Member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Political Studies), Professor of the RAS</i> THE CYCLICAL NATURE OF HISTORY AND THE NEW “DECLINE OF THE WEST”	44
A. A. GUSEINOV , <i>Director of the Institute of Philosophy of the RAS (Moscow), Academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor, Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS</i> PHILOSOPHY AND IDEOLOGY (To the centenary of the Philosophy Steamer).	46
A. K. ISAEV , <i>Deputy Head of the “United Russia” party faction in the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation (Moscow), Deputy to the State Duma of the Russian Federation, Ph. D. in Political Sciences, Professor of SPbUHSS</i> THE GLOBAL SITUATION AND CURRENT CHALLENGES OF SOCIAL PARTNERSHIP IN RUSSIA	48
O. G. KARPOVICH , <i>Vice Rector for Research at the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia (Moscow), Dr. Sc. (Law), Dr. Sc. (Political Sciences), Professor</i> RUSSIA’S ROLE IN ASSERTION TRADITIONAL SPIRITUAL AND MORAL VALUES: NOW IS THE TIME TO ACT.	52
A. KEVIN , <i>Professor Emeritus at the Australian National University (Canberra), diplomat (1968–1998), independent expert, recipient of literary prizes</i> UKRAINE: A WAR THAT RUSSIA IS INEVITABLY WINNING	56

T. Ya. KHABRIEVA , Deputy President of the RAS, member of the Presidium of the RAS, Academician of the RAS, Director of the Institute of Legislation and Comparative Law under the Government of the Russian Federation (Moscow), Dr. Sc. (Law), Professor, Honored Lawyer of the Russian Federation, Honored Lawyer of the Republic of Tatarstan, Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS	
GLOBAL LEGAL DEVELOPMENT BASED ON EQUAL RIGHTS OF CULTURES	60
A. D. KHLUTKOV , Director of the North-West Institute of Management of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (St. Petersburg), Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor;	
N. M. MEZHEVICH , Chief Research Fellow, Head of the Center of Belarusian Research at the Institute of Europe of the RAS (Moscow), Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor	
GEOPOLITICS AND GEOECONOMICS OF THE RUSSIAN NORTHWEST: IN THE CIRCLE OF BARRIER AND CONTACT FUNCTIONS OF THE BOUNDARY	64
O. I. KOSTIKOVA , Deputy Director for Research of the Higher School of Translation and Interpreting (Faculty) at Lomonosov Moscow State University, Ph. D. in Philology, Associate Professor	
VALUE CONSTANTS OF TRANSLATION IN THE DIALOGUE OF CULTURES	66
A. V. KOSTINA , Vice Rector for Research, Educational and International Affairs of Moscow University for the Humanities, Director of the Institute of Fundamental and Applied Research, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Dr. Sc. (Cultural Studies), Professor	
TRADITIONAL VALUES IN RUSSIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM	70
H. KÖCHLER , President of the International Progress Organization (Vienna, Austria), Professor Emeritus at the University of Innsbruck, Ph. D.	
THE EMERGING MULTIPOLAR BALANCE OF POWER VERSUS THE ARROGANCE OF AN EMPIRE IN DECLINE	73
Ye. I. MAKAROV , Deputy Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, scientific advisor of the Center of Monitoring and Analysis of Social and Labor Disputes of SPbUHSS, Professor Emeritus of SPbUHSS	
THE BRICS TRADE UNION FORUM: TEN YEARS OF NEW TYPE INTERACTION	76
G. METTAN , President of the United Chamber of Industry and Commerce "Switzerland – Russia and CIS States" (Geneva), Executive Director of the Swiss Press Club	
PANDEMOCRATISM AND THE COLLAPSE OF WESTERN VALUES	79
D. V. MOSYAKOV , Head of the Center for Southeast Asia, Australia and Oceania Studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the RAS (Moscow), Dr. Sc. (History), Professor	
EROSION OF THE TRADITIONAL CULTURE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE INDO-PACIFIC REGION	82
O. ROQUEPLO , Professor of Sorbonne University (Paris, France), Dr. Sc. (History), Dr. Sc. (Political Sciences)	
D. S. LIKHACHOV'S THOUGHT AND THE FRENCH ELITE CULTURAL CRISIS OF THE 21st CENTURY. INTRODUCTION TO HOMO EURAMERICANUS PROBLEM	86
M. SANAEI , Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Russian Federation (2013–2019), Ph. D. in Political Sciences	
THE NEXT WORLD ORDER: THE NECESSITY OF CULTURAL MULTILATERALISM	95
M. V. SHMAKOV , Member of the State Council of the Russian Federation (Moscow), Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, Chairman of the Trustee Council of SPbUHSS, Professor Emeritus of SPbUHSS	
PROBLEMS RELATED TO GROWTH OF RUSSIANS' WELFARE IN CONDITIONS OF UPHEAVALS OF THE MODERN WORLD ECONOMY	99
A. G. SHUMILIN , Academician-Secretary of the Department of Physics, Mathematics, and Computer Science of the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus (Minsk), Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor	
ON THE INCREASING ROLE OF INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMY AND STATE	102
J. STOKSETH , High School teacher in Kongsberg (Norway)	
THE NEW WORLD ORDER FROM A CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE	106
A. V. YAKOVENKO , Rector of the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia (Moscow), Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the United Kingdom (2011–2019), Dr. Sc. (Law), Professor	
THE NEW THREATS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE. BEYOND THE HORIZON OF THE FUTURE	108
Plenary Session	
DIALOGUES AND CONFLICTS OF CULTURES IN THE CHANGING WORLD	111
Participants:	
I. I. BUZOVSKY , Deputy Minister of Information of the Republic of Belarus (Minsk), Ph. D. in Sociology	
V. A. CHERESHNEV , Deputy President of the RAS, member of the Presidium of the RAS, Academician of the RAS, Chief Researcher of the Institute of Immunology and Physiology of the Ural Branch of the RAS (Ekaterinburg), Dr. Sc. (Medicine), Professor, Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS	
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Panel Discussion

WHAT KIND OF MULTIPOLARITY WE FORESEE 121

Participants:

- A. S. ZAPESOTSKY**, President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Corresponding Member of the RAS, Academician of the Russian Academy of Education, Dr. Sc. (Cultural Studies), Professor, Scientist Emeritus of the Russian Federation, Chairman of the Executive Committee of St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress (moderator)
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- M. V. ZAKHAROVA**, Director of the Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia (Moscow), Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation, Ph. D. in History

Round Table

THE TRANSITION FROM UNIPOLARITY TO REAL MULTIPOLARITY: THE CHALLENGES OF THE NEW GEOPOLITICS. 130

Participants:

- D. O. BABICH**, Journalist and columnist for the news agency “RIA Novosti” (Moscow), Member of the Russian Union of Journalists
- I. I. BUZOVSKY**, Deputy Minister of Information of the Republic of Belarus (Minsk), Ph. D. in Sociology
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INDEX OF NAMES 145

REPORTS

A. A. Akayev¹

TRANSITION TO A NEW MULTIPOLAR WORLD ORDER: THE BIFURCATION POINT HAS BEEN PASSED

In the post-war decades, on the basis of agreements between the three great powers of the anti-Hitler coalition (USSR, USA and Great Britain) that were reached in Yalta in February 1945, it was possible to ensure relatively stable geopolitical development and avoid of a number of local conflicts (Korea, Vietnam, the Caribbean crisis, Afghanistan) escalation into a new world war, a clash of civilizations. The Cold War ending contributed to the strengthening of this trend.

However, the unilateral concessions made by Gorbachev-Shevardnadze to the West and NATO, the dissolution of the CMEA (Mutual Economic Assistance) and the Warsaw Pact, and then the USSR collapse undermined the foundations of the Yalta Peace and gave rise to the USA and NATO the illusion of the possibility of a unipolar world order formation, while turning Russia into a second-rate regional power. Yeltsin-Kozyrev's foreign policy course to the following in the wake of the USA policy and the neglect of national interests led to a sharp weakening of Russia's foreign policy and its position in the geopolitical world order.

Only when E. M. Primakov become a leader of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and then – of the government of Russia, this deeply erroneous course began to be corrected. In the Putin–Lavrov years, the foreign policy course was subordinated to the tasks of reviving Russia as a strong world power, pursuing an independent foreign policy that meets Russia's national interests and Eurasian civilization reviving. But this independent policy of Russia has come into sharp contradiction with the desire of the USA and its NATO allies to preserve their hegemony and form a unipolar world order while ignoring the UN. These contradictions became especially acute in the mid-2010s as a result of the Ukrainian crisis, the reunification of Crimea with Russia and sanctions imposed by the West on Russia. The foundations of geopolitical stability have been violated, the Cold War specter has revived, American militaristic circles

have entered a new round of the arms race and have made a number of military adventures – in Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan and Syria.

On the other hand, since the end of the 20th century, the world has entered the era of a historical rift, a long and deep global crisis caused by the change of ultra-long-term civilizational cycles – the decline of a two-hundred-year-old industrial civilization and the formation of a humanistically noospheric integral world civilization, by transition from a five-hundred-year-old fourth generation of local civilizations with the West domination to the fifth generation under the East leadership. One of the global crisis manifestations is the sharp aggravation of geopolitical contradictions between ascending civilizations and leading powers led by China and Russia, laying the foundations of an integral civilization and a multipolar world order, and descending civilizations and world powers led by the United States and the European Union, seeking to preserve industrial civilization doomed to retire from the historical scene and establish a unipolar world order with the West hegemony.

Under these conditions, there was an urgent need to form a new world order that takes into account the changed balance of forces, the shift of civilizational activity center to the East as a result of the strengthening of China and India positions, the formation of BRICS and SCO. Measures to establish a new world order are defined in the BRICS and SCO strategic documents. Russia has also taken initiatives to integrate 'integrations' and partnerships within Greater Eurasia to strengthen the foundations of a multipolar world order.² The report below discusses the real progress of this process at the present time.

The 'short century' of the USA unipolar hegemony

The collapse of the USSR and the world system of socialism in the late 1980s led to the weakening of the powers opposed the American dictate in the post-war decades; and gave rise to the USA ruling circles the illusion of the unipolar world establishment and their exclusive right to form a new world order. This was most fully reflected in Zbigniew Brzezinski's book "The Great Chessboard" (М. : Международные отношения, 1998). The USA has never been capable of building an equal partnership with any country, it dreamed of undivided dominance in the world as the only superpower, with complete disregard for the interests of other countries, whether they are opponents or allies. The US demanded unquestioning ideological subordination everywhere. It threatened sanctions and wars for in-submission. The USA began to disregard pointedly international law, adopting an order based on rules it had composed solely in its own interests. To interfere in the internal affairs of other states has become the rule with no

¹ President of the Kyrgyz Republic (1990–2005), president of the Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic (1988–1990). Senior Research Fellow of the Institute for Complex Systems Mathematical Research under Lomonosov Moscow State University, Principle Researcher of the Central Institute of Economics and Mathematics of Russian Academy of Sciences, a foreign member of the RAS, academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic, Dr. Sc. (Engineering), Professor. Academic supervisor of Centre of Fundamental Studies at Saint Petersburg State University of Economics. Author of over 300 scientific works, inventions and academic publications on Applied Mathematics, Mathematical Economics, Optical Computers and Information Technology. His political and philosophical views are described in the selected papers: "The Difficult Road to Democracy: a Memorable Decade", "Transition Economy as Seen by the Eyes of a Physicist", "The New Strategy of Vladimir Putin to Achieve High Steady Growth Rates of the Russian Economy", "Modelling and Forecasting World Dynamics" (co-authored), "Complex Modeling and Forecasting of the Development of the BRICS Countries in the Context of the World Dynamics" (co-authored), "Thinking about Future with Optimism: Reflections on Foreign Policy and World Order" and others. Honorary Member of the International Academy of Engineering. Member of the New York Academy of Sciences. Awarded with the order "Badge of Honour" and Pushkin Medal. Laureate of N. Kondratiev golden medal, S. Kuznets golden medal, V. Leontiev golden medal, and Vernadsky golden medal and order.

² See also: *Акаев А. А. О перспективах становления устойчивого многополярного мироустройства на базе партнерства цивилизаций // Глобальный мир: системные сдвиги, вызовы и контуры будущего : XVII Междунар. Лихачевские науч. чтения, 18–20 мая 2017 г. СПб. : СПбГУИ, 2017. С. 30–35.*

exception for the USA. It is logical that this USA behavior caused internal rejection of most countries of the world.

The USA desire for world domination was accompanied by a new subordinate world formation, using aggressively and everywhere the hybrid warfare tools – informational and ideological, proxy wars and color revolutions. Washington's foreign policy took on the character of neocolonial expansion and the desire to create zones of so-called 'controlled chaos', of course, by the USA, in key regions of the world. These include Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria and, finally, Ukraine and even wherever there is at least some resistance to the USA interests. America and NATO, unable to overcome the independent policy and the right of veto of Russia and China in the Security Council, began to make aggressive actions bypassing the UN. This was shown in the heavy bombing of Yugoslavia, the large-scale war in Iraq, the destruction of statehood in Libya, and the incitement of civil war in Syria. Of course, all this upset the world geopolitical equilibrium and the possibility to solve major international problems by diplomatic means that are based on the interests of different countries. The likelihood of a local conflict involving the great powers escalating into a global clash has become real.

Thus, for a quarter of a century, after the USA and its allies abandoned the principles of the Yalta Peace Treaty, the world political tension has been mounting, and geopolitical conflicts and threats of clashes not only between individual states, but also entire civilizations have been growing. This trend has become especially obvious with the proxy war unleashed by the Americans and their European allies against Russia in Ukraine and the ongoing USA provocations around Taiwan directed against the PRC. As a result of the USA aggressive policy aimed at dominating the unipolar world order, a new unprecedented round of the arms race has unfolded. Waves of terrorism and local military conflicts caused by the USA aggressive actions destroy the system of military and political stability that has developed in the world, which is aggravated by the US unilateral withdrawal from the most important international agreements on limiting the arms race and preventing possible armed conflicts. All this required a transition to a new model of a global multipolar world order, appropriate to the conditions and the balance of forces in the 21st century and allowing to weak the threats of the Cold War reanimation and the emergence of the Third World War – a suicidal clash of civilizations.

The Russian initiative to form a multipolar world order has earned decisive approval

The first of the world leaders to proclaim the need for a transition to a multipolar world order was the President of the Russian Federation V. V. Putin in his famous Munich speech in 2007. The main thesis of V. V. Putin's speech at the Munich Security Conference became: "the unipolar model is not only unacceptable but also impossible in today's world." It should be noted that it was with Munich 2007 that the true revival of Russia as a great power began. Setting to the transition to a multipolar world order was confirmed by Vladimir Putin in his speech at the anniversary session of the UN General Assembly in 2015. This position was strongly approved by Chinese President Xi Jinping and was clearly expressed in the joint statements of

the Russian Federation and the PRC dated June 25, 2016 and June 5, 2019. Thus, Xi Jinping and Vladimir Putin condemned the unipolar geopolitical order led by the USA and earned approval of their vision of a just multipolar world among most developing countries.

The historic visit of Chinese President Xi Jinping to Russia on March 20–22, 2023, his first official foreign visit after his triumphant election to this high position for the third time, further strengthened strategic mutual trust and mutually beneficial equal cooperation between Beijing and Moscow. Xi Jinping, immediately after landing at the Moscow airport, said that he was ready to stand guard together with Russia over "the world order based on international law", while the USA and its allies advocate "an order based on rules". Moreover, these rules are rewritten by them each time in accordance with the emerging situation and with exceptional benefit for themselves. On March 21, 2023, Russia and China signed a joint Statement on deepening the relations of comprehensive partnership and strategic interaction of states entering a new era. A number of prominent experts rightly called this document the "Manifesto of the new world order". Xi Jinping also said that "Sino-Russian ties have gone far beyond bilateral relations and are important for the modern world order and the fate of mankind." It is important to emphasize that the partnership between Russia and China is not aimed at third countries, but is aimed at creating a fair world order.

The current visit of Xi Jinping to Moscow has become a symbol of strengthening peace and friendship, good neighborliness and cooperation between China and Russia. Meetings and negotiations of V. V. Putin and Xi Jinping launched an accelerated creating a world order. The concept of multipolarity and building a polycentric world order has already become the leitmotif of the policy of Russia, China, India and Brazil, as well as a number of other large countries, despite strong opposition from the USA and its allies. In the world, already today, there is a natural process of an emerging multipolar world, which is especially evident in the BRICS example. Russia and China play the role of guarantors of its non-regression. The BRICS countries strive to pursue a self-determined international policy, independent of the USA, to build equal and fair relations with all countries without interference in their internal affairs. The BRICS is becoming an increasingly popular organization. If all willing countries would be accepted, then the BRICS may turn into an association of 15–20 countries already in 2023. Algeria, Argentina, Egypt, Iran, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia and Turkey have already applied to join the organization. Some countries do so resisting the USA dictates, ignoring American trusteeship. This means that the process of transition to a multipolar world has already become a reality.

The United States' hybrid wars against Russia and China

The USA has recently been aggressively disposed towards the rest of the world, due to the process of the inevitable loss of the sole global leader status. It is not surprising that the USA first of all took up arms against Russia and China, which dared to challenge the USA adventurist dominance in the world. The USA is particularly annoyed by the all-round strengthening of friendship and cooperation between Russia

and China, expressed during Xi Jinping's visit to Moscow in March 2023. Therefore, the Americans and their European allies exert unprecedented pressure on Russia and China. First of all, the USA, breaking its earlier promise, achieved the expansion of NATO to the East right up to Russia borders. Then, due to the full support of the nationalist forces in Ukraine, they managed to make a coup in 2014, which led to a civil war and turned Ukraine into a springboard for USA and NATO aggression against Russia.

The well-known the Minsk Agreements on the settlement of the situation in Ukraine, according to the European leaders themselves, were adopted by the West only to gain enough time to rearm the Ukrainian army with modern NATO weapons. Which they managed to do in full. Thus, the proxy war in Ukraine, imposed on Russia by the collective West, is aimed at weakening Russia to 'knock out' Russia from the list of the great powers. Moreover, the USA and its satellites declare openly the need to destroy Russia through the war in Ukraine.

With that the USA declared a cold war on China, starting with a trade and technological wars. The USA does not want to cede its leadership in the global economy to China, including the role of the dollar as the main reserve currency and currency for mutual settlements in international trade. As usual, the USA achieves all this by imposing sanctions and restrictions on trade with China. The USA makes incredible efforts to restrain the technological development of China, which has already become a world leader in a number of key technologies of the future. Therefore, the United States has recently declared a 'chip' war against China and Russia, imposing a ban on nanochips export that are most in demand in many critical technologies. The USA has also concluded an agreement with the Netherlands and Japan to restrict the export of unique equipment for the production of such nanochips. The USA forces actively the European Union to curtail trade with China and confront in geopolitics, against the EU very beneficial interests. Finally, the USA systematically pursues a policy of containing China in the Indo-Pacific region, using a network of allies that they want to draw into confrontation with China at any cost to weaken China's influence in this region. It is obvious that the USA will need significant assistance from Australia, Great Britain and Japan, the anti-Chinese alliance AUKUS members, in the event of a direct conflict with the PRC. It is quite natural that the American policy of containing and restricting China in all areas caused China's course of confrontation with the USA. American leaders stubbornly and purposefully undertook to confront with China and achieved their goal.

In this regard, it is extremely important for both countries to strength comprehensively relations between Russia and China. China's political support in the Ukrainian proxy war between Russia and the collective West is extremely important for the Russian leadership, as it is a positive signal for many developing countries. On the other hand, the more Russia depletes the reserves of NATO weapons in Ukraine, the easier it will be for China to resist the USA and its satellites' provocations in Taiwan and the Indo-Pacific region. In the event of a war with the USA over Taiwan, China will have reliable sustainment support from Russia with energy and food resources. And such scenario may happen, since the USA prepares actively the Indo-Pacific theater for an armed conflict in the near future. There-

fore, it is no coincidence that the recent statement by Chinese Foreign Minister Qin Gang that "the more unstable our world is, the greater the need for sustainable development of Russian-Chinese relations." It is obvious that he refers to the effectiveness of the joint counteraction of China and Russia to the collective West destabilizing actions. Therefore, it is extremely important that Vladimir Putin and Xi Jinping agreed to strengthen Russian-Chinese cooperation within the framework of multilateral structures, including the SCO, BRICS, and the Big Twenty, and to build up constructive force in shaping a multipolar world and improving the system of global governance.

China and Russia shape jointly a new world order

So, the world geopolitical structure transforms from an unstable unipolar to a stable multipolar world order in conditions of high instability and numerous risks. But, as mathematicians put it, the bifurcation point has already been passed and it was the beginning of a proactive Russian proxy war in the Ukrainian proxy war imposed on Russia by the USA and NATO. Now, Russia and China face an equally important task – to accelerate this process and make it sustainable and irreversible. The West has no way to stop this trend, since most of the countries of the developing world approve Russia and China, but, of course, first of all, approve their own sovereignty, which the USA has never considered. More and more countries today are already daring to resist the USA dictate, trying to get out of American trusteeship. In this regard, China's reconciliation of two long-standing warring rivals in the Middle East – Iran and Saudi Arabia – is indicative, which has already led to a regime of silence in Yemen, as well as a reduction in conflict in Lebanon and Iraq. Russia, in turn, makes successful efforts to normalize relations between Syria and Turkey, as well as Syria and Saudi Arabia. All this has led to a defusing of tensions in the Persian Gulf region. The times of the 1990s, when the USA established itself as the hegemon in the Middle East, clashing the peoples of the region in a bloody war, are irrevocably a thing of the past.

China and Russia are consistently creating a 'collective security architecture' for the Persian Gulf region and the entire Middle East. The situation in the region is rapidly changing for the better. There is already a clear transition from confrontation to the establishment of good-neighborly relations, to cooperation in various fields and, most importantly, to consideration of mutual interests. The fact that Saudi Arabia pursues independent policy in reducing oil production in April 2023, which led to a significant increase in oil prices, indicates that the world is no longer unipolar, it is transforming into a multipolar one. On the other hand, in gratitude to Russia for its selfless assistance, most Arab countries emphasized taking into account Russian interests in the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, refusing to accept the aggressive demand of the West to impose sanctions against Russia. Moreover, despite the urgent appeals of the USA, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Iraq and Algeria advocated firm and consistent compliance with the previously concluded agreements OPEC+ with Russia to stabilize oil prices. They also did not support the West's decision to impose a price ceiling on Russian energy resources. Arab countries began to act more independently, building alternative alliances with new world leaders – India, China and Russia. Thus, the Middle

East and the Persian Gulf region are becoming the forge of a new independent regional world order and one of the poles of a multipolar world.

BRICS and SCO as centers of a new multipolar world crystallization

From the very beginning, BRICS and SCO (The Shanghai Cooperation Organization) were considered by the organizers as centers of a new global and regional multipolar world order crystallization. These are truly new organizations of a new time and a new world. Every member of the organization, regardless of their own political weight and military power, gets the right to express themselves and defend their position. The relations of states within the organization are exclusively democratic and uniform. The practice to pass annually the presidency baton is a very effective tool in this matter. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization was established in 2001 by six States – China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. By now, the SCO has become the largest regional organization, in which many countries of Greater Eurasia desire to participate in one way or another. The key for the SCO is, on the one hand, ensuring security and stability, and, on the other, socio-economic and humanitarian development. The SCO economic component was strengthened in 2013 by the Chinese megaproject “One Belt, One Road”, aimed at reviving the Great Silk Road on the basis of modern high-speed trade and transport infrastructure and digital communications.¹

Let's take a closer look at the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), which is the foundation of a multipolar world order formation. The peculiarity of the BRICS countries cluster is that it is formed from countries belonging to five different civilizations that have different geopolitical positions in the world, but also united by the presence of extremely important common characteristics: they are all large dynamically states with large populations, interacting with the USA and other developed countries as independent entities world economy and politics. The close attention to the BRICS countries is explained by the sharp increase in their political role and economic weight in the modern world. In addition, they have a huge civilizational and cultural impact on neighboring countries and regions. Gradually, the BRICS countries are turning from an informal international forum into an association of countries that are beginning to act together to strengthen their positions in the modern world, and most importantly, to have a positive impact on the expanding processes of globalization and the formation of a new multipolar world. In this regard, it should be noted that the initiative of the President of the Russian Federation V. V. Putin in 2006 on the creation of the BRIC countries political club has become one of the most important geopolitical events of the beginning of the 21st century. BRICS+ now has every chance to become the locomotive of world development in the second quarter of the 21st century.²

¹ See: *Акаев А. А. ШОС — Великий шелковый путь современности // Геополитика и безопасность. 2016. № 3–4 (35–36). С. 37–48.*

² See also: *Комплексное моделирование и прогнозирование развития стран БРИКС в контексте мировой динамики / В. А. Садовничий, А. А. Акаев, А. В. Коротав, С. Ю. Малков ; Научный совет по Программе фундаментальных исследований Президиума РАН «Экономика и социология науки и образования». М., 2014.*

The roles of BRICS and G7 in global development

BRICS is increasingly becoming a geopolitical alternative to the G7 group of developed countries led by the USA. Having an undeniable advantage over the G7 in terms of population and labor resources, in natural resource potential, BRICS has become a world leader in terms of economic growth, investments in its production capital, as well as in the production of many types of high-tech products. It is significant that in 2022 the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) based on PPP (Purchasing Power Parity) of the BRICS countries overtook the GDP of the G7 countries. The share of GDP of the BRICS countries reached 31.5% of world GDP, and the share of GDP of the G7 countries dropped to 30.7%. Moreover, it is predicted that in the current decade there will be a further expansion of this trend. As for the leaders, today China accounts for 18.9% of the world economy, the United States – less than 15.4%, and India – 7.5%. It is important that the economic potential of the BRICS countries has been growing in recent years largely due to an increase in trade turnover and mutual investments between the members of the organization. BRICS has created its own development bank. A positive step to improve the efficiency of economic cooperation between the BRICS countries will be the introduction of a single settlement currency, the idea of which has been hatched for a long time. Moreover, the share of national currencies in settlements between the BRICS countries is already actively growing. In particular, China and India in recent years have received priority access to cheap energy resources of Russia exclusively in national currencies. Thus, the BRICS countries form a multipolar world in both geopolitical and financial dimensions.

The role of the BRICS as a global consolidating center is also growing, resisting the attempts of the USA and the G7 by force and aggression to preserve the global dominance of the West and exclusively its system of civilizational values. The BRICS task is to construct the main supporting pillars of a new just world order. The main thing is to create a world order in which countries will interact on an equal basis and when there should be no sanctions. It is extremely important that the BRICS countries lay the foundations of an integral economic and socio-cultural system based on dialogue and partnership between states and civilizations, which is replacing the now obsolete capitalist system. This will be an example for the new BRICS members. Already this year, at the BRICS summit in South Africa (2023), it is planned to resolve the issue of joining the organization of seven more states: Algeria, Argentina, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Turkey. As we can see, the BRICS will soon be replenished with representatives of the sixth – Muslim civilization. For the West, all this will become a nightmare, because from now on it is the BRICS+ that will have more weight in the G20, where the main problems of the world economy and sustainable development are being solved.

What else is required for the process of transition to a multipolar world to become irreversible

In order for the process of transition to a multipolar world order to become stable and irreversible, the author believes that the following three conditions are necessary.

First, Russia needs a convincing victory in the proxy war in Ukraine against the collective West aggression led by the USA and NATO. Now there is a lot of talk about the summer offensive of the Ukrainian army, equipped with hundreds of modern German Leopard-2 and British Challenger-3 tanks, as well as other types of NATO model offensive weapons. 80 years ago, in the Kursk Bulge area, Soviet light but maneuverable T-34 tanks defeated a thousandth armada of the vaunted heavy German tanks Tigers and Panthers. We hope that this summer the same fate will surely befall the Leopards and other NATO tanks, because the Russian T-90M Proryv (Breakthrough) tanks are recognized by experts in many countries as the best of their kind. Yes, and Russian tankers showed unattainable skills for others during the ‘tank biathlons’.

Secondly, it is extremely important that China and India peacefully resolve border disputes in southern Tibet. Here, too, the US intervention complicates the possibility of a compromise solution to this long-standing dispute between the two countries, which are key members of both BRICS and SCO. But China and India today have strong, wise and responsible leaders – Chinese President Xi Jinping and Prime Minister Narendra Modi, who are able to find a mutually acceptable solution both in the interests of their countries and in the interests of the well-being of all man-

kind. Given that the BRICS is based on three great powers – India, China and Russia, and Russia has established a strategic partnership with both India and China, the establishment of the same trusting relationship between China and India will further enhance the authority and attractiveness of the BRICS and its strength as a center of crystallization of the future sustainable multipolar world.

Thirdly, it is also important that the European Union takes its own position independent of the United States, and EU as one of the powerful poles of the new world order is being formed without USA participation. A number of European leaders are well aware that following blindly in the wake of USA policy leads the European Union to economic and political collapse. In particular, French President Emmanuel Macron, after his official visit to China, stated very cautiously that Europe has every chance to become a “third superpower” – along with the United States and China – unless “It finds itself involved in conflicts that are not a priority for it, which will prevent it from developing its strategic autonomy.” By the conflict that is not a priority for Europe, E. Macron meant the confrontation between China and the United States around Taiwan. However, today it is unlikely that other key leaders of the European Union begin to see clearly in a similar way. In the meantime, Europe obediently follows the USA aggression. But times have changed.

S. Atlagić¹

WHAT DO WE NEED FROM RUSSIA? SERBIAN VIEW OF RUSSIA'S ROLE IN THE BALKANS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21st CENTURY²

The symbolic opposition of Russia and the West is an important element of Serbian collective identity. Its importance was enhanced after the breakup of Yugoslavia, when Serbia returned to a geopolitical position similar to the one it had in the 19th century³ and relied to a large extent on imperial Russia. The focus in this text is on Serbia only as a country whose policy has the greatest influence on political public opinion among Serbs living in other Balkan countries formed after the breakup of Yugoslavia, primarily in Bosnia and Herzegovina, i. e. Republika Srpska as its entity, and Montenegro.

The importance of Russia in Serbian political life is indicated by data from a public opinion survey in Serbia, according to which the majority of its citizens consider the Russian Federation a friendly country.⁴ A part of the pub-

lic in Serbia expressed their support for Russia in the current international circumstances by organizing mass rallies in support of the Russian Federation during the execution of a special military operation, expressing, at the same time, disagreement with the decision of the official Belgrade to vote against the interests of the Russian Federation at the United Nations General Assembly sessions.⁵ The Serbian government is the only European government that has not imposed any type of sanctions on the Russian Federation. There are several reasons for this: the Russian Federation protects the territorial integrity of Serbia in the United Nations Security Council where, together with the People's Republic of China, it insists on compliance with Resolution 1244 of the UN on Kosovo; in addition to this, the Russian Federation prevented the UN Security Council from vot-

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² This work is supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development Republic of Serbia [grant number 451-03-68/2022-14 from 17 January 2022].

³ *Ковић М.* Предговор — Васиљ Поповић и његова књига Европа и српско питање // Поповић В. Европа и српско питање у периоду ослобођења 1804–1918. Београд: Catena Mundi, 2020. С. 9.

⁴ According to relevant surveys of public opinion from the middle of last year, 82% of Serbian citizens are against imposing sanctions on Russia.

When it comes to Serbia's membership in the European Union, there are 20% of “strong supporters” of this idea, 35% of “strong opponents” and the rest of the citizens are in a position between “yes” and “no”. Basically, 41.8% of citizens would support Serbia's entry into the EU, and 48.3 would be against it. Serbs see NATO as the main culprit for the military conflict in Ukraine (68.7%). See: Istraživanje NSPM: Preko 82 odsto građana protiv uvođenja sankcija Rusiji. URL: <https://www.vreme.com/vesti/istrazivanje-nspm-preko-82-odsto-gradjana-protiv-uvodjenja-sankcija-rusiji/> (accessed: 08.04.2023).

⁵ In 2022, Serbia voted for the proposal of a resolution that “condemns the Russian invasion of Ukraine and calls on Moscow to immediately withdraw its forces from Ukraine,” as well as for the suspension of Russia from the UN Human Rights Council. On the occasion of the Serbian vote, the Russian ambassador to Serbia stated that Russia “understands Serbia” and that “its vote is the result of the strongest pressure from the USA and the EU.” See: Божан-Харченко: Разумијемо Србију, њено гласање у УН резултат је најјачег притиска САД и ЕУ. URL: <https://www.trts.tv/vijesti/vijest.php?id=466176> (accessed: 08.04.2023).

ing on a resolution (at the suggestion of Great Britain) that would have stigmatized the Serbs as perpetrators of the alleged genocide against the Muslim population in Srebrenica during the civil war of the 1990s; finally, Serbia maintains the position that during the nineties of the last century it was a victim of sanctions and that this type of pressure does not contribute to solving problems on the international level.¹ The first two stated reasons fit within the framework of the traditional idea of the majority of the Serbs about Russia as their protector.

Before we devote ourselves to this perception, which has a significant role in the formation of the Serbian collective identity, let us return, for a moment, to the question of the support that part of the Serbian public expresses for the special military operation of the Russian Federation in Ukraine. At the base of this support lies the belief that the West, which first destroyed socialist Yugoslavia and then carried out aggression against Serbia in 1999 by taking Kosovo away from it, has instrumentalized Ukraine. In addition to this, it is believed that the fate of the inhabitants of Donbass, if Russia had not protected them in this way, would have been identical to the fate of the Serbs from Croatia, which in the 1990s, with the help of the West, reduced it to the level of a statistical error in country's total population. Keeping this in mind, a significant number of the Serbs view Russia's response to the West's activities in Ukraine as compensation for the humiliation that the Serbs as a nation experienced during the 1990s.

The expectation of the Serbs from Russia, ever since its return to the international political scene as a world power at the beginning of this century, is that it would become a corrective in the changed international relations, thanks to which the Serbs in the Balkans would be compensated for the loss of the former common state and their sense of dignity would be restored. The instrumentalization of Ukraine by the West and Russia's decisive response, first in 2014 and then in 2022, were seen as the beginning of changes that Serbs had been waiting for almost thirty years. Such expectations of the Serbs are to a significant extent based on the Russian-Serbian political ties developed in the 19th century, in the period of the so-called the Serbian revolution, which ended Serbian slavery under the Turks, which had lasted for more than five centuries. The highlight of the Serbs' idea of Russia as their protector is related to Russia's attitude towards Serbia during the First World War. The protective attitude that Nicholas II Romanov showed towards Serbia in one of the most tragic episodes in its history² strengthened the positive image of Russia among Serbs and made him personally one of the most respected figures in Serbian history³. The leadership of the Russian Federa-

¹ In addition to sporadic calls by pro-Western politicians in Serbia, both opposition and those in power, to impose sanctions on the Russian Federation, the government has repeatedly warned that it will resist Western pressure as long as it can.

² The human sacrifices that Serbia suffered in the First World War were enormous. According to data from the peace conference held in Versailles in 1919, the Kingdom of Serbia lost 1,250,000 inhabitants in the war, which was as much as 28 percent of the population it had before the war. See: (Ne) realan broj poginulih u Prvom svetskom ratu. URL: <https://www.politika.rs/sr/clanak/416224/Ne-realan-broj-poginulih-u-Prvom-svetskom-ratu> (accessed: 28.03.2023).

³ In the description of the role of Nicholas II Romanov in the Serbian collective memory, his next sentence stands out: "You will not blame me, gentlemen, that I am first of all a Russian and that the interests of Russia are the closest to me, but I assure you that right after that I am a Serb and that they are the closest to me the interests of the Serbian people..." See: Цар

tion since 2000, with a similar pattern, and primarily by referring to the mentioned UN resolution 1244 and defeating the proposal of the British resolution from 2015, is consolidating a stable positive image of Russia among Serbs. In this manner, former political activists of the Russian Federation, such as Yevgeny Primakov Sr. and the former representative of Russia in the United Nations, Vitaly Churkin, secured a worthy place in Serbian history with their personal efforts in defense of Serbian positions.

Serbian reliance on Russia during the 19th century was certainly conditioned by the cultural, primarily religious ties between the two nations. In the Serbian struggle for freedom during the five-century Turkish occupation, the religious identification of the Serbs was so important that they relied not only on Orthodox Russia, but also on other Christian powers in the 19th century – Austria and even France. Namely, the Serbian struggle for freedom in the 19th century was waged for the restoration of Serbian statehood, which meant a return to the "Christian cultural circle". Hence, the help of any powerful Christian ally was welcome.⁴

Comparing the current geopolitical position of Serbia with that of the 19th century in the context of its expectations from the Russian Federation, several things can be observed. The first is related to its contemporary geopolitical position in the narrower sense of the word. It is geopolitically isolated from Russia by the belt of countries formed by the West, which stretches from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The West already worked on the realization of this intention with its contribution to the formation of the first joint state of the South Slavs at the beginning of the 20th century and later by supporting the leadership of communist Yugoslavia.⁵ With the collapse of the Warsaw Pact and the breakup of Yugoslavia, the goal of geopolitical isolation of the Serbs in the Balkans was practically realized. Serbian resentment at the status of a "political reserve" in which the West has kept Serbs since the nineties of the last century is reinforced by the fact that in order to break the political space in which all Serbs were united, the national communities liberated by Serbia from under the Austro-Hungarian yoke – Croats and Slovenes – were instrumentalized as well as the Albanian community in the southern Serbian province – Kosovo.

Another significant element of contemporary Russian-Serbian relations is of an identity character. Even today, a part of the political elite and a significant part of the population in Serbia have been facing a problem identifying with the international cultural environment, with the fact that, it seems, their room for maneuver is narrower than it was then. Namely, in the 19th century, Serbs tried to leave the Islamic cultural environment, which was unacceptable to them, and to return to the circle of European civilization. This return was supposed to include both of its cultural and geographical wings – the western, Romano-Germanic and the eastern, Slavic-Russian. Today, when the European idea

Николај II Романов и Срби. URL: <https://asasocijacija.com/prilog/rusi-i-srbija-car-nikolaj-2-romanov-i-srbi/> (accessed: 05.03.2023).

⁴ Поповић В. Европа и српско питање у периоду ослобођења 1804–1918. Београд: Catena Mundi, 2020. С. 28–29.

⁵ Read more about this in different editions of Natalija Narochnjicka's work *Russia and Russians in world history*. For the purposes of this text, the edition in the Serbian language from 2008 was used: Наталија Нарочњичка, *Руси и Русија у светској историји*, Српска књижевна задруга, Београд, 2008.

is reduced only to the Romano-Germanic world and its eastern, Slavic-Orthodox factor is expelled from its core, Serbia is on its way to the so-called European integration faces obstacles that could be fatal for it. Namely, by agreeing to side with that world, not only are three centuries of allied relations with Russia put on the back burner, without whose help Serbia might not even survive in the political sense, but it puts us in a position not much better than the one we had during the Turkish occupation. Unlike the Roman Catholic Slavs, the Serbs do not have such a religious connection with the Western interpretation of the European idea, and they do not, like the Greeks, even have the possibility to refer to the dignity of the cradle of European civilization. In other words, Serbs face the danger of losing their historical identity.¹

Bearing in mind all of the above, the contemporary geopolitical position of Serbia and the Serbs and their relationship to the Russian Federation, compared to the nineteenth century, indicates the following: despite not living in a single political community as in the 19th century, the Serbs still represent an unavoidable political factor in Southeast Europe. The political communities of Serbs in the Balkans – Serbia as a state and Republika Srpska as an entity within Bosnia and Herzegovina – represent functional political entities. Serbia has a strong integration potential among Serbs in the Balkans. In contrast to the waver-

ing political elite and the absence of a basic consensus on the issue of relations with the West and Russia, the citizens of Serbia show political favor towards the Russian Federation despite its geopolitical isolation from it. Political socialization conditioned by historical circumstances and despite the ups and downs in the relations between Russia and the Serbs undoubtedly gave a result that speaks in favor of the fact that for Russia Serbia and the Serbs in the Balkans could be a zone of geostrategic, political and economic interest in the future – of course, if such an interest exists on the Russian side. This is precisely the question of special importance for researchers of Russian-Serbian relations and, in general, political scientists: Will Serbia and Serbs be in the focus of Russian geopolitics in its Eurasian era announced by the new foreign policy concept of the Russian Federation and according to which its view will be directed primarily towards the so-called “global south”?² If the answer to this question is affirmative, the realization of Russian interests in Serbia and the Balkans first implies the revitalization of the pro-Russian cultural and political elite that Russia lost in Serbia and the Balkans after the fall of communism and the collapse of the USSR and Yugoslavia. “Going down to the people” (and not exclusively relying on the positions of the political elite) and investing in a new pro-Russian “intellectual core” represent the “cornerstone” of this undertaking.

D. O. Babich³

INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE AGAINST RUSSIA: HISTORY, PRESENT, PROSPECTS

For people observing actions of western justice against Russia, publication by the International Criminal Court in The Hague of the so-called arrest warrant of the Russian President Putin and the Human Rights Commissioner Maria Lvova-Belova did not come as a surprise. Long before the start of the special military operation in Ukraine, there was talk of “bringing Russia to justice” in the European Union, the United States, and their allied countries.

For the first time, the topic of the President Putin’s legal responsibility for the suffering of the civilian population allegedly caused by his actions was raised during the second entry of Russian troops into the territory of the Chechen Republic in 1999, and the subsequent period of terrorist activity by Islamists who had long maintained their bases in Chechnya, Ingushetia and Dagestan.

For example, back in 2004, the German magazine *Der Spiegel* titled the article about responsibility for the children’s deaths during the seizure of the school in Beslan by anti-Russian terrorists.

“The hostage-taking of children in the Beslan school shakes the whole world. But Putin still does not want to give up the territory of Chechnya.”⁴

The logic of both the headline and the article by journalist Uwe Kluessman is clear: it is not the terrorists who seized the school and tortured the children under the slogan “Freedom to Chechnya” that are blamed for the children’s deaths, but the Russian law enforcement officers who freed the children and the President Putin personally, who did not fulfill the key requirement of the terrorists who hid behind the children. The fact that if this requirement had been fulfilled, the terrorist state, capable of dozens of such terrorist attacks as that in Beslan, would have arisen in the territory of Chechnya, the Western press did not care. And not only the journalist of *Der Spiegel*, but also the authors of 99% of articles about the Chechen war and subsequent conflicts, in which Russia participated, did not care too.

The theme of Russian leaders’ personal responsibility has become the leitmotif of the Western press for the next twenty years, and it is a pity that Russia has been trying to explain something to such journalists as Uwe Kluessman or Pilar Bonnet, a correspondent of the Spanish newspaper *El País* in Moscow, who worked in Moscow, the Britisher Edward Lucas and the American Applebaum, who later turned out to be russophobes on the verge of mental normality. In the West or in any country of the “global South”, such people would be declared “ineligible” after their first publication on the topic “Your President and The Hague”.

¹ *Копривица Ч.* Српски пут. Београд : Catena mundi, 2018. С. 383–384.

² See: *Карпович О.* Концепция долгосрочного лидерства. URL: <https://iz.ru/1493218/oleg-karpovich/kontseptciia-dolgosrochnogo-liderstva> (accessed: 04.04.2023).

³ Journalist and columnist for the news agency “RIA Novosti”. His interests include international information policy and recent history of Russia. Author of a number of publications, including: “The Theatricalization of Evil in Nabokov’s Novels”, “The Writer’s Universe Must Be All-Inclusive: On the Novels of Albert Camus”, “Nabokov and ‘New Criticism’ in the U. S.”, “The Theory of Receptive Aesthetics”, “Success in Journalism – What It Constitutes and What Traps There Are Along the Way”, etc. Member of the Russian Union of Journalists.

⁴ *Klufmann U.* Russisches Beben // Spiegel Panorama. 2004. 14 Dez. URL: <https://www.spiegel.de/jahreschronik/a-331448.html> (accessed: 13.05.2023).

And only Russia – perhaps because of its historical ties with Europe and the respective illusions, – has been trying for many years to “cooperate” with such authors and explain something to them.

Western media once again raised the topic of the Russian leaders’ “personal responsibility”, when Russia came to the aid of the Syrian troops in September 2015 at the official request of the Syrian government, for the purpose of saving the Syrian civilian population from killings and torture actively used by Islamists who fought against the Syrian authorities.

It was then that the topic of Putin’s alleged personal responsibility for the deaths of people killed during bombing positions of “anti-Assad” militants in Aleppo, in the suburbs of Damascus and elsewhere in Syria, arises again. Western media actively raise this topic to this day, although since 2014, attempts to “bring Russia to justice” for allegedly violating rights of Ukrainian citizens have come to the fore. And this despite the fact that massive violation of the rights of Ukrainians began with the illegal and brutally ruthless “Maidan” riot, when 38 law enforcement officers were killed and hundreds were maimed during those 5 months of the illegal siege of the Verkhovna Rada and Yanukovich’s presidential residence in Kiev. (Western media have never raised the topic of the Maidan activists’ responsibility for these deaths and injuries.)

For the first time, the attempt to seriously appeal to the ICC by the Ukrainian authorities (supported and guided by the governments of the USA, Germany, France, etc.) was made on February 4, 2015. The accusation was “annexation” of the Crimea and Sevastopol and “occupation” of

Donbass, with establishment there the DPR and LPR allegedly “terrorist organizations”.

Russia should have immediately stopped any ties with the ICC even then, especially since the persecution of former Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir by this organization showed lopsidedness and bias of the ICC verdicts: it followed from the verdict against the Sudanese leader that he alone was to blame for the separatist violence that had been going on in Sudan for many years. In these circumstances, it was foolish to hope for the “goodwill” of the ICC and continue to believe in “European justice and its high standards” as before we believed in “independent and objective European mass media.” But Russia did not withdraw its signature under the Rome Statute of the ICC of 1998 until 2023. We are lucky that the Russian parliament had no time to ratify this document.

Unfortunately, Russia had to wait until March 17, 2023, when the “arrest warrant” for Putin and Lvova-Belova was issued. Herewith, ridiculous accusations were made: Lvova-Belova, the mother of many children, was accused of “deporting Ukrainian children”, depriving them of their “Ukrainian identity” and separating them from their parents.

Deporting is the word given for saving the children from the bombing and the ongoing hostilities with their shelling. Depriving of identity is the phrase for cessation of russophobic propaganda, to which children in Ukraine have been subjected since elementary school.

But why have Russia’s eyes opened to the ICC so late? Why couldn’t we learn from the experience of at least Sudan? Unanswered questions.

N. S. Bondar¹

THE CONFLICT OF CULTURES OF MODERN JUDICIAL-LEGAL SYSTEMS: SOCIAL JUSTICE OR ECONOMIC PRAGMATISM?

Current challenges to law and threats to the world order should be estimated not in terms of narrow, formal legal aspect, but as systemic cultural processes, the conflict of legal cultures of modern civilization, manifested, inter alia, at the level of confrontation of the main judicial and legal systems of nowadays – Roman-German (continental) Law and Common (Anglo-Saxon) Law.

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1. Today, it is obvious that the general humanistic tuning for partnership, interaction of judicial and legal systems, which had illusively been encouraging many persons until recently, has been replaced by the clash of civilizations, the hybrid war against Russia in all areas, including the judicial-legal field, the irreconcilable conflict of jurisdictions, and the confrontation of legal cultures. However, this has not only today’s political and ideological prerequisites, but also deep philosophical and legal, ideological roots associated with the peculiarities in the approaches of the relevant legal systems to the fundamental constitutional values of modernity. One of the watersheds, bifurcation for them, is the question of what underlying the judiciary functioning and the search for judicial and legal solutions by modern national and supranational jurisdictions: economic pragmatism or social justice?

For us, the answer to this question is obvious: the desire for justice is inherent both in the very essence of law – an equal, fair amount of freedom for all, and in the very nature of human personality, which has its deep historical roots. It would not be exaggeration to note that in context of justice (in correlation of this category to problems of justice, judicial jurisprudence), philosophers of Ancient Greece

and lawyers of no less ancient *Jus romanum* (Roman Law) developed many approaches and ideas that have not lost their relevance today; moreover, they deserve close attention, and need to be considered in the current conditions of a kind of renaissance of judicial jurisprudence, which, I believe, has begun. It is no coincidence that concepts “justice”, “judgement”, “jurisprudence”, “jus” (law) have a single-root ancient Roman origin – *justitia, jus*.

Meanwhile, the current understanding of this category in legal science is so contradictory that the current state “can be described as *scientific chaos in understanding justice and its correlation to law*,”¹ and even more so in correlation of justice to judgement².

2. In general terms, including the focus on pragmatic interests of the judicial search for justice, this category seems possible to be presented, at least, in the following aspects.

Firstly, the moral-ethical, spiritual-religious principles of justice, which may have the most profound historical prerequisites for justice demand in chronological terms, and deserve special attention. All modern world religions (in their classical manifestation non-politicized by modern living conditions) adhere, at their core, to a single approach in the context of understanding goodness, respect, compassion, truth, justice, etc. Divine justice is absolute in this regard, because it is God (and only He) who can repay a human, considering everything he has done (bad and good, sinful and righteous). This retaliation also takes place on a kind of scales of “Divine justice”, where everything good and bad is weighed extremely accurately, and everyone is rewarded according to justice, i. e. in proportion to merit. By the way, these are manifestations of Biblical ideas about the Divine origin of court, judicial activity as focused on the search and affirmation of justice in human society.

Secondly, even if we agree that its highest manifestation has a Divine origin, the very fact that justice is implemented on earth, in human community, confirms unconditional social principles of demands for justice, their filling with deep sociocultural, national, specific historical features. In this regard, justice is a greatly social category to have philosophical, sociocultural, political-ideological coordinates in modern society and, in particular, in judgement, bearing in mind the need for analyzing, interpreting legislation, evaluating decisions of public authorities, qualifying behaviour of individuals and social groups through the prism of social justice, based on criteria values recognized in society and the state, principles of social and economic policy, actively using power and legal mechanisms.

Therefore, another *mandatory level of implementation of justice* (including, *inter alia*, the field of judicial jurisprudence) is *state-legal, formal-legal*. Due to its special significance, including direct access of relevant demands (justice and equality) to *the level of constitutional by their nature relations between property, power and freedom*, the formal-legal content of demands for justice has in modern conditions, first of all, the constitutional level of its recognition and consolidation, involving regulation of relevant relations (falling in the field of administration of justice, in case of disputes and conflicts) based on the unity of social, politi-

cal-ideological and spiritual-moral principles of justice. In the Constitution of the Russian Federation (with its amendments in 2020), this is implemented not just in separate provisions, but at the level of fundamental principles related to assertion of not only freedom of conscience and freedom of religion (Article 28), but spiritual sovereignty of the secular state (preamble, Part 1 of Article 3 in the normative unity with Articles 13, 14), on the one hand, and recognition of the faith in God transferred to us by our ancestors (Part 2 of Article 67.1 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation), on the other hand. But this approach, in particular, on the base of Article 67 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, should not be considered as clericalization of Constitutional Law; to a greater extent, this implies the opportunity for constitutionalization of moral, ethical, spiritual and religious principles, philosophical and legal justification of sacred moral ideals of the spiritual (religious) culture of society, recognized by the Constitution.

In this regard, there may be grounds for asserting that it is impossible to substantiate the natural-legal and state-legal personality of an individual without biblical and philosophical ideas, as well as to make ethical and legal measurements of judgement as a special form of state-governmental activity aimed at protecting and restoring demands for legal justice to be violated in modern society, without considering moral and ethical principles. This issue (including judicial and legal ones) has acquired particular relevance in modern conditions, when the loss of trust in authorities, alienation of a human, occurs not only in relation to the state, but primarily at the level of moral and ethical principles of legal life. Returning a human to the legal environment, which is not limited only to formal legal regulation, is an important task of the theory and practice of modern jurisprudence.

At the same time, in all this, there is manifestation of the unity of biological and social, divine and earthly, not only in the context of man’s origin, but also in the status features, in interrelations of man and citizen with society and state. This “trinity” (personality–society–state) presents deep, sacred spiritual-moral, sociocultural, and not only legal, principles of equality and justice. In this understanding, *the normative imperative of the category of justice* is not limited to the formal legal content of an individual’s status features. This is a much more substantial, multidimensional category; along, for example, with normative demands of fair and equal for everyone legal capacity, legal ability, equal rights, equality of everyone under the law, etc., it is simultaneously reinforced by *equal for everyone normative justice* of social, economic, sociocultural, moral and ethical principles that present in foundations of the constitutional system, in competence and functional features of all branches of government and their public bodies.³

3. On this base, *constitutional justice* may be formalized as an universal category of intersectoral significance for the entire legal system, all forms of law applicability. Without claiming to give exhaustive description of this category, it is generally possible to distinguish at least the following normative-legal principles (properties) of constitutional justice: *firstly*, axiological features of constitutional arrangement of society and state, their functioning in the legal dimension of social justice demands; *secondly*, universal requirements for

¹ See: Вайтан В. А. Теория справедливости: Право и экономика. М. : Юстицинформ, 2017. С. 28.

² Some of the works available on this subject, including those that have appeared recently (see, for example: Клеандров М. И. Правосудие и справедливость. 2-е изд., перераб. и доп. М. : Норма, 2023), can be considered only as the first approaches to researching this problem.

³ Судья КС Николай Бондарь: Конституция 1993 года — живой документ нашей эпохи // Конституционный Суд РФ : [website]. URL: <http://www.ksrf.ru/ru/Press-srv/Smi/Pages/ViewItem.aspx?ParamId=6294> (accessed: 23.05.2023).

legal equality, including the possibility of equitable inequality in legal regulation (differentiation) and law applicability (individualization); *thirdly*, property equivalence as expression of private law (a kind of market-economic) justice; *fourthly*, distributive justice as the basis of socially focused policy to ensure conditions of decent life for everyone; *fifthly*, relatively speaking, “balancing” justice as a criterion for ensuring constitutionally justified (fair) proportionality of restrictions, balance of values; *sixthly*, equal for everyone judicial protection as a legal warranty of fair law and order in society and state; *seventhly*, inevitability of equal, but only for “equal entities” (!), legal responsibility as the moral and legal basis for constitutional justice in tort relations; *eighthly*, the special democratic legal mode of legal regulation and law applicability, based on demands for justice, equal for everyone respect for personal dignity.

It is important to consider that harmonization of formal-legal and moral-ethical demands in law, law applicability, as well as in all forms and areas of state-governmental activity, especially in the judicial one (which initially, by its essential features, is focused on protection and affirmation of demands for justice), is possible only on the basis of consistent observance of national traditions, respect for fundamental values related to man, society, and state.

In Russia, where the very etymology of the concept “justice” has special, deep moral and ethical roots (in Russian, this word is single-rooted with the word “truth”), the system of prevailing legal principles has always made it possible to evaluate citizens’ actions, and actions of public authorities, including from the standpoint of sinfulness, good and evil, truth and lies, justice and injustice, honesty and duty, i. e. on the basis of mandatory consideration of ethical, moral concepts and standards.¹ This, of course, is fully characteristic of the modern period, despite the fact that in the international legal order, in many other countries, the very foundations of normal ethical and legal life order are being destroyed, and Russia is imposed even in this area alien for its values and behaviour rules, with a hybrid war to have actually been declared.

Under these conditions, it is even more important to understand historical prerequisites and national traditions, including those related to modern challenges of judicial jurisprudence, which is especially acute at the *bifurcation point in development of the main judicial and legal systems of modernity – Common (Anglo-Saxon) Law and Roman-German (continental) Law*, an important indicator of which is their attitude to the eternal idea, values of social and legal justice.

4. High proportion of sociocultural, philosophical content of fundamental ideals of constitutionalism confirms the obvious fact that in presence of common ideas about constitutional ideals, there are serious differences both in their doctrinal, philosophical and legal understanding, and in practical approaches to implementation in the Anglo-Saxon and Roman-German (continental) legal systems.

Without touching on historical legal genesis, including the history of Russia’s choice of the continental European path of legal development², it is important to consider

¹ Bondar H. C. Конституция России в условиях глобальных перемен правовой жизни: от политических иллюзий к юридическому реализму // Журнал российского права. 2018. № 12. С. 18–32.

² There are, as you know, various opinions and assessments. See, for example: Давид П. Основные правовые системы современности. М., 1988; Раймон Л. Великие правовые системы современности: сравнительно-правовой подход. 2-е изд. М., 2009; Синуков В. Н. Российская правовая

in this case the high level of doctrinality, system-methodological elaboration, structuring, concentration of moral and ethical principles taken from Roman Law. This is not accidental: moral and ethical principles that defined continental law were “translated” in their original, genetic plan, transformed from the language of Greek philosophy into coordinates of exact legal formulations of Roman Law; in future, these processes received powerful philosophical, ideological, methodological justification through active influence of classical German philosophy on Continental Law (especially, Constitutional Law).

In this regard, it seems natural that historical features of formation of legal systems largely determine their deep ideological features, bearing in mind, inter alia, value features that receive their legal formalization in the form of fundamental constitutional principles of relevant legal systems. Herewith, in presence of profound national, historical, philosophical and ideological differences between modern legal systems, it is important to consider the fact that they cannot but have some common guidelines for functioning. Ultimately, these guidelines and ideals are associated with interrelations between power and freedom, state and individual, and a kind of common denominator and at the same time a value guideline for implementation of these interrelations, at least at the level of judicial and legal systems, is the universal *category of the common good*. The understanding of the common good is based on approaches related to searching for a balance of values of power and freedom, public interests and private ones, bearing in mind that in constitutional and legal terms, the category of the common good, on the one hand, embodies axiological guidelines for the search for the fundamental principles of modern constitutionalism, and, on the other hand, it is in this category that manifest fundamental philosophical and ideological differences in approaches of the Continental European and Anglo-Saxon legal systems to fundamental principles of constitutionalism.³

5. In this aspect, it is permissible to talk about two main approaches that define value landmarks of interrelations between power and freedom in different ways, including when searching for a balance of public and private interests and focus on this basis to achieve the common good. These are utilitarianism (economic utility) and social justice.⁴

In this respect, the Anglo-Saxon legal system is characterized by consistent utilitarianism. Genetically, it is connected with economic factors, focus on material benefits, business, financial and economic success, and its doctrinal and legal justification is based on postulates of the economic school of law, including ideas of “constitutional economics”, which, by the way, have received insufficiently critical perception in our legal science.⁵ In this case, the economic usefulness of decisions taken, including those at the legislative level, acts as an unconditional criterion for

система. 2-е изд. М.: Норма, 2012; Марченко М. Н. Правовые системы современного мира. 2-е изд. М., 2009.

³ See: Bondar H. C. «Вечные» конституционные идеалы: насколько они неизменны в меняющемся мире? // Государство и право. 2020. № 6. С. 20–34.

⁴ See in detail: Дедов Д. И. Общее благо как система критериев правового регулирования экономики. М., 2003; Момотов В. В. Принцип справедливости и целесообразности в институтах англо-американских и континентально-европейских правовых порядков // Российское правосудие. 2017. № 12. С. 16–24 (ч. 1); 2018. № 1. С. 35–48 (ч. 2).

⁵ See more about this in detail: Bondar H. C. Экономический конституционализм России: очерки теории и практики. М.: Норма, 2017. С. 14–24.

finding a balance of interests and at the same time as a value guideline for achieving the common good. Therefore, in the norm-controlled, practical and applied aspect, it is proposed to proceed from the fact that the law correlated with constitutional requirements should look not for what is fair, but for how economic interests in the particular legal relationship can be satisfied first of all.

The economic pragmatism cultivated, including at the constitutional and legal levels, is obvious to largely determine the Western model of consumer society. In this case, the criterion of the jurisdictional search for the balance of interests is the rate (level) of satisfaction of the relationship participants' needs; it is obvious, however, that the search for the balance of interests based on economic utility, material expediency, is inevitably associated (at least ultimately) with the level of satisfaction, (not) sufficiency of benefits. To assess this situation, the formula, a kind of set phrase, is quite appropriate: *"It's not enough to have a lot; you still need to have enough."* In this regard, legal, including judicial, approaches to finding the balance of interests should be based on indicators related not to coordinates of the consumer formula "a lot-a little", but to the concept "sufficiently". And, a kind of *measure of sufficiency, the balance of public and private interests is the category of justice*, which in this case acts simultaneously as a constitutional criterion for assessing the common good, as well as the search for the balance between power and freedom.

Historically, these approaches are associated with specific features of the Roman-German legal system, the normative and doctrinal justification of which was based on reception of Roman Law. It is no exaggeration that legal justification of justice (as a category of *aequitas*) was one of main historical achievements of ancient and medieval jurisprudence; it is no coincidence that experts have long noted that "none of the most brilliant provisions of Roman Law provided it so far the right to immortality as its attitude to *aequitas*... Representing from the subjective side only a certain virtue, *aequitas* at the same time determined the content of norms. The right was recognized as natural when it was seen as something universal, invariably correct and just..."¹

Normative and doctrinal justification of the category of social justice as a criterion for harmonizing relations between power and freedom, achieving on this basis the common good implying benefits (including economic ones) for everyone, has increased relevance for judicial activity, including constitutional, norm-controlled and interpretative ensuring the supremacy of the Constitution. After all, the Constitution itself is concentrated manifestation of the meta-legal principles of justice; the common good must be considered in this case beyond the arithmetic summation (especially division) of benefits for individual citizens, organizations, and other entities of law.²

6. This reflects the fact that a kind of *philosophical and legal basis for the orientation of justice for the common good as a criterion for the harmonization of relations between power and freedom is the concept of the priority of the whole over the part*. Its origins are in "Metaphysics" by Aristotle, with its postulate that "the whole is not more important, but more than the sum of its parts." Subsequently, this seemingly internally contradictory formula was justified within the framework of the philosophical school of holism, which to-

day seems to be experiencing its renaissance: holism, i. e. the philosophy of the whole, the unity, comes to replace mechanicism, reductionism. Russia's national-specific approach to arrangement and performance of public power, its relationship with the individual and society should probably be interpreted largely from the standpoint of holistic legal awareness, striving for state integrity, the unity of society on the base of social partnership, economic, political and social solidarity (Article 75.1 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation), which, however, is manifested not only through centralization, universalization, but also optimal differentiation in those areas where it is justified and necessary.³

The content and limits of such centralization, universalization and differentiation inevitably imply the need for finding the balance between public and private interests, power and freedom at various levels of their manifestation, which was clearly expressed, including in the light of the 2020 amendments: now our Basic Law is focused on understanding justice as a legal measure of freedom and equality and at the same time – a socially significant factor of constitutionally justified differentiation, targeted social support of citizens in normative unity with constitutional demands of mutual trust between the state and society, protection of the citizens' dignity (Article 75, Parts 6, 7; Article 75.1).

In these new constitutional provisions, among other things, the legal positions of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation have been implemented, suggesting that the constitutional principle of justice is complex, in fact, comprehensive, includes the principles of both distributive and retributive (equalizing) justice, assuming proportionality, adequacy. In this regard, the practice of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation demonstrates the focus on identification, in relation to demands for justice, of not only negative (anti-discrimination), but also positive aspects of equality, which was justified in the demands: a) equality of starting positions (Resolutions of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, dated May 15, 2006, No. 5-P, dated July 5, 2017, No. 18-P); b) fair equality of opportunities, meaning equality of rights and freedoms (Resolutions of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, dated April 22, 2013, No. 8-P; dated May 13, 2014, No. 14-P); c) fair inequality of results based, in particular, on overcoming unfair equality (Resolutions of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, dated July 11, 2017, No. 20-P, dated December 13, 2016, No. 28-P), overcoming unfair inequality (Resolution of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, dated December 11, 2014, No. 32-P), etc. In general and statistical context, it is appropriate to note that in almost 2/3 of Resolutions of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, the category of justice was applied as a criterion for constitutionality of the regulatory legal acts being checked.⁴

The proposed approaches, of course, do not exhaust the ideas about contradictions and trends of development, the epistemology of modern judicial jurisprudence, evaluated, in particular, at the fork of the most important, constitutionally significant values of modern legal systems, which include the values of social and legal justice.

¹ See: *Kunn T.* История источников римского права. СПб., 1908. С. 8.

² See: *Бондарь Н. С.* «Вечные» конституционные идеалы...

³ See: Пути развития философии права в России : круглый стол Междисциплинарного центра философии права Института философии РАН / А. А. Гусейнов, В. С. Степин, А. В. Смирнов, В. Г. Графский, В. В. Лапаева, Г. А. Гаджиев, Н. С. Бондарь // Российский журнал правовых исследований. 2017. № 1 (10). С. 23–25.

⁴ See: *Бондарь Н. С.* «Вечные» конституционные идеалы...

J. M. D. De Vega¹

ON THE QUESTION OF THE GLOBAL BALANCE OF POWER, RUSSIA VS NATO AND THE DANGERS AND BANKRUPTCY OF UNIPOLARITY: IN DEFENSE OF MULTIPOLARITY

“If we, in a small point of the world map, are able to fulfill our duty and place at the disposal of this struggle whatever little of ourselves we are permitted to give: our lives, our sacrifice, and if some day we have to breathe our last breath on any land, already ours, sprinkled with our blood let it be known that we have measured the scope of our actions and that we only consider ourselves elements in the great army of the proletariat but that we are proud of having learned from the Cuban Revolution, and from its maximum leader, the great lesson emanating from his attitude in this part of the world: ‘What do the dangers or the sacrifices of a man or of a nation matter, when the destiny of humanity is at stake.’”

Our every action is a battle cry against imperialism, and a battle hymn for the people's unity against the great enemy of mankind: the United States of America. Wherever death may surprise us, let it be welcome, provided that this, our battle cry, may have reached some receptive ear and another hand may be extended to wield our weapons and other men be ready to intone the funeral dirge with the staccato singing of the machine-guns and new battle cries of war and victory.”

This was written by Che Guevara in his “Message to the Tricontinental”.²

Exactly a decade ago, I wrote the following remarkable words:

“It's bedazzling that the person that was largely portrayed as the ‘bad guy’ turns out to be the ‘good one’ who stopped, in an undeniable sense, the possible eruption of World War III.

How can we explain the irony of a former FSB director who successfully denied before the international community a so-called Nobel Prize winner from striking Syria with military might? Not only did the Russian president shame and smash, before the bar of global public opinion, the American president, on the question of the impropriety and inappropriateness of bombing Syria; the former has also shown, in a clear and comprehensive manner, what the world has already known a long time ago, and that is the irrefutable fact that America is not what it says it is to the planet.”³

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² See: Che Guevara Internet Archive. April 16, 1967. URL: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/guevara/1967/04/16.htm> (accessed: 16.05.2023).

³ See: Putin and Obama: A comparison of the dove and the hawk // GMA News. 2013. Oct 5. URL: <https://www.gmanetwork.com/news/opinion/content/329563/putin-and-obama-a-comparison-of-the-dove-and-the-hawk/story/> (accessed: 16.05.2023).

This was period when the US and their allies are again preparing themselves to strike Syria and same with what they did with Libya conduct a regime change in that part of the world for their hegemonic and geopolitical interests.

It seems to me that the Russians and their allies have learnt from their previous mistake that is not intervening militarily in Libya. Hence, on the issue of Syria, the Russians did not only flex their muscles but registered in a firm manner that are back to their world position and they intend to stay.

I will argue that this is precisely what the world needs. A strong, determined and active Russia that will serve as a Global Balance of Power. Perhaps, the critics will say that this is a new form or the latest type of the Cold War, but be that as it may and no matter how controversial it is, it is the ardent contention of this representation that no one on their right and reasonable mind can deny the big and significant role that the Russians are playing in maintaining the peace and balance of power in the world stage as a whole. For instance, if the Russians did not lift their finger on Syria, what will happen to Damascus?

We could only imagine, but we have tons of evidence by virtue of the recent and the historical monstrosities committed by the US and the West to those nations and peoples that they ravaged of what might happen to Syria. For a specific example, look at Libya before and after it was attacked and destroyed by NATO⁴ in this picture:

Same with Libya, what will happen to those millions of Syrian refugees? Where will they go? Where or which “good” and “civilized” countries will accept them?

According to a TeleSUR news report:

“Nine years after the military intervention, led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to overthrow Colonel Muammar al-Gaddafi, Libya remains trapped in a spiral of violence involving armed groups, sectarian, ethnic groups and external interference that have led the country into absolute chaos.

On Oct. 20, 2011, amid protests supported by the governments of the United States and the European Union, an armed uprising that plunged the country into a civil war, the Libyan leader was captured and brutally murdered by the rebels.

Being one of the most prosperous countries in the African continent, thanks to its vast oil fields, after the fall of Gaddafi, the North African country was divided between rival governments in the east and west, and among multiple armed groups competing for quotas of power, control of the country and its wealth.

Gaddafi ruled for 42 years, leading Libya to a significant advance in social, political and economic matters that were recognized and admired by many African and Arab nations at the time. Despite his controversial government, Gaddafi came to represent an important figure for anti-imperialist struggles for his position mainly against the U. S.

⁴ See: <https://www.pinterest.ph/pin/375980268869252716/> (accessed: 16.05.2023).

and the policies carried out from Washington on the Middle East.”¹

The Dangers and Bankruptcy of Unipolarity

It would utterly be dangerous, myopic and a pity for the world if we will allow only the control and direction of the global system in the hands of the US, UK, the West and NATO. The world has already seen their decadence and moral bankruptcy since the middle part of the 20th century. It would completely idiotic for the people of the world to allow them to determine for us all the global norms and alleged international rules-based order which in truth and in fact is nothing more their imperial hegemony based on their vision of Unipolarity ranging from global politics and economics, their one-sided culture, sports, entertainments and almost all aspects and domains of our existence.

Hegemony, US Imperialism and the Rise of Unipolarity

After World War II, the world is composed of three powerful blocs, namely, The US, the Soviet Union and the nations who recently had their independence known as the Non-Aligned Movement. Though non-aligned, more often than not these countries sided with Russia on socio-economic issues.

From 1989 to 1991 a series of world events had happened that grievously led to fall of the Berlin Wall and consequently to the disintegration of the former Soviet Union. Is it this period that we could say that the US which remain as the sole superpower begun their “unipolar moment”.

As a remaining superpower that gave the US establishment the messianic view that they have the right to further control and shape the world through their liking. Hence, they projected their dominance and power not only via their brand of economics buy by force. They attacked and bombed Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Yemen, Libya, etc.

They thought that they will forever rule the world and be the permanent Globo-cop. This kind of dangerous and myopic thinking is totally against the principles of the dialectics of history.

The new millennium brought new power players in the world, albeit they are independent. We saw the rise of India, China and the revival of Russia.

Today, the only news we can hear from the US and their allies is the alleged danger of Russia and China and India’s questionable neutrality.

The Beginning of the End of Unipolarity

We could trace the event and say that the global financial crisis of 2007–2008 is its starting-point. Then, the election into office of Donald Trump in 2016 hasten its negation and finally the humiliating withdrawal of the US in Iraq and Afghanistan which is comparable to their equally humiliating withdrawal in Saigon and defeat in the Vietnam War in 1975.

All of these are undeniable ingredients to show the dying empire of Pax Americana, yet there are two momentous historical events that connected to Russia in relation to this discussion that I would like to highlight.

¹ See: Libya Before and After Muammar Gaddafi. 2020. Jan. 15. URL: <https://www.telesurenghish.net/analysis/Libya-Before-and-After-Muammar-Gaddafi-20200115-0011.html> (accessed: 16.05.2023).

First, after the Americans succeeded in their sponsored coup that toppled the duly elected president of Ukraine in 2014, they cannot do anything to Russia when it counterattacked by annexing Crimea.

Second and much more important in my view, in 2015, the Americans were checked in Syria when the Russians send their military there to stop and defeat the US forces in their aim of regime change.

These twin events had shown to the whole world that the US as a power is declining and Russia is not only rejuvenated, but perhaps has already attained its former position prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union. Though, I largely attribute these successes to the whole Russian people, yet we cannot deny the role on an individual in history. Undeniably, President Vladimir Putin has played not only a key and crucial role, but indeed a decisive leadership.

The Russian Federation Today

In order for us to fully understand Russia today, we have to go back to its contemporary history. In 1991 after the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the breakup of its satellites, Russia suffered hardship and tremendous political and economic crisis. In the psychological level it has some grave effect, not only to its leaders but indeed to the Russian people. Sad but true, but by virtue of these set-backs, upset and apparent defeat, they felt that they lost a great amount of power and influence in the world. Their prestige was shaken and it seems that they are no longer a Super Power.

Added insult to injury, Russia could not even react when NATO attacked and bombed Yugoslavia even if the same was not permitted nor sanction by the Security Council of the UN. What added to the Russian’s anger and disgust is the fact that they were not even consulted on the matter. The Russians will never ever forget nor forgive this disrespectful and utterly shameful act of the US and its allies in NATO.

This event is truly painful and a shame to the Russians’ pride and character, because what the NATO forces are bombing is considered by Kremlin as their backyard and indeed, a part of their sphere of influence. Nonetheless, because the Russians at that time are not in the position to complain or to protest, they reluctantly swallow this slight.

Indeed, as natural visionaries and innate survivors, what the Russians did is to bid their time and instead they worked tirelessly to restore and strengthen their economy, various institutions and put an order and stability to their political system. Thereupon, after merely two decades, they have successfully attained their economic power and recover much of their status as a global player and indeed, a Super Power.

NATO’s Eastward Expansion and Western Treachery to the Agreement

It is important to stress and revisit the story and the history with regard to this crucial issue of NATO’s expansion, because the said question has a direct link to the on-going military confrontation raging now in Europe.

The problem, as always is that there exist two opposing and conflicting narratives.² On Russia’s side they main-

² For the context of the two different narratives, see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nVt-WXTLIZM>; Did NATO promise Russia never to expand to the east? // DW News. 2022. March 19. See also: *Bognot H. M., De Vega J. M. D., Pepa R. F.* Pravda: Ang Digmaang Proxy sa Ukraina:

tained all throughout that they already reached a mutual understanding and an Agreement with the West, albeit it is not written; but years later, the West will state that there is no understanding nor an agreement whatsoever on this matter.

Same with the issue of the former Yugoslavia, this traitorous and dishonorable manner of the US and its allies in not honoring an agreement is also something that the Russians will not forget nor forgive.

For truth and in fact, to the Russians, they agreed to dissolve the *Warsaw Pact* and they even give their concurrence for the reunification of the divided Germany, but the US and its allies in NATO must promised that they will no longer proceed or that they will cease from their eastward expansion, because Russia considered the same as its boundary.

According to Professor Stephen F. Cohen¹ in his lecture at the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs with the title: “Soviet Fates and Lost Alternatives: From Stalinism to the New Cold War” delivered on May 19, 2010:

NATO expansion represents the following to Russia: It represents a profoundly broken promise to Russia, made by the first Bush, that in return for a united Germany in NATO, NATO would not expand eastward. This is beyond any dispute.

People say they never signed a treaty. But a deal is a deal. If the United States gives its word – unless we’re shysters, and if you don’t get it in writing, we’ll cheat you – we broke our word. When both Putin and Medvedev say publicly, to Madeleine Albright and others, “We, Russia, feel deceived and betrayed,” that’s what they are talking about.

So, NATO represents on the part of Russia a lack of trust: You break your words to us. To what extent can we trust you?

Secondly, it represents military encirclement. If you sit in the Kremlin and you look out at where NATO is and where they want to go, it’s everywhere. It’s everywhere on Russia’s borders.

But there’s something even more profound that is a taboo in the United States. NATO expansion represents for the Russians American hypocrisy and a dual standard. They see it this way, and I can’t think of any way to deny their argument.

The expansion of NATO is the expansion of the American sphere of influence, plain and simple. Where NATO goes, our military force goes. Where NATO goes, our arms munitions go, because they have to buy American weapons. Where NATO goes, Western soldiers go, who date their women, who bring along their habits, and all the other things. It’s clearly, undebatably, indisputably an expansion of America’s sphere of influence.

So there has been a tremendous expansion of America’s sphere of influence since the mid-1990s, right plunk on Russia’s borders, with all the while, every American administration saying to Russia, including the Obama Administration, “You cannot have a sphere of influence because that’s old thinking.”

Rusya Laban sa NATO / patnugot R. A. Macawili. Paranague, Philippine : The Radical Press, 2022, specifically the Foreword of Professor Ramon G. Guillermo of the Center for International Studies, University of the Philippines (p. iii–vi).

¹ Stephen Frand Cohen (1938–2020), Professor Emeritus of New York University and Princeton University.

The Russians may be cruel, but they’re not stupid. In other words, what they say [America is saying] is, “We can now have the biggest sphere of influence the world has ever seen, and you don’t get any, not even on your own border. In fact, we’re taking what used to be your traditional sphere of influence, along with the energy and all the rest. It’s ours now” – again, this idea of a winner-take-all policy.

This is the enormous resentment in Russia. The relationship will never become a stable, cooperative relationship until we deal with this problem.

Does it mean Russia is entitled to a sphere of influence? I don’t want to think for Jack Matlock, but Jack thinks yes, depending on what you mean by “sphere of influence”. They can’t occupy countries. We had a Monroe Doctrine. But the point is that until this is worked out, the relationship will never truly be post-Cold War.

The problem is, it’s taboo in America to talk about this issue of who has a sphere of influence, who is entitled to it. I think there are solutions, but you can’t even get the question asked. If you can’t get the question on the agenda, you obviously can’t come up with an answer.²

There is no iota of doubt that what the US, the West and NATO did to Russia is not only a breach of trust and contract, but unpardonable betrayal of the worst kind. Not only did the West did not honor their promise and commitment, worst, as if irritating Russia, the former US President Bill Clinton in 1996 openly called those nations who were former members of the defunct Warsaw pact to join NATO. Then, three years later, Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic has joined.

If this is not a slap to Russia, then I do not know what it is.

While this membership spree is in full blast, there are also tensions, ripples and fierce debate happening inside NATO plus the continuous warning and consistent protestations being made by Russia. Then, the next round of the new possible members to NATO was when seven countries from the Central and Eastern part of Europe, namely: Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, at Slovenia manifested their intention to join. Take note that these countries were traditionally and historically considered by Russia as part of its sphere of influence. They were formally invited to join at the Prague Summit in 2002. Their membership was formally accepted in 2004 at Istanbul.

NATO, it seems is not content with its new members and it wants some more. Hence, it continued its massive recruitment. Then, on April 1, 2009, Albania and Croatia, joined it that is before the Summit of 2009 at Strasbourg–Kehl. Then, it was followed by Montenegro which joined on June 5, 2017 and North Macedonia on March 27, 2020. According to the report³, NATO’s latest member was Finland which joined on April 4, 2023. The report further stated that the “Nordic country is the 31st member of the defense alliance.” Again, let us take note that Finland historically is always been part of the Russian empire and one of Russia’s provinces with semi-autonomous status. It must be

² For the complete video of the lecture, see: <https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/studio/multimedia/20100519-soviet-fates-and-lost-alternatives-from-stalinism-to-the-new-cold-war>.

³ Bayer L. Finland is now officially a NATO member // Politico. 2023. Apr. 4. URL: <https://www.politico.eu/article/finland-officially-nato-alliance-member-jens-stoltenberg-pekka-haavisto-antony-blinken/> (accessed: 16.05.2023).

asked categorically: is the decision of the Finnish government beneficial to the Finnish people?

It must be further noted that now that Finland is officially a NATO member, another Nordic country that is so eager to join is Sweden. We must ask the material question: does both Finland and Sweden understand the grave and dangerous implication of their decision and intention?

For a better analysis on this matter, let me quote the international commentator Jan Oberg:¹

“The Swedes and the Finns will become less secure. Why? Because there will be harder confrontation and polarization instead of soft borders and mediating attitudes. In a serious crisis, they will, for all practical purposes, be occupied and told what to do by the U. S. / NATO.

To the degree that, at some point in the future, the two countries will be asked to host U. S. bases – like Norway and Denmark now – they won’t be able to say ‘No!’ Such bases will be Russia’s first-order targets in a war situation.

From a Russian point of view, of course, their NATO membership is extremely tension-increasing and confrontational. Russia has 8 percent (\$66 billion) of the military expenditures of the 30 NATO members. Now there will be a huge re-armament throughout NATO. Germany alone plans to increase to almost twice as much as Russia’s expenditures. Ukraine will receive about \$50 billion. Add a re-armed Sweden and Finland and we shall see Russia rush down to 4 percent of NATO’s expenditures – and still be called a formidable threat.

There will be virtually no confidence-building and conflict-resolution mechanisms left in Europe. No discussion will be possible about a new all-European peace and security system. And whether it is understood and respected or not, Russia will feel even more intimidated, isolated and – in a certain situation – become even more desperate. As does, normally, the weaker party in an a-symmetric conflict. We are living in very dangerous times and these two countries in NATO will only increase the danger, there is no way it could reduce it.

If Finland and Sweden so strongly want to be ‘protected’ by the United States and/or NATO, it is completely unnecessary for these two countries to join because, if there is a serious crisis, *the U. S. / NATO will under all circumstances come to ‘protect’ or rather use their territories to be closer to the Baltic republics. That’s what the Host Nation Support agreements are about.*

The only reason to join would be paragraph 5 – but the disadvantage is that *paragraph 5 requires that Finland and Sweden will be expected to participate in wars that are not about their defense and perhaps even in future international law-violating wars à la those in Yugoslavia, Iraq and Libya.* So, will Finnish and Swedish young people be killed in future NATO-country wars? Are they ready for that?

It will cost a fortune to convert their military infrastructure to full NATO membership – and when they have joined, *they will pay whatever the price will turn out to be.* In addition, there will be much less de facto sovereign decision-making possible – here de jure is almost irrelevant. And it was already very self-limited before they joined.

As NATO members, Finland and Sweden cannot but share the responsibility for nuclear weapons – the deterrence and possible use of them by NATO. It’s also obvious

¹ He is an internationally experienced, independent peace and future researcher and an art photographer, columnist, commentator and mediator.

that NATO vessels may bring nuclear weapons into their ports – but they will of course not even ask – they know the arrogant U. S. response is that ‘we neither confirm nor deny that sort of thing.’

This goes against every fibre of the Swedish people – and Sweden’s decision to not develop nuclear weapons dating some 70 years back.

The days when Sweden and Finland can – in principle, at least – work for alternatives are numbered. That is, for the U. N. treaty on nuclear abolition and the U. N. goals of general and complete disarmament, any alternative policy concepts like common security, human security, a strong U. N. etc. They won’t be able to serve as mediators – like, say, Austria and Switzerland. No NATO member can pay anything but lip service to such noble goals. NATO is not an organization that encourages alternatives. Instead, it seeks monopoly as well as regional and global dominance.

Finland and Sweden say yes to militarist thinking, to a ‘peace’ paradigm that is imbued with weapons, armament, offensiveness (long-range + large destructive capacity), deterrence and constant threatening: NATO is human history’s most militaristic organization. *Its leader, the United States of America, has been at war 225 out of 243 years since 1776.* Every idea about nonviolence, the U. N. Charter provision of making peace by predominantly peaceful means (Article 1 in the Charter) will be out of the window.

The political attention, as well as funds, will tend to switch to military matters, away from contributing to solving humanity’s most urgent problems. But – we know it now – the excuse will be Putin’s invasion of Ukraine. Is there any huge change that cannot be justified with reference to that?

While everybody knows that the Arctic is going to be a region of central security and peace concerns in the near future, this issue has hardly been discussed in relation to the two countries’ NATO membership. However, *it doesn’t require much expertise to see that U. S. / NATO access to Sweden and Finland is a clear advantage in the future confrontation with Russia and China there.*

As NATO members, Sweden and Finland not only accept but reinforce decades of hate of the Russian people, everything Russia including Russian-European culture. It will say yes to the West’s reckless, knee-jerk collective (illegal) punishment of everything Russia, the cancellation of Russia on all dimensions.²²

It must be stressed again and again that in all these maneuvers and sinister moves by NATO, Russia has repeatedly and consistently registered in a strong tone their grievance and concerns with regard to their security.

As reported, Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov “separately told reporters that Finland’s accession to NATO was forcing Moscow to take countermeasures to ensure its security. On Monday, Russia promised to strengthen military capacity in its western and northwestern regions in response to NATO’s expansion.”²³

²² See: *Oberg J.* Ukraine: Foolish for Finland & Sweden to Join NATO // Scheerpost. 2022. May 16. URL: <https://scheerpost.com/2022/05/16/ukraine-foolish-for-finland-sweden-to-join-nato> (accessed: 16.05.2023). Emphases are mine.

²³ See: *Kennedy M., Martinez A.* Finland joins NATO over Russia’s objection // NPR. 2023. Apr. 4. URL: <https://www.npr.org/2023/04/04/1167881009/finland-is-about-to-join-nato-prompted-by-russias-invasion-of-ukraine> (accessed: 16.05.2023).

Russia is fed up with the West's Hypocrisy and Deafness: the 2008 Russia-Georgian War

In 2008, because in the view of Russia NATO is not listening and still thought that the former is the same country of the 1990's, and that its threats are mere words, they have the shock of their lives when war broke between Russia and Georgia. The idiots in Brussels can't believe that Russia will flex its muscles. Said "war" lasted for barely five days and with Russian's victory they recognized the Independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

Let it be noted that this conflict happened in 2008, when the US is suffering from a global financial crisis. I believe that this bold act of the Russians did not only serves a material warning to the West and their allies, but they also prevented NATO from further expanding to their very gates.

The Ukrainian Coup of 2014 and the Russian Annexation of Crimea

We all know the financiers and the powers that be behind the 2014 Ukrainian coup.¹ The Russian countermove is a masterstroke to say the least. They annexed Crimea not merely to gain a territory but for purposes of defending their country's security.

The critics and the idiots can argue whatever sides or scripts they want, but the truth is: the culprit in this whole matter is no other than the United States of America and the Nazi forces in Kiev headed by their comedian.

Too reiterate the central point: the Russians has been repeatedly and consistently aired their misgivings, concerns and warning to NATO that the ball stops in Ukraine. In a word: not another inch. Because for the Russian, Ukraine is the red line.

In their minds, the incorporation of the former Eastern Blocs and post-Soviet states to the NATO alliance is the central reason, if not the principal root cause of the tensions and conflict between Russia and the West. And then, the continuous provocation of the West while using Ukraine and this idiot's willingness to become a tool or a pawn has led Russia to no other option but to launch their "special military operation" on February 24th, of last year to protect its sovereignty, interest and security.

A couple of days prior to the launching of the "special military action", president Putin has first recognized formally the Independence of Lugansk and Donetsk in the Donbas region which has been fighting Kiev for the last eight (8) years while also asking for formal recognition and protection of the Russian Federation.

The ignorance, stupidity and idiotic fanatical veneration of Zelensky to the US, UK, the West and NATO

Not that I am belittling the skills and ability of the Ukrainian President, by virtue of the amusing fact of his being a former comedian, but I cannot explain what kind of thinking or mental mechanism he has. Does it never occur to his thought that their neighbor, in a metaphorical sense is a gorilla or a bear? Is it logical to irritate and mess with the giant?²

¹ See: Putin berates US and EU envoys, top official says US aid fueling Ukraine war's 'hot phase' // Reuters. 2023. Apr. 6. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/putin-berates-us-eu-ambassadors-kremlin-ceremony-2023-04-05> (accessed: 16.05.2023).

² See: Professor John Mearsheimer's lecture on Russia-Ukraine War & Who is responsible? URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rMzZ_IVH_A&t=220s (accessed: 16.05.2023).

If this freak is a realist and possessed a deep understanding of history, aware and a sense of geopolitics and even the basic rule of international relations among nations, both logic and pragmatism will tell him that the right thing to do is to be civil and diplomatic in dealing with Russia. Unfortunately, due to his naiveté and unexplainable idiocy, what he did is totally against all sense and reason: he allowed himself actively and his poor country to be used by NATO under the leadership of the US to become a tool in trying to ferment and weaken Russia.

I overwhelmingly concur with the insightful and penetrative analysis³ of Ms. Palki Sharma Upadhyay of Wion International News. According to this brilliant woman, Zelensky is guilty of three (3) miscalculations:

First, He overestimated Western Support,

Second, Misread Ukraine's Importance to the West, and

Third, Misread Putin's Intent to Invade.

Incontestably, in all the three miscalculations, Zelensky got it all badly wrong. In the first, it clearly has shown that this guy has no sense of history of global imperialism. It seems to me that he is so dumb and utterly stupid to believe the sweet talk of NATO and to bank wholeheartedly to the US that it completely escaped his sanity. Does he truly and really believe that when the tough gets going and the going gets tough, the US and its allies will fight for them?

For the benefit of the reader, let us go back to the horrible and humiliating experience suffered by the former Czechoslovakia and later of Poland during World War II with regard to this issue. Did the West come to their rescue when Hitler invaded them?

In the second, he wrongfully thought that Ukraine so important and valuable to the West, yet he failed miserably to anticipate that his country's importance is merely to use their land and their people by the US and NATO as a killing field or a battle arena. The sad truth is that their importance is nothing more than but to become a war zone.

The policy of the US is to continue the war up to the last Ukrainian.⁴

In the third, I would say unhesitatingly that this is idiocy of the worst order ever. Before the actual attack in February of last year, the Russian military has been in months engaged in drills? And mobilization at the border. Does it not even enter the mind of this clown: will Russia brought its military there for nothing and that the Russians will not do anything?

I wonder, is he aware that a war broke out in 2008? Did he not learn of the Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014? Is he unaware of Russia's continuous warning to the West with regard to its provocation using Ukraine?

Ms. Palki Sharma is absolutely correct and on point. This freak is not only a novice, but indubitably knows nothing at all. In allowing himself to be used, it is his country and people that paid the heavy price. Due to the war, a great portion of the country is now in ruins and millions

³ See: Wion, Gravitas: "Zelensky's three big miscalculations." URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O1-uRaAbjUM> (accessed: 16.05.2023).

⁴ See: *Bandow D.* Washington Will Fight Russia to the Last Ukrainian // The Cato Institute. 2022. Apr. 14. URL: <https://www.cato.org/commentary/washington-will-fight-russia-last-ukrainian>; *Polychroniou C. J.* Chomsky: A Stronger NATO Is the Last Thing We Need as Russia-Ukraine War Turns 1 // Truthout. 2023. Febr. 23. URL: <https://truthout.org/articles/chomsky-a-stronger-nato-is-the-last-thing-we-need-as-russia-ukraine-war-turns-1> (accessed: 16.05.2023).

of his people are now refugees. All for what? For that rubbish membership of EU and NATO?

Question: Is it worth it?

Besides Zelensky, the US, UK, EU and NATO are responsible for the destruction of Ukraine

In our book, “Pravda Ang Digmaang Proxy sa Ukraina: Rusya Laban sa NATO” (“Pravda The Proxy War in Ukraina: Russia versus NATO”), I stated then my proposals and the following solutions to the on-going war:¹

1. There is to scintilla of doubt that the Western world, have no choice whatsoever but to recognize the presence and necessary existence of Russia and its primordial role as the maintainer of the Global Balance of Power in a Multipolar World Order.

The proponent of the dying Unipolar world must respect *the sphere of influence* of the Russians and their allies. If the Americans have their so-called Global Monroe Doctrine, wherein the US will never allow the presence of foreign forces and installation of military bases, worst of nuclear missiles in their so-called “backyard” which is the Western Hemisphere, as if they owned the whole of Latin Amerika; then why can’t they also respect the Russian’s demand to not put any foreign forces and install any military bases and nuclear missiles to its border?

Specific and direct question to the Americans: if it’s okay to put missiles to Russia’s border, is it also okay for the Russians to set up military bases and install nuclear missiles, let’s say in Cuba, Mexico or perhaps Venezuela?

Or they want a repeat of the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis which they are aggressively provoking in Ukraine?

2. NATO must stop immediately their Eastern Expansion. This I the number one irritation and disgust by Russia to the West. Why can’t they deal with their own affairs and cease messing with Russia? To reiterate, NATO’s latest action, accepting to its fold Finland’s membership and considering Sweden’s bid are anti-peace acts that will further anger Russia. No one can blame Russia if they will bolster their defense at the Finnish border in order to safeguard their territorial integrity, security and sovereignty.

3. It is about time that the people of the whole world must call for the dissolution of NATO. We have asked the question and highlight the fact: what is the purpose of this military alliance? Isn’t it a fact as they say that communism is already dead long time ago?

Russia is no longer a communist state. Hence, if that is the case, then this so-called alliance is render useless by history.

Perhaps, in order for this so-called alliance to have a certain degree of consistency and “relevance”, the right thing to do for them is to change their name, for example: *The Anti-Russia Alliance* or *Nations of Putin Haters* or perhaps, *The Contra Russia et al bloc*.

I fully concur with the Statement issued by Stop the War Coalition:

“Stop the War opposes any war over Ukraine, and believes the crisis should be settled on a basis which recognizes the right of the Ukrainian people to self-determination and addresses Russia’s security concerns.”²

4. Ukraine must be a neutral state (perhaps like the status of Switzerland or India) in order for it to serve as a buffer zone of Russia as against the so-called “democratic countries” who wishes to weaken it.

5. The need to demilitarized Ukraine and to denazify its fascist elements.

6. Ukraine must recognize the legitimate demand and aspiration of the peoples of the Donbas region and status of Crimea.

7. To continue the peace talks and review the provision, protocols and implementation of the Minsk Agreements.

The Price of Peace in Ukraine

That was a year ago and I still maintain the appropriateness of those proposals, except that I would like to highlight the fact that if Ukraine wants peace, then what we need is not merely a Minsk Agreement, but *a political negotiates settlement*. Meaning, it is *a Peace Treaty* between Russia and Ukraine wherein the latter must accept that due to its short-sightedness and narrowmindedness, it can no longer expect a Ukraine with the same size that it’s has prior to the commencement of the conflict. That is the heavy price that it needs to pay.

What’s needed to have a world at peace?

To the US particular and NATO in general: they have to fuckoff from Russia’s border and stop from messing with other countries’ life and destiny.

They have to accept that their imperial vision of a unipolar world is dead and that the future of humanity is Multipolarity.

¹ Written in the Filipino language by Filipino academics to explain the Proxy War in Ukraine under the behest and leadership of the US and NATO against Russia in direct opposition and clear contrast to the prevailing script and the dominant narrative of the capitalist corporate Western media which says that everything is the mistake and fault of Russia. This is the first book of its kind. It is a work that defends Russia from slander, misinformation, disinformation, distortion, black propaganda, etc. Published by the Radical Press, May–June 2022 with contributions by Professor Herman M. Bognot, Professor Jose Mario D. De Vega, Professor Ruel F. Pepa, edited by Professor Ronald A. Macawili. See specifically the paper of this writer, “Ang Rusya sa harap ng mga Imperyalista sa Kasaysayan, Ang Mapanganib at Bangkaroteng Midya ng Narratibong Unipolar ng Kanluran at Papel ng Rusya sa Kontemporaryong Panahon” (“Russia in Confrontation with the Imperialists Throughout History, The Bankrupt Media and the Dangerous Narrative of Western Unipolarity and the Role of Russia in Our Contemporary Epoch”), pages 92–163.

² See: List of Signatories: Stop the War Statement on the Crisis Over Ukraine // Stop the War Coalition : [website]. 2022. Febr. 18. URL: <https://www.stopwar.org.uk/article/list-of-signatories-stop-the-war-statement-on-the-crisis-over-ukraine> (accessed: 16.05.2023).



Opening of the Plenary Session in A. P. Petrov Theatre and Concert Hall of SPbUHSS



Director of the Information and Press Department of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary **M. V. Zakharova**



Member of the State Council of the Russian Federation, Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia **M. V. Shmakov**



First Deputy Director General of the Russian News Agency TASS **M. S. Gusman**



Corresponding Member of the RAS **Al. A. Gromyko**, First Deputy Chairman of the State Duma Committee on Culture **Ye. G. Drapeko**



Presentation of the University's new editions at D. A. Granin Scientific Library in SPbUHSS



Rector of SPbUHSS **A. S. Zapesotsky**, First Deputy Chairman of the State Duma Committee on Culture **Ye. G. Drapeko**



Rector of SPbUHSS **A. S. Zapesotsky**, Honored Art Worker of the Russian Federation, Professor Emeritus of SPbUHSS **D. N. Katysheva**



Columnist for the news agency "RIA Novosti" **D. O. Babich**, Judge of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation (2000–2020) **N. S. Bondar**, Corresponding Member of the RAS **Al. A. Gromyko**, Corresponding Member of the RAS **Zh. T. Toshchenko**, Academician of the RAS **V. A. Chereshnev**, Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia **M. V. Shmakov**



Deputy Minister of Information of Belarus **I. I. Buzovsky**



Director of the Institute of Europe of the RAS, Corresponding Member of the RAS **Al. A. Gromyko**



First Deputy Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Federation Council **A. I. Denisov**



High School teacher in Kongsberg **J. Stokseth (Norway)**



Political scientist, journalist **G. Mettan (Switzerland)**



Professor of Sorbonne University **O. Roqueplo (France)**



Chairman of the Committee on Science and Higher Education of the Government of St. Petersburg **A. S. Maksimov**



Journalist and columnist for the news agency "RIA Novosti" **D. O. Babich**



Director of the North-West Institute of Management of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration **A. D. Khlutkov**



Deputy Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia
A. V. Shershukov



Deputy Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia
Ye. I. Makarov



Chairman of the Leningrad Federation of Trade Unions (2005–2023) **V. G. Derbin**



Chairman of the board of directors of the newspaper "Komsomolskaya Pravda" **V. K. Mamontov**,
Scientific supervisor of the North-West Institute of Management of the Russian Presidential
Academy of National Economy and Public Administration **V. A. Shamakhov**



Judge of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation (2000–2020)
N. S. Bondar



Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Iran to the Russian Federation (2013–2019) **M. Sanaei**



Writer, President of the Miracles Association
G. V. Naumova (France)



Head of the Center for Southeast Asia, Australia and Oceania Studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the RAS **D. V. Mosyakov**



Academician of the RAS
V. A. Chereshev



Corresponding Member of the RAS
Zh. T. Toshchenko



Director of the Institute of Philosophy
of the RAS, Academician of the RAS
A. A. Guseinov



Academician-Secretary of the National
Academy of Sciences of Belarus
A. G. Shumilin



Deputy Director of the Belarusian Institute for Strategic Studies **V. N. Punchenko**,
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Honored Worker of Culture of the
Russian Federation, Professor Emeritus
of SPbUHSS **V. Ye. Triodin**



Honored Scientist of the Russian
Federation, Professor Emeritus
of SPbUHSS **A. P. Markov**



Honored Worker of the Higher School of the
Russian Federation, Professor Emeritus
of SPbUHSS **G. M. Birzhenyuk**



Panel Discussion “What Kind of Multipolarity We Foresee” (A. P. Petrov Theatre and Concert Hall, SPbUHSS)



Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia **M. V. Shmakov**, Corresponding Member of the RAS **Al. A. Gromyko**, Professor of Sorbonne University **O. Roqueplo** (France), President of the United Chamber of Industry and Commerce “Switzerland – Russia and CIS States” **G. Mettan**, Rector of SPbUHSS **A. S. Zapesotsky**



Round Table “The Transition from Unipolarity to Real Multipolarity: the Challenges of the New Geopolitics” (“Stasov/Ushakov” conference hall)



Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Iran to the Russian Federation (2013–2019) **M. Sanaei**, Academician of the RAS **V. A. Chereshev**



Deputy Minister of Information of Belarus **I. I. Buzovsky**, Director of the Information and Press Department of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs **M. V. Zakharova**



Corresponding Member of the RAS **A. A. Gromyko**



Journalist and columnist for the news agency “RIA Novosti” **D. O. Babich**



Head of the Department of Social Psychology of SPbUHSS **M. V. Sozinova**, Professor of SPbUHSS **A. A. Melnikova**, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences of Belarusian State University **V. S. Sayganova**, Rector of SPbUHSS **A. S. Zapesotsky**, Director of the Higher School of Translation and Interpreting at Lomonosov Moscow State University **N. K. Garbovsky**, Professor at the Department of Theory and History of Culture of Herzen State Pedagogical University **L. M. Mosolova**



Professor of the Department of Economics and Management of the Academy of Labour and Social Relations **N. N. Nikulin**



Professor of the Department of Social Technologies of the North-West Institute of Management of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration **A. Yu. Prikhach**



Students of SPbUHSS



Professor of the Faculty of Global Processes of Lomonosov Moscow State University **A. N. Chumakov**



Section "Russia in the Global World: a New Stage of History" (Lecture Hall No. 2, SPbUHSS)



Head of the Department of Legal Theory of Tver State University
V. I. Kruss



Leading researcher at the RAS Institute of Philosophy
Yu. D. Granin



Employees of the Department of Law Theory and Law Enforcement of SPbUHSS: Professors **Z. N. Kalandarishvili** (Head of the Department) and **R. A. Romashov**



Students of SPbUHSS



A tour on a motor ship: **V. N. Punchenko** and **I. V. Lashuk** (Belarus), **D. O. Babich**, **A. G. Shumilin** (Belarus), **G. V. Naumova** (France), **A. S. Zapesotsky**, **V. S. Sayganova** (Belarus), **O. Roqueplo** (France), **Ye. V. Radevich** (Belarus)



Heads of the Higher School of Translation and Interpreting (Faculty) at Lomonosov Moscow State University: **O. I. Kostikova** (Deputy Director), **N. K. Garbovsky** (Director)



Writer, President of the Miracles Association **G. V. Naumova** and Professor of Sorbonne University **O. Roqueplo** (France)



Employees of Belarusian State University **Ye. V. Radevich** (Associate Professor), **V. S. Sayganova** (Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences)



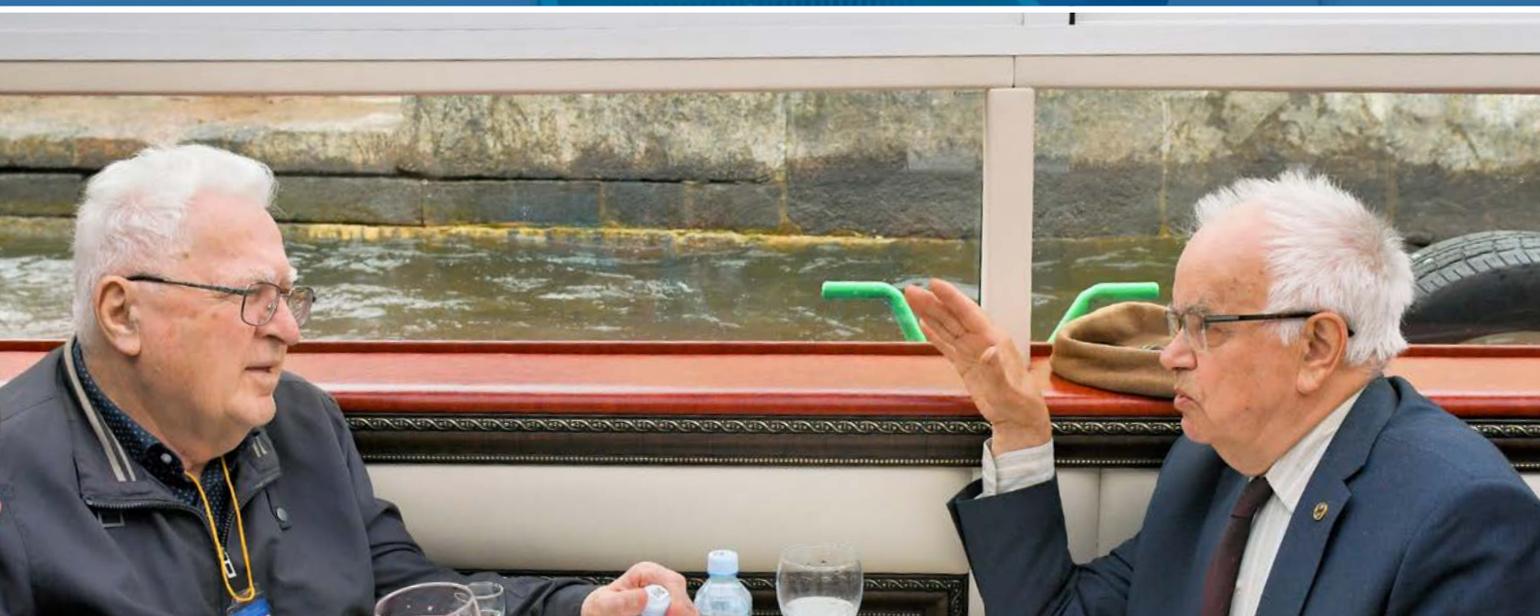
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Political scientist, journalist **G. Mettan** (Switzerland)



Director of the Institute of Philosophy of the RAS, Academician of the RAS **A. A. Guseinov**, Corresponding Member of the RAS **Zh. T. Toshchenko**



Concert for honored guests of the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference. On stage: IP Orchestra under the direction of **I. Ponomarenko** (Grand Hotel Europe)



A 2030 SPbUHSS applicant **Yelizaveta Zapesotskaya**, Rector of SPbUHSS **A. S. Zapesotsky**



Laureate of international and All-Russian competitions **A. Lapteva**



Satirical writer, Honored Art Worker of the Russian Federation **S. T. Altov**



Governor of St. Petersburg (1996–2003) **V. A. Yakovlev**



Reception at the Grand Hotel Europe



Students of the Department of the Choreography of SPbUHSS

CULTURAL CODE AS A BASIC ELEMENT OF IDEOLOGY FORMATION

The last year events have sharpened public interest not only in political issues related to the transition from a unipolar to a multipolar world, Russia's place in the emerging new system of the world order, but also in cultural issues. This concerns, first of all, the issue of its essential features, similarities and differences with other cultural worlds. Mainly Western and eastern models of culture are compared and the similarities and differences of Russian culture with each of these cultures are discussed.

In this context, such a concept as the 'cultural code' takes on increasing importance. It is clear that this is a kind of metaphor that is actively used in literature and cinema (Da Vinci Code, Billion Dollar Code, Omega Code).

But the metaphor value is that it allows you to highlight briefly and succinctly what is invisible at first glance, which reveals the heart and essence of a complicate and many-sided phenomenon. In this regard, the 'cultural code' category deserves attention. The code is interesting for the cognition of culture, especially since it contains its essential features in a compressed form, integrates and represents many phenomena. These are unique archetypes, values, the mentality of the people-the bearer of culture, spiritual and moral attitudes, national psychology, national idea, features of family and everyday behavior, natural and geographical factors that determine the specifics of business relations, behavioral strategies, view of life and world perception of the people – everything that performs human and personality-forming functions, determines cultural and civilizational identity of the population.

The cultural code can act as a tool of comparative analysis, allowing to see the common and special in cultures, to explain some processes and phenomena in terms of the dialogue of cultures and civilizations.

It seems that archetypes are manifested in modern Russian culture, and these were laid in it by folk epics, first of all, byliny (Russian folk epos). They exist in a variety of cultures – the Russian epos chronologically coincides with the time of the recordings of Beowulf – in England, The Song of Roland – in France, The Song of the Nibelungs – in Germany, The Song of My Side – in Spain, The Elder Edda – in Iceland, which allows you to compare the Russian and Western European epos and identify their differences.²

Let's remember the main shrines sung by the pre-Christian people in byliny.

Svyatogor figure stands apart – mysterious, unhostile, but also unfriendly, having no application in life, and there-

fore dying one. The earth itself cannot tolerate and stand him, there is no use in his strength unjustified and not filled with meaning, labor, and pity for people and the earth. And then, Ilya Muromets comes – his strength is weaker than Svyatogor's strength, but the peasant's son is invincible, and his first feat is hard peasant work, and then heroic feats; in bylina of Ilya Muromets healing, it is also said that at first the wandering minstrels gave him strength too much.

Further, the minstrels correct their mistake; after the third cup of beer, Ilya had half of his strength, commensurate with life and our mother earth. Then he goes to serve "for the Christian faith, and for the Russian land, and for the capital Kiev grad, for widows, for orphans, and for poor people." Swore brothers – the bogatyr squad! Dobrynya Nikitich and Alyosha Popovich, and a number of others. They are usually weaker or younger than Ilya, are not peasant sons, but princely, boyar, merchant, priest, military, etc.

The princely squad is brave, but, according to Mikula Selyaninovich, they can only eat bread. And finally, Prince Vladimir has personally a poor strength, but has a force of power, and since he is in the heart of the epic homeland, he is called Gorgeous Sunshine. He has a lot of princes and boyars, and heroes often receive nothing from Prince Vladimir, but Ilya Muromets, Danube, Stavr Godinovich visited the caves. The role of heroes is not the role of hirelings or vassals. The heroes, the people's protectors and Russian land defenders, are often critical of the boyar and princes, but they are friends with the down-and-outs. The heroes have a highly developed sense of dignity, and it manifests itself not only in clashes and altercation with the enemy, but also in a quarrel with the prince or boyars. Ilya served the prince, but received no "soft-crust bread and salt, heard no good word." The robbers often try to beg for mercy, offering Ilya a golden treasury, colored dresses, and good horses. Refusal should be strictly. When choosing a path, the Russian bogatyr does not even think of going along the path where he can be rich or be married.³

Let's try to compare this with the outstanding heritage object of medieval epic poetry of France, The Song of Roland. This is a song about the Crusades, about the conquests, about the battles of Christians with the non-Christians. Charles enters the conquered Saragossa, commanding:

The synagogues and the mahumeries;
With iron malls and axes, which they wield,
They break the idols and all the imageries;
So there remain no fraud nor falsity.
That King fears God, and would do His service,
On water then Bishops their blessing speak,
And pagans bring into the Baptistiry.
If any Charles with contradiction meet
Then hanged or burned, or slaughtered shall he be.
Ten score thousand of Sarrazins they take; were Christians...

There is nothing like this in the Russian folk epos. It glorifies protection, liberation, but not a call to hang and burn.

The Spanish Song of my Side, the German Song of the Nibelungs, the Anglo-Saxon poem Beowulf glorify the en-

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² See: *Бенедиктов Н. А. Русские святые. М. : АЛГОРИТМ, 2003.*

³ See: *Бенедиктов Н. А. Op. cit.*

richment by robbery or the struggle for precious treasure (Side – “attack boldly, rob quickly”; Beowulf – “I sacrifice my life in exchange for riches”; for Nibelungs, death is a consequence of gaining possession the treasure). In the Russian epos, there is no motive of enrichment. Only once, Vasily Buslaev will say, “Beat from its youth, a lot of robbed,” but he will also add about the main thing that the poem is dedicated to, “Overcome blindness and save your soul in your old age.” In Russian folklore, there is no concept of revenge as such at all.¹

We can separately mention beauty and its perception in the heritage objects of ancient folk art. Nature and human creations – temples, cities, and villages are called beauty in “The Orison on the Downfall of the Russian Land”, and the destruction of the Russian land is not so much a loss of wealth as a darkening of the world beauty. Already in pre-Christian paganism, we see Russian people with values that are consonant with us today.

In principle, a bylina can be perceived as a genre of fairy tale where everything is fiction. Indeed, in reality there was a struggle for power and were slaves and conquests, murders and robberies. But the epos is a system of national values selected over the centuries and their hierarchy in the mind of nation. Therefore, Ilya Muromets’ doings suit the soul of the Russian person today, and Nibelungs’ doings have been singing by the Germans to this day. Our pagan ancestors given to us the ideal of Holy Rus’ for more than a thousand years – love for nature and the motherland, labor, effective pity for the humiliated and offended, the desire for sworn brotherhood, comradeship, a sense of justice and the highest level of personal dignity, conscience, and honor. This ideal has passed through all Russian and Soviet art.² It is in the best examples of modern art. It is what today determines people’s attitude to modern events and raises the fighters of the Special Military Operation, volunteer fighters and volunteers to the feat. It strengthens the souls and holds the Russian state as a pivot, despite all attempts to break us.

Speaking about the cultural code, we cannot ignore the issue of ideology. By definition, it expresses the interests and worldview of various subjects of social practice – classes, parties, and social movements. “Ideology is a system of ideas, views, perceptions, feelings and beliefs about the goals of society and human development, as well as about the means and ways to achieve them that are embodied in value orientations, beliefs, volitional acts that encourage people in their actions to strive for the goals they have set for themselves.”³

In the last decade, the ideology topic has aroused public interest and generated numerous discussions⁴, both between ideology supporters and opponents, and between ideology supporters who hold different views on its structure and content. The issue of where it comes from is no less debatable.

Opponents of ideology most often refer to the fact that the Constitution of the Russian Federation contains Article 13, where there is a clause “No ideology can be established as state or mandatory.” But this is Clause 13.2 of the said article. And Clause 13.1 states, “Ideological diversity is recognized in the Russian Federation.”

In other words, ideology as such is not rejected by the Basic Law, and even more so is not prohibited. It’s another matter where it comes from. Often some politicians say that ideology should and can be written, i. e. composed. But, most likely, such a ‘composed ideology’ will have significance exclusively for its authors, and it is unlikely that it will be able to become the basis of the huge masses life. It seems that the ideology that is based on the cultural code, first of all, to its value, ideological, goal-setting extent, can become a guideline for people’s life and activities (or a significant part of it). In fact, ideology is a form and mechanism of representation of the national idea in the conditions of people’s modern life. In this regard, the study of the cultural code and its components is becoming more relevant today.

¹ See: *Бенедиктов Н. А.* Op. cit.

² Ibid.

³ *Бабосов Е.* Культурный код нации: сущность и особенности // Наука и инновации. 2016. № 3. С. 48.

⁴ See, for example: *Идеология и процессы социальной модернизации* : сб. ст. / под общ. ред. Т. Б. Любимовой. М. : Academia, 2013.

G. Galice¹

TOWARDS A LARGE FREE CONTINENTAL EUROPE

On America's side, Europe must always keep its eyes open and provide no pretext for retaliation. America is growing every day. It will become a colossal power, and a time must come when, placed in easier communication with Europe by the means of new discoveries, it will wish to have its say in our affairs and to put its hand in them. Political prudence, therefore, imposes on the governments of the old continent the duty of taking scrupulous care that no pretext should arise for such an intervention. The day America sets foot in Europe, peace and security will be banished for a long time.²

Ch. Talleyrand

My view is that of a critical Western European peace researcher, more precisely a Swiss peace researcher who is a French citizen. I negotiate with my four qualities.

The peace researcher (1) postulates the absolute, legal, and moral primacy of negotiation over the use of force. The critical thinker (2) strives to go beyond appearances, to look for the background of any foreground, which is complicated in international politics, where cultural, national prejudices abound. Switzerland (3) was a good observation post thanks to its neutrality. Unfortunately, its leaders suddenly abandoned the elementary appearances of neutrality to join the American warmongering positions adopted by the "vassals" (the term comes from Zbigniew Brzezinski) of the European Union. The French citizen (4) observe the choices of his ruling leaders and opinion makers in the country and abroad.

On this four-pillar basis, I would like to exchange information, opinions, concerns, and some hopes with you. I advocate a friendly continental independent Europe associated with Russia.

A Chain of Events Leading to War

As is well known, the breach in the Berlin Wall on November 9th, 1989, was the entry into the 21st century. The implosion of the USSR and the dislocation of the European communist bloc, ending the Cold War, opened a path to peace. Unfortunately, Western hawks or owls³ preferred supremacy to balance and peace. The subtitle of Brzezinski's book "The Grand Chessboard" dealing with Eurasia is blindingly clear: "American Primacy and its Geostrategic Imperatives".⁴ The roadmap was followed to the letter. The EU and NATO have jointly expanded eastwards. When the crisis in Ukraine became severe in 2014, Brzezinski⁵ changed his mind, he considered then that Ukraine joining NATO was a bad idea. Before that, the war against Iraq 1991, against the FRY 1999 (after sabotage of the Rambouillet negotiations⁶, Kissinger considered the conditions imposed to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a provocation⁷, the first NATO war), the same year as the first NATO extension, the joint declaration on UN/NATO secretariat cooperation 23 September 2008⁸, the war to Libya 2011 turning from a R2P (responsibility to protect, Russia and China did not veto, for the last time) into a regime change with assassination of several leaders, including Ghaddafi, and about 30 thousand killed, were the main steps toward a harsh confrontation. President Putin reacted in words at the Munich Security Conference 2007, by action in Syria 2014.

On December 15th, 2021, the Russian authorities made a last diplomatic attempt towards the USA and NATO when they met the US-ambassador.⁹ Some western experienced observers consider it was a US-error not to have started negotiations, among them the German Klaus von Dohnanyi who served in the ministry of economy as state secretary, and later as Federal Minister of Education and Science.¹⁰

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⁴ My essay on Brzezinski and Kissinger. URL: https://www.herodote.net/Ombres_et_lumieres_sur_deux_penseurs_et_strategies-synthese-3178-216.php (accessed: 12.04.2023).

⁵ Zbigniew Brzezinski died in 2017.

⁶ See: Interim Agreement for Peace on Self-government in Kosovo. URL: <https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/IMG/pdf/rambouillet-kosovo-1999.pdf> (accessed: 12.04.2023).

⁷ "The Rambouillet text, which called on Serbia to admit NATO troops throughout Yugoslavia, was a provocation, an excuse to start bombing. Rambouillet is not a document that an angelic Serb could have accepted. It was a terrible diplomatic document that should never have been presented in that form" (The Daily Telegraph, 28 June 1999. The historian Christopher Clark supports this view, asserting that the terms of the 1914 Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Serbia appear lenient compared to the NATO demands).

⁸ See: Joint Declaration on UN/NATO Secretariat Cooperation. URL: https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/pdfs_un_nato_jointdeclaration_lisbon2010.pdf (accessed: 12.04.2023).

⁹ See: Press release on Russian draft documents on legal security guarantees from the United States and NATO. URL: https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/news/1790809/; Agreement on measures to ensure the security of The Russian Federation and member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. URL: https://mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/rso/nato/1790803/; Treaty between The United States of America and the Russian Federation on security guarantees. URL: https://mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/rso/nato/1790818/ (accessed: 12.04.2023).

¹⁰ See: Klaus von Dohnanyi über Putin und Biden. URL: <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1667510723591043> (accessed: 12.04.2023).

¹ President of the Geneva International Peace Research Institute (GIPRI). Author of a number of academic publications, including books "Peoples – Nations: Essay on the National Environment of the Peoples of Europe", "Reflections on the Republic, War, and Peace in Jean-Jacques Rousseau Footsteps" (co-authored), etc.; articles "Berlin – Geneva", "Our Barbarian Times", "Has the Idea of 'National Interests' Become Outdated in the Environment of the New World Order?", etc.

² "Du côté de l'Amérique, l'Europe doit toujours avoir les yeux ouverts et ne fournir aucun prétexte de représailles. L'Amérique s'accroît chaque jour. Elle deviendra un pouvoir colossal et un moment doit arriver où, placée vis-à-vis de l'Europe en communication plus facile par les moyens de découvertes nouvelles, elle désirera dire son mot dans nos affaires et y mettre la main. La prudence politique impose donc aux gouvernements de l'ancien continent le soin de veiller scrupuleusement à ce qu'aucun prétexte ne s'offre pour une telle intervention. Le jour où l'Amérique posera son pied en Europe, la paix et la sécurité en seront bannies pour longtemps" (See: *Talleyrand Ch. Mémoires, lettres inédites et papiers secrets*. P. : Albert Savine, 1891).

³ Benjamin Barber poses the difference between subtle owls and brutal hawks, both raptors. Bush was typically hawk, Obama rather owl.

A Confused and Torn Europe with Brainwashed Citizens Turned into Pavlov's Dogs

The demolition of the Berlin Wall also meant a leadership change in Europe. By the weight of its population, the strength of its economy, its central place with privileged relations to *Mitteleuropa*, Germany became the major power, instead of France. The USA therefore played the German card rather than the British one, much to the disappointment of Mrs. Thatcher.¹ While the Warsaw Pact was dismantled on July 1st, 1991, the new European Union mentioned the NATO within the Maastricht Treaty 1992, without considering the consequences, just to please the US conductor. Only a minority of European citizens realised that this project was not European but Euro-American. Even the peaceful Czechoslovakia was dismantled, the Czech Republic as the former Kingdom of Bohemia.

Soon in 1991 a first break occurred when the French president Mitterrand failed to launch in Prague a European Confederation near to Russia.² The unconditional allies of the USA suggested to include the USA, Canada and even Japan. The Atlantic Europe won a first round against the continental Europe.

A second rupture appeared in 2003 with the second Gulf War, between the France-Germany-Russia axis resisting American leadership on the one hand and the 'New Europe' (Donald Rumsfeld) shaped by the Eastern European states nurtured by old conflicts with Russia on the other. It is worth noting that the 2003 Azores summit, which paved the way for the war with Bush, Blair, Barroso, and Aznar, was hosted by Portuguese Prime Minister Manuel Barroso, who was to become President of the European Commission, against the French and German candidate, Guy Verhofstadt. As the best advocate of the US cause, the UK opposed Verhofstadt, France and Germany resigned themselves and Barroso promoted the Euro-American vision for ten years long before he joined Goldman Sachs bank. Apparently, the new West European elites ignore the past, the interest of their people, the fundamental principles of international law and global challenges. President Sarkozy acted as a frankly pro-American activist when he led France's reintegration into NATO: "France also knows who its allies and friends are: our friends and allies are first of all the Western family³. The conditions for independence are first to know where one's family is."⁴ At the time, François Hollande, leader of the opposition, gave a Gaullist speech in the National Assembly criticising NATO membership. After his election, President Hollande endorsed and even rein-

forced with tax breaks Sarkozy's decision. Serious leaders like Churchill and de Gaulle know that "We have no lasting friends, no lasting enemies, only lasting interests," they would never have confused their allies and family.

As a matter of fact, the war in Ukraine is a test field for the western new concepts "war amongst the people"⁵, "political warfare"⁶ (hunting Russian artists or athletes, banning holders of bank accounts bearing a Russian consonant surname) and "cognitive warfare"⁷. The Chinese strategists Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui called this "Unrestricted Warfare"⁸. In doing so, the European Union and its member States flout the "values" they proclaim loud and clear, first and foremost the freedom of expression. The ban on Russian media violates Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." In addition to that, the western media select the NATO oriented opinions of analysts, as many of us experience constantly who are no longer invited in the radio or TV shows. The social medias are also censored.

Necessity of Shared Laws, Rules, and Principles

Most of the no longer well-educated, misinformed west-European citizens do not know and do not care. Due to the "Cognitive Warfare" they never heard from Brzezinski before and still do not know anything about George Friedman, who clearly explains the main strategic purpose of the USA for centuries, which is to avoid any emerging competitor in Europe and thereby any alliance between Germany and Russia.⁹ *Divide and conquer (divide et impera)* is a major political statement. Friedman and Brezinzski draw on Halford Mackinder: should Germany and Russia ally, "the empire of the world would be in sight."¹⁰ The US-

⁵ See: Interview with General Sir Rupert Smith. URL: https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/other/irrc_864_interview_rupert_smith.pdf (accessed: 12.04.2023).

⁶ "The term political warfare described the synchronized use of any aspect of national power short of overt conventional warfare – such as intelligence assets, alliance building, financial tools, diplomatic relations, technology, and information dominance – to achieve state objectives." (See: <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF11127>).

⁷ "In cognitive warfare, the human mind becomes the battlefield. The aim is to change not only what people think, but how they think and act." See: Countering cognitive warfare: awareness and resilience. URL: <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/articles/2021/05/20/countering-cognitive-warfare-awareness-and-resilience/index.html> (accessed: 12.04.2023).

⁸ Strangely explained by the US publisher as "China's Master Plan to Destroy America" while the two former colonels base their analysis on the first Iraq war or the Asian financial crisis of 1997.

⁹ Chicago Council on Global Affairs, February 4th, 2015: "The primary interest of the United States for which we have fought wars for centuries, the first world war, the second, the cold war, has been the relationship between Germany and Russia, because united, they represent the only force that could threaten us. Ten days ago, General Hodges, commander of U. S. forces in Europe, visited Ukraine to announce that U. S. trainers would now come officially, not unofficially. He gave medals to Ukrainian fighters, which is against army regulations that do not allow decorating foreigners, but he did it, showing that it was his army. Then he went off to tell the Baltic countries that the Americans were going to pre-position armor, artillery and other equipment in the Baltic countries, Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria." See: G. Friedman "... c'est cynique, immoral, mais ça marche." Extraits du discours. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=emCEfEYom4A> ; <https://newcoldwar.org/stratfor-chiefs-most-blatant-coup-in-history-interview-from-dec-2014> (accessed: 12.04.2023).

¹⁰ See: Halford Mackinder: The Pivot and the Heartland by Brian Blouet. URL: <https://mackinderforum.org/halford-mackinder-the-pivot-and-the-heartland/> (accessed: 12.04.2023).

¹ Thatcher M. The Downing Street Years. N. Y. : HarperCollins, 2012.

² See: Musitelli J. François Mitterrand, Architect of the Great Europe: The European Confederation Project (1990–1991). URL: https://www.caim-int.info/article-E_RIS_082_0018--francois-mitterrand-architect-of-the-htm (accessed: 12.04.2023) ; Dumas R. Un projet mort-né : la Confédération européenne // Politique étrangère. 2001. № 3.

³ The word "family" sounds here inappropriate. Nevertheless, the private background Sarkozy's family makes sense, as Eric Branca explains in his book *L'ami américain*. Frank George Wisner is the central person. He married Nicolas Sarkozy's mother-in-law, Christine de Ganay, the first wife of his father, Pal Sarkozy. F. G. Wisner is the son of Frank Gardiner Wisner (1909–1965), one of the founding officers of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and played a major role in CIA operations throughout the 1950s. Frank George was officially a diplomat in strategic embassies or in major missions, he worked for or with the CIA, some assert. Later a businessman. Every summer, the young Nicolas was on holiday with the Wisner Family, with his half-brother and half-sister.

⁴ See: Codiriger plutôt que subir. URL: https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2009/03/12/codiriger-plutot-que-subir_1167067_3232.html (accessed: 12.04.2023).

manufactured coup in Ukraine in 2014 was a masterpiece on the Eurasian chessboard. The word “Ukraine” means precisely “march” (Welsh marches), border. It could have remained a friendly bridge between East and West, instead of a bloody divide. In line with the American agenda, Barroso forced the Ukrainian government to choose the West against the East.¹

The researchers and academics are obliged to self-censorship, especially the younger ones. The west mistrusts its own values and principles. Former ambassador Jean de Glinasty writes: “To put it bluntly, the word ‘values’ often hides the ideological industrial, financial, commercial, and military expansionism of interests that are not always our own, and above all the dissolution of our own national criteria of appreciation. It is, at best, part of ‘soft power’ and, at worst, an accompaniment to ‘hard power’.”² The slogans replace the arguments, the manufactured emotions³ substitute for reason. De Glinasty goes on: “We need to think before we make anathemas <...> The values invoked risk making us forget that the first mission of diplomacy is to ensure the security of the country it serves. <...> Having actively participated in the destruction of secular regimes that ‘held’ their populations, we realise, amidst the din of the attacks, that the promotion of our values did not protect us: for if we resisted for a while in Iraq, we were, on the contrary, the driving force behind military interventions, to the point of frightening some of our Western partners, who had reflected and changed. <...> It is true that we were still the inventors and ‘custodians’ of the right of humanitarian intervention, which became the ‘responsibility to protect,’ the last fires of which were extinguished with the regime of the Jamahiriya and the ignominious death of Muammar Gaddafi under the blows of an international coalition dedicated, at the outset, to the protection of the rebellious inhabitants of Benghazi who had been promised a bloodbath by their leader. After these apparent military successes and their consequences (increased destabilisation of the Sahel, influx of migrants, terrorism...), the responsibility to protect is no longer as obvious as it was before the Libyan crisis. <...> The balance sheet of the values policy in the Middle East is heavy. In less than fifteen years, five secular regimes have been wiped off the map in the name of Western values <...> The result of our policy in the Middle East has been, in the end, the weakening of secularism, which we recently made one of the pillars of France’s values. We will undoubtedly be the first to suffer from this.”

US leaders strangely defend themselves from the charge of unilateralism by referring to the “backbone” of multilateralism. Just before attacking Iraq 2003, the US mission to the UN in Geneva (for which Edward Snowden worked) released a document from Assistant Secretary of State for

Arms Control Stephen G. Rademaker promoting “effective multilateralism”: “On behalf of my government, however, I reject any suggestion that the United States is not committed to multilateral means of achieving policy goals. To the contrary, properly understood, *our policies are profoundly multilateralist*. If current U. S. policy differs at all from U. S. policy in the past, it is a result of our recognition that, in the post-Cold War era, multilateralism is more important than ever, and that *without leadership – without backbone – multilateralism is predictably condemned to failure*. In a number of recent instances where we thought it necessary, we have chosen to provide the leadership – the backbone – required for multilateralism to succeed. Our insistence that multilateralism be effective may not always make us popular, but it hardly makes us unilateralist.”⁴ This is the same idea that Brzezinski’s dilemma “global domination of global leadership”.

The US leaders and their EU followers must change their frame of reference in terms of “Leadership”, “Primacy”, “Backboned Multilateralism”, “Rogue States”, “Rules-based (International) Order”, Liberal International Order, Free Market capitalism⁵ (selective) Values, (selective) Human Rights, Right of Intervention, Human Security through USA led NATO⁶, double standard around practices.

The time has come to build a united world, based on compatible or common principles, to be achieved through negotiation and respect, not through force or threat.

In pushing the EU and even other neutral countries like Switzerland to take unilateral coercive measures⁷ called “sanctions” against Russia, then receiving “countersanctions”, the USA reached their goal, namely, to weaken the European economy and currency, to separate Europe from Russia. They will strengthen NATO with the new members Finland and Sweden. The Russian counterattack is to strengthen the partnership between Russia and China, bringing together the BRICS and the SCO.

As a genuine patriot and European, the visionary Charles de Gaulle promoted another Europe: “We shall thus create between Europeans, from the Atlantic to the Urals, relations, links, an atmosphere, which will first of all remove their virulence from the German problems, including that of Berlin, then lead the Federal Republic and your Eastern Republic to draw closer together and to combine, and finally will keep the Germanic grouping framed in a Europe of peace and progress where it will be able to make a new career.”⁸

⁴ See: Rademaker S. G. The Commitment of the United States to Effective Multilateralism. URL: <https://2001-2009.state.gov/t/isn/rls/rm/17744.htm> (accessed: 12.04.2023).

⁵ Kissinger H. Perils of Globalism. URL: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1998/10/05/perils-of-globalism/0625afe6-c467-4c9a-be07-76bea075649a/> (accessed: 12.04.2023).

⁶ Chinkin C., Kaldor M. International Law and New Wars. Cambridge Uni. Press, 2017.

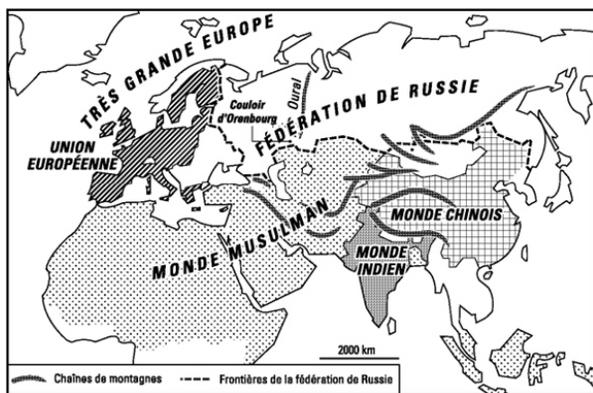
⁷ Zayas A. de. Unilateral coercive measures are illegal and counter-productive. URL: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/2014/05/intervention-alfred-de-zayas-unilateral-sanctions> and <https://www.schweizer-standpunkt.ch/news-detailansicht-en-recht/unilateral-coercive-measures-are-illegal-and-counter-productive.html> (accessed: 12.04.2023).

⁸ Nous créons ainsi entre Européens, depuis l’Atlantique jusqu’à l’Oural, des rapports, des liens, une atmosphère, qui d’abord ôteront leur virulence aux problèmes allemands, y compris celui de Berlin, ensuite conduiront la République fédérale et votre République de l’Est à se rapprocher et à se conjuguer, enfin tiendront l’ensemble germanique encadré dans une Europe de paix et de progrès où il pourra faire une carrière nouvelle (see: De Gaulle Ch. Mémoires d’espoir I. Editions rencontre. Plon, 1970. P. 243–244).

¹ Dusan Sidjanski strongly disagrees with Barroso on Russia and Ukraine (<https://www.rts.ch/play/tv/pardonnez-moi/video/jose-manuel-barroso--dusan-sidjanski?urn=urn:rt:video:6270785>).

² Pour dire les choses franchement, le mot “valeurs” cache souvent l’expansionnisme idéologique industriel, financier, commercial et militaire d’intérêts qui ne sont pas toujours les nôtres, et surtout la dissolution de nos propres critères d’appréciation nationaux. Il fait partie, dans le meilleur des cas, de la “puissance douce” et, dans le pire, de l’accompagnement de la “puissance dure” (Glinasty J. de. La diplomatie au péril des “valeurs”. L’inventaire, 2017. P. 59).

³ Redeker R. Télévision: le commerce narcotique des émotions de synthèse. URL: https://frontpopulaire.fr/articles/television-le-commerce-narcotique-des-emotions-de-synthese_ma20064 (accessed: 12.04.2023).



Source: Hérodote. 2005. № 3 (118).¹

Do the European peace activists, academics, researchers, citizens have a part to play in this game?

Anyway, they must. A bottom-up process must intersect with the top-down movement of officials and diplomats. The Franco-German reconciliation could serve as a model. There is a lack of Charles de Gaulle and Adenauer. Let us hope they come.

We, the citizens, and academics, continue to work, to understand, to explain. That is why I am grateful to our colleagues in St.-Petersburg for organizing the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference “Dialogues and Conflicts of Cultures in the Changing World”.

We, the citizens, researchers and academics, must protect our nations, unite against any empire, build a real democratic Europe. We need to build it on a stable basis.

Charles de Gaulle’s² grandson, Pierre de Gaulle³, actively advocates friendly relations with Russia.

N. K. Garbovsky⁴

CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

The rapid changes in the social and technological contexts of human life require deep understanding of not only political, economic, legal processes but also linguacultural ones taking place in our society, in cross-cultural communication in particular. In recent decades, the changes in the social and technological contexts led to the formation of a certain linguistic culture. Under linguistic culture I understand a wide range of linguistic phenomena from the linguistic policy of the state to individuals’ speech behaviour being in accordance with the worked out by the society ideas of speech culture. The linguistic culture system also includes such phenomena as linguistic planning, multilingualism and plurilingualism in public life and education, preservation of the nation’s language identity, linguistic landscape, dynamics and forms of linguistic and cultural contacts and, finally, culture of translation and linguadidactics. Each of the above mentioned components of linguistic culture de-

serves detailed examination. I’ll dwell on the two last mentioned elements of the linguistic culture system being of particular relevance both to the cross-cultural dialogue and cross-cultural conflicts, the basis of which is failure to understand the other.

The two main factors should be mentioned among many others leading to changes and deformation of the linguistic culture system in the today’s world, to wit, digitalization of linguistic culture and globalization, presuming not only internationalization of economic and financial systems but also inclusion into the cross-cultural dialogue of various strata of the society. If one looks closely, it’s possible to see that both factors are interconnected.

It’s well known that globalization affects culture of every nation both positively and negatively: on the one hand, this is the way to knowing cultural diversity, deeper understanding of “different” and “alien”, formation of cultural tolerance, but on the other hand, this is a threat to the national and cultural individuality and uniqueness, the way to cultural simplification and spiritual impoverishment.

The non-controlled digitalization of the cross-cultural communication processes may also lead to cultural simplification. Already today, we are witnessing artificial intelligence experts sounding the alarm and calling to stop teaching systems in order to have an opportunity to develop and introduce security algorithms. Misgivings and fears that artificial intelligence may bring as much evil as good are far from ungrounded. Any artificial intelligence reflects ideas and value guidelines of those who developed and taught it. It’s difficult to imagine what they may teach the neural network. A well-known example is the chatbot created by Microsoft and taught using the wrong data which started using the foul language in 2015 as a result of this teaching.

The *ChatGPT* example causes concern because some artificial intelligence many times exceeding the possibilities of today’s neuronets may appear in future and will strongly influence the human conscience. One cannot exclude the possibility of bots’ connecting at some moment and getting

¹ Lacoste Y. Dans l’avenir, une très grande Europe de l’Atlantique au Pacifique? URL: <https://www.cairn.info/revue-herodote-2005-3-page-202.htm> (accessed: 12.04.2023).

² D’Encasse H. C. Le Général de Gaulle et la Russie. Fayard, 2017.

³ Entretien avec Pierre De Gaulle. Peut-on séparer la France de la Russie? URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uGrHroCCFB0> (accessed: 12.04.2023).

⁴ Director of the Higher School of Translation and Interpreting (Faculty) at Lomonosov Moscow State University, Academician-Secretary of the Department of Education and Culture at the Russian Academy of Education, Dr. Sc. (Philology), Professor, Honorary Worker of Higher Professional Education of the Russian Federation. Author of over 200 academic and educational publications, including “The Theory of Translation”, “Comparative Stylistics of Professional Speech”, “The Cognitive Model of Translation”, “The History of Translation. Practice, Technologies, Theories” (co-authored), “Russian-French Dictionary of Military Terms” (co-authored); numerous translations of academic papers and fiction. Coordinator of the training programme for translators and interpreters for the UN linguistic services on behalf of the Moscow State University, leader of the working group for didactics of translation at the International Standing Conference of University Institutes of Translators and Interpreters, member of the Academic Council at the French University College, member of the Association of Researchers of the Theory and Practice of Translation (France), Honorary Professor of the Democritus University of Thrace (Greece), visiting Professor of the Guangdong University of Foreign Languages and International Trade (China). Chief Editor of “The Theory of Translation” journal. Winner of The Lomonosov Prize for pedagogical activities.

out of human control. To put it differently, the multi-billion humankind will deal with one artificial intelligence.

Thus, a **new form of the cross-cultural dialogue** will be formed: not a dialogue between cultures of different ethnic groups, different linguistic cultures but a dialogue between artificial intelligence's averaged universal culture and cultures of separate ethnic groups enclosed in their cultural codes. And such a cross-cultural dialogue may become the final stage of cultural variety within the framework of human civilization, after which a stage of cognitive globalization and destruction of all cultural codes may follow.

This futuristic thinking is built mainly on the warning forecasts by artificial intelligence experts. But it is already possible to see some causing concern phenomena deforming the linguistic culture system today in the field of cross-cultural communication, especially cross-language communication provided by translation as well as in the field of mastering foreign languages by the youngest members of our society.

The contemporary period is characterized by humankind's transfer to a new stage of development – the era of digitalization. In our country, digital development surged forward in 2017, in particular thanks to the Executive Order of the President of the Russian Federation dated May 9, 2017, № 203 “On the 2017–2030 Strategy for the Development of an Information Society in the Russian Federation”. Today, as the academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences V. A. Sadovnichy said figuratively, “the digit runs the show” pushing out the analog information “to the sidelines” of the contemporary development of the information society.

Digitalization includes not only human's working with information received on digital carriers but also delegation of some production and other important to the society functions to artificial intelligence, i. e. a higher level of technologies in various kinds of activities.

The importance of digitalization for the society is so high that it brought about talks about the technological revolution Industry 4.0, which in the opinion of Klaus Schwab “entails nothing less than a transformation of humankind” and changes not only what we do and how we do it but also what we ourselves will be.

The era of digitalization is characterized by new challenges making one think about the future of various fields of the human society's life, a whole number of various kinds of professional activities.

They do not bypass the cross-culture communication field either, touching upon not only the conditions, forms and means of communications in the new environment but also formation of plurilingualism as the basis of the cross-cultural dialogue and training, and special personnel intended to provide cross-language communication, first of all, translation and interpretation.

Nowadays, translators and interpreters are trained not only for the linguistic transfer from one language to another but also, to a bigger extent, for cross-cultural communication.

In this connection, four groups of challenges touching upon the following sections of linguistic culture should be reviewed first of all:

- 1) technological;
- 2) socioeconomic;

- 3) ethical;
- 4) linguadidactical.

The digital translation is a kind of translation technology being a system of net interaction of a translator and information and communication means helping to enhance the efficiency of translating and the quality of translator's products. The idea of the “digital translation” is of the historical character and will change as the time goes by, some new content will be added as the character of relations between a human translator and artificial intelligence evolves and develops.

The idea of the “digital translation” presumes systemic interaction of a human translator using advantages of information technologies and artificial intelligence capable not only to perform the functions of a human translator more or less successfully, fully or partly replacing them in some cases of cross-language communication, but also constantly self-train to advance the level of its “machine translation skills”.

The development of digital technologies is called first of all to optimize the work of translators, and it is at least unconstructive to be pessimistic as to the future of the occupation and its being in demand. Really, “technological unemployment” in connection with complete replacement of humans by machines still threatens translators and interpreters only slightly. Sure, the complex algorithms and developments in robotics and artificial intelligence based on the Big Data, allow today to automate many non-standard tasks. But it is impossible to automate actions including complex tasks of perception and comprehension, creative and social intelligence, the solution of which takes place both during interpretation and translation.

The mutual profit of the human and machine relations in this system is evident. On the one hand, the smart machine instantly handling the Big Data, allows the translator to review the maximum possible number of variants for a “certain case” that turned out to be difficult, and make one's choice based on the translator's individual logic. On the other hand, each new variant of translation of a “certain case” offered by the translator and stored in the Big Data cloud in the global information system enriches the system and allows the self-training machine to use it in future for new translation solutions.

The antagonism between the human and the machine is caused, on the one hand, by the constantly growing concern about the future of the human profession of translators and interpreters whom artificial intelligence will try to replace in cross-cultural communication, which is more profitable economically, and, on the other hand, by the criticism addressed to automatic translation programs suggesting variants not capable to compete in various cross-language communications with the variants suggested by the human translator.

The socioeconomic future of the profession of translators and interpreters makes one think today about a whole number of issues: How many translators and interpreters will be required in the environment of the winning digital space? For which fields of activities? With what competences and cognitive capabilities? With what language combinations? What will be the character of the translator's and interpreter's interaction with artificial intelligence? Will the profession of translators and interpreters stay the same as we are used to imagine it now?

The forecasting answers to these futuristic questions are required first of all for determination of the contents of translators' and interpreters' education today, when a new generation of students choosing this occupation has just entered universities. They will have to present their skills and abilities on the labor market in 5–6 years when artificial intelligence reaches such a level of capabilities that is difficult to forecast today.¹

Sure, the automatic translation and not human translation is more profitable for consumers, the amounts and speed increase, and the expenses are minimum. Because of that the question as to the possibility of artificial intelligence pushing humans out of this activity is not exactly correct.

Most likely, it should be examined not as an isolated one but in connection with the ethical component of the issue, to be more exact, the definition of the value of product: will the human society want to entrust the performance of this social function to AI and if yes, in which fields of communications, language combinations, kinds of translation and interpretation, communication situations? Is it possible to allow access to confidential information to artificial intelligence in-built into the global information network being the basis of its advantages in comparison to humans? What will happen if out of malice or as a result of some technological or natural disaster the network stops functioning for some time to a full extent, and cognitive abilities of humans required for translation and interpretation are already lost? Will AI be capable to take not only logical but also "illogical" decisions being the basis of arts?

In this case the main obstacle for automation is the difficulty or impossibility to qualify creative values in such a way as to code them in a program. Besides, human values change as the time flies and differ depending on culture. The arts and creativity, by definition, suppose not only innovations but values as well, and they vary greatly. It follows that many arguments, counter-arguments and disputes about creativity are related to disagreements as to the value itself. Even if we could find out, classify and code our creative values for a computer to work after that and control these algorithms independently, there would have still been disagreements referring to the extent of computer's creativity in its approach to the solution of the issue, the extent of its artfulness. The task becomes even more complex if we try to evaluate a translation.

However, if there are algorithms and robots capable to reproduce certain aspects of interaction of humans in the society, it is still difficult for artificial intelligence to identify natural human emotions in real time and even more difficult to adequately react to them.

Thus, it's possible to suppose that the profession of translator and interpreter will not disappear but change under the impact of the latest digital technologies. The ability to function as the "human – AI" binom, in which the first will be the "master" in relation to the second, the "slave" will be the basis of it. In contrast to a common translation when the translator's function was often compared to the performing actor's function, the translator in the binom with AI is to a bigger extent associated with a film or stage director and orchestra conductor.

¹ See: *Гарбовский Н. К.* «Цифровой перевод»: современные реалии и прогнозы // *Русский язык и культура в зеркале перевода: материалы Междунар. конф. М. : Изд-во МГУ, 2019. С. 65–72.*

The state of affairs in 2020 because of the pandemic made some issues of the humans' interaction with the latest digital technologies more prominent.

First, the forced self-isolation and transfer to remote communication forms vividly demonstrated that methods seriously fall behind technologies, the efficiency of using which proved rather low. Many technological solutions also demonstrated that they are insufficiently worked out, insufficiently reliable and transmission of information is insufficiently stable.

Second, the human society turned out to be more resistant to new forms of remote communication: the wider and more often digital technologies were used in communications, the more active was the wish to "get out" of this state and return to the traditional forms.²

Thus, the survival of the human translation and interpretation as means of the cross-cultural dialogue is provided by social psychology of the human race.

The system of professional translators and interpreters training that has formed in today's Russia borrowed the Soviet system of education in this field as to its main features, inheriting its best traditions.

The Soviet system of professional translators and interpreters training gave fairly positive results: professional competences of Soviet translators and interpreters were highly evaluated by foreign colleagues and employers.

In the early 20th century, the following saying was very popular: "Generals are always getting ready for the previous war." If we continue training translators and interpreters today using the models and ideas of translation and interpretation that formed decades ago and were actual and fairly effective for a long period of time, there is a risk to become like those Generals, and the new generation of translators and interpreters being formed today won't be ready for the impending changes in public life.

In order to train translators and interpreters for providing successful cross-cultural communication in the environment of digitalization of most kinds of human activities, it is required to review the issue of changes in the content of translator' and interpreters' education carefully and thoroughly, presuming not only the effective dialogue of human intelligence (translator or interpreter) and artificial intelligence (automatic translation programs) but also some special features of the cognitive processes in translators' and interpreters' minds under the influence of the already witnessed today new conditions for perception, processing and transmission of information.

It's known that any translation starts from the perception of the original text in the language of the original. The original message in written form supposes reading as a certain cognitive function realized by the translator. In the opinion of some researchers, digital reading loses the linear character and because of that the level of understanding reduces.

The formation of the translator's personality for the digital era requires special attention to restoration of young person's cognitive abilities for attentive reading of texts coming for perception on new carriers.

Digitalization of cross-language communication takes place with globalization as a background. Globalization

² See: *Гарбовский Н. К., Костикова О. И.* Мифы о переводе: от Вавилона до «цифры» // *Русский язык и культура в зеркале перевода: материалы Междунар. конф. М. : Изд-во МГУ, 2020. С. 65–80.*

as a social, economic, cultural and political phenomenon would be impossible without some impersonal communication means capable to provide mutual understanding by all actors in the global world system. The functions of the lingua franca were placed on the English language in its most simplified version. The international status of the English language as the main, practically the only one language for international communications was bound to affect the language policy of the Russian Federation: it has become practically the only foreign language in the system of general education offered for studies – polylingualism practically disappeared from the education process.¹

But it is exactly the combinations with the English language that are most subjected to automation both in everyday and special fields. Gadgets-pocket translators are enough for the “linguistic survival” in the world of alien culture.

The subsidence of polylingualism in recent decades was accompanied by introduction of the communicative method in the process of teaching foreign languages. This method allowed those who had mastered programs to provide themselves a possibility of communicative survival according to the linguistic competences levels and globally focused foreign language textbooks.

In this connection one can clearly see two challenges to linguistic education within the system of general education: 1) the choice of a foreign language for studies; 2) the change of the methods of teaching foreign languages within the system of general education.

In the first case the choice is for polylingualism: the foreign linguistic competences limited by the English language only lose their monopoly as a tool for providing communication. But both today and in the near future the programs for automatic processing of voice messages in a foreign language will be advanced first of all in combination with the English language, thus its studies as means of cross-language communication lose their attractiveness to students. The lack of motivation entails the loss of efficiency of the educational process as a whole. But does that presume re-

fusal from studies of a foreign language as an obligatory subject in the general education program? Far from it. But it is the communicative and not cognitive function of the language as a vector of cultural information that comes to the foreground. In this case polylingualism in the system of teaching foreign languages plays a paramount role. Studies of various foreign languages and acquaintance with various cultures by students (from different but constantly communicating groups) may lead to mutual cultural enrichment, understanding of multidimensionality and diversity of the global world, teaching tolerance of the “different”.

The “cognitive turn” in studying foreign languages within the system of general education presumes a considerable review of the methodical foundations of their teaching. The communicative approach to teaching foreign languages (English in most cases) called to provide “survival” in foreign surroundings in situations of various communicative complexity and built upon fixing speech clichés for typical situations, should gradually cede its place to the method of thoughtful studies of a language as a vector of national culture. This method was created in the Soviet society, closed from the outside world. It allowed Soviet translators and interpreters, diplomats, journalists and many other specialists to “surprise” the world by the perfect command of a foreign language, rich vocabulary, correct speech and deep knowledge of a foreign culture. The communicative approach to teaching languages satisfied the new for its time demands: to develop the skill of elementary command of a foreign language during a short period of time for survival in a foreign language environment. But this task is already being solved by artificial intelligence today.

The “cognitive turn” in studying foreign languages does not lead “forward to the past” and in no way presumes ignoring modern educational technologies. On the contrary, the cognitive approach is based on the achievements of modern linguadidactics and is capable to stimulate creation of innovative effective methods activating motivation of students to mastering foreign languages.²

Ch. Goddard³

DIALOGUES AND CONFLICTS OF CULTURES IN THE CHANGING WORLD

Introduction

“Dialogue” and “conflicts” of cultures are vitally important for us in the world of expanding Russophobic prejudice and sanctions with increasing polarisation of thought and opinions between different cultures.

“Dialogue” is bilateral communication with the purpose of achieving objectives between people who are different.

¹ See: *Гарбовский Н. К.* Четвертая промышленная революция, образование и культура // Педагогика. 2021. Т. 85, № 11. С. 83–92.

² See: *Гарбовский Н. К.* Четвертая промышленная революция...

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Psychologically, it requires a number of behaviours to be deployed.⁴ It is much more than just talking.⁵

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⁴ See for example: *Scollon R., Scollon S.* Intercultural Communication. A discourse approach. Cambridge (MA) : Blackwell, 1995 ; *Carbaugh D., Gibson T., Milburn T.* A view of communication and culture: Scenes in an ethnic cultural center and a private college // *Emerging Theories of Human Communication* / ed. B. Kovacic. Albany (NY) : The State Univ. of New York Press, 1997. P. 1–24 ; “Dialogue” in cross-cultural perspective: Japanese, Korean, and Russian discourses / D. Carbaugh, E. V. Nuciforo, M. Saito [etc.] // *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*. 2011. № 4 (2). P. 87–108.

⁵ Which is arguably what the then British Foreign Secretary Liz Truss tried in her meeting with our Foreign Minister Lavrov Sergei Victorovitch in Moscow on 9 February 2023. Mr. Lavrov later characterised the meeting at

“Conflicts of cultures” is a wide ranging topic covering all the possible flashpoints between different peoples, which can to a degree be mitigated by “cross cultural education” together with an open mind.¹

It should be possible for different people, with differences between them to live together, to be able (at the least) to tolerate those differences, certainly to respect them, and when necessary be able to have dialogues to find mutually acceptable compromises or positions. Cultural exchange is vital to the ability to have such meaningful dialogues. The topic also invites thoughts upon the role of diplomacy and diplomats in the changing world.

Presentation of culture to the outside world

As an Englishman² the Russo-British cultural relationship is of interest. A recent meeting with the British Ambassador to Russia heard about the British Government’s “ongoing dedication” to Russian schoolchildren and students in the acquisition of English language and culture. A major component of spreading English language and culture abroad is the British Council.³ However, the British Council is inactive in Russia, as a result of inconsistencies in its legal documentation.⁴ The role has been passed to the Cultural and Education Centre of the Moscow Embassy. To find out more, I met with the British Embassy’s Cultural Minister, formerly Deputy Head of Mission.

The Embassy Centre maintains only one resource in its “ongoing dedication” for Russian students – a channel on

the Foreign Ministry as being “like the conversation with a deaf person... who is here, but does not hear” (See: Sergey Lavrov dismisses Liz Truss meeting as ‘like talking to a deaf person.’ URL: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/boris-johnson-and-liz-truss-urge-russia-to-back-down-over-ukraine-d27ns5w8b> (accessed: 01.06.2023)). A characteristically articulate and colourful quotation from someone who is no stranger to cross cultural dialogue from his position of fluency in at least five languages and over 50 years in the Foreign Service.

¹ The famous quotation “The mind is like a parachute; it works best when it is open” is well known. An internet search claims it to be by the western rock musician Frank Zappa, but deeper research shows almost simultaneous appearances in British, American and Australian newspapers in October 1927 when “western” parachutes were first coming into recognised use. However the words were in use here much earlier, but Gleb Evgenyevich Kotelnikov – the Russian inventor of both the knapsack and drogue parachutes in 1911 – is a name hardly known in the West. His grave can be found in Novidovechiy Cemetery in Moscow – and particularly beautiful it is too.

² One of apparently only 200 who (against UK Government advice) remain in Russia. We 200 may not be Ambassadors in the sense of being State Representatives, but we are surely representatives of our culture – carrying within ourselves that which – in the words of Rupert Brooke – is something that England bore and shaped. The famous British espionage writer, John Le Carré in his book “The Russia House” has his lead character Barley express the opinion: “As to his loyalty to his country, Barley saw it only as a question of which England he chose to serve... He knew a better England by far, and it was inside himself.” I am reminded of a discussion in London in the 1990s with a Russian who had travelled to the UK during Soviet times. They related that their first item of business on entering the country had been a meeting with a representative of the USSR Embassy, who reminded them that they were effectively ambassadors for their country, and to show only their best qualities. Thus, the topic of Dialogues and Conflicts of Culture begins, as it must, with us ourselves being the best examples of our own cultures.

³ The British Council (www.britishcouncil.org) founded some 89 years ago is funded and sponsored by the British Foreign Office. It works in over 100 countries, with a mission of British cultural and language education; It has an audited budget of almost 1 billion GBP (latest available audited figures for 2020–2021). It is not without controversy, for example having been involved with undisclosed taxpayer funded trips for Members of Parliament, and the exclusion of Chinese dissidents from the London Book Fair, It is considered a “soft arm” of British foreign policy.

⁴ The Council was previously active in 4 cities in Russia, namely Moscow, St Petersburg, Ekaterinburg, and an additional library facility in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk mostly serving expatriate oil and gas workers.

VK. This has daily posts – with topics such as vocabulary for parts of an animal, or an online test to check your level of English. The Council website tracks visitors from Russia, and directs you to a page which further directs you back to the Embassy Centre. A “magazine” – really a blog – on their global website however gives more information, such as regular articles about topics considered important⁵ as regards British culture and language.

Turning to the Russian equivalent of the British Council, we have the Russian World Foundation.⁶ This has Centres⁷ – currently 79 in 40 countries, “...created with the aim of popularising Russian language and culture as a crucial element of world civilisation, supporting Russian language study programs abroad, developing cross-culture dialogue and strengthening understanding between cultures and peoples.”

The website – in both Russian and English – is a rich source of topics on cultural events, notable people, topics of arts and technologies. It also maintains a real magazine, published in both hard and digital versions⁸ – each issue running to 100 pages – with the tagline “a magazine about Russia and Russian civilisation”. It is apolitical, and each month contains topics on a wide range of aspects of our life, culture, language and history here.

An objective comparison of the outputs of the British Council and the Russian World Foundation’s is beyond the scope of this paper, but in my opinion Russian World easily scores 5+, and the British Council 2– (and that is generous).⁹ I put this to the British Cultural Minister, suggesting that the UK should really look to the Russian World Foundation’s output and duplicate it, making copies freely available. The idea has been “taken away for consideration”.

Exchange of information between cultures

The Native American Blackfoot tribe have no word for dialogue, nor words for discussion, debate, nor even verbal interaction. They do have a word – *sitsipssat* meaning to speak with, but it means expression rather than interacting with others. They do however have a word for a person who is an incessant talker, not interacting enough with others – *i’poyiipsti*.

The Chinese have a number of words that reflect the English notions of “dialogue”. The word *duihua* is the most relevant being used at State and other official levels. Formed of two characters, the second means “utterance”, something that is said. The first however has multiple meanings in different contexts. It can mean “to answer”, or “face to face”. Culturally though, it describes talking and an ex-

⁵ For example, on 24 March 2023 an article “Five films for Freedom, queer cinema and censorship – what are the challenge of making queer films in countries with repressive regimes.” My only comment here is “их нравы...”

⁶ See: <https://ruskiymir.ru> (accessed: 01.06.2023). The foundation was created by Presidential Decree in 2007 as a government sponsored organisation aimed at sponsoring Russian language and culture worldwide, cooperating with the Russian Orthodox Church in promoting values that challenge the Western cultural tradition.

⁷ Currently none apparently in the UK. Although there are over 104 pages of results of topics detailing various cooperations with parts of the UK, schools, groups, and events arranged by the Russian Embassy in the UK.

⁸ See: <https://m.rusmir.media/numbers/> (accessed: 01.06.2023).

⁹ British readers will not be familiar with the typical system of school “marks” for work, being more used to an A–E classification, or a number out of 10. In my personal opinion, in UK terms, Russian Foundation magazine clearly scores an A+ or 10/10. The British Council output barely achieves an E or a 1/10.

change of thoughts and opinions between two or more persons. Examples at State level in Chinese media¹ reflect the cultural expectation that talk between different peoples is not merely the two directional flows of communication, but also reflects the prestige of the people taking part – being representatives of the country, and the seriousness of the items under discussion. Culturally, a Chinese diplomat, will expect a willingness on the other side to be open minded, to be willing to be constructive and work towards solving problems – improving or adjusting problems in their relationship.

Our growing connection with China makes this a fruitful topic of exploration containing lessons for any and all cross-dialogues. Other words meaning “dialogue”, including *jiaoliu* and *goutong* contain themes of “flow”, and “exchange”. More deeply though, a “gou” is a ditch or channel. Hidden in *goutong* is a belief that the dialogue will result in an unblocking of that ditch or channel together with *zhencheng* and *shizai* (truth and sincerity, and without embellishment or exaggeration), that is speaking from the heart, or soul. Without these, there can be no meaningful dialogue.

No wonder then that Russia and China enjoy more fruitful dialogue and collaboration than Russia and the United Kingdom, judging by the performance of the UK’s then Foreign Secretary in February 2022.

Behaviours in the exchange of information between cultures

The role of a diplomat is interesting. By looking at some behaviours in the exchange of information between cultures we can better appreciate how (good) diplomats work in their dialogues, and find themes that we can usefully deploy in our private lives.

“Dialogue” generally means verbal interaction between two or more parties – ranging from cooperative to competitive. There is a backdrop of exchange, a mutuality of interdependence, where the unblocking of the ditch has mutual benefit.

They can range from formal to informal in a collaborative atmosphere – with sincerity and openness to that which is being communicated by the other party. As to the substance, this can range from the presentation of one’s viewpoint, describing and clarifying issues, seeking shared understanding, repairing misunderstandings and agreeing future collaborations of actions.

There can be negative or positive consequences. A party can be insincere – perhaps overtly conniving, or passively inexpressive leading to a lack of fruitful outcome. There may be selfish interests at work, and such examples are clearly negative or somehow bad. This speaks to the previously stated idea of being the best versions of ourselves and our culture.² We can have our own views which we express, but we must be open and receptive to the views of others.

¹ Recent examples include dialogues between China and other countries regarding questions relating to Taiwan and the Kashmir Region – questions which are characterised by very different positions of the State parties.

² It is always interesting to find comparisons between cultures – by being yourself cultured, and inquisitive about other people’s cultures. In English, you would use the phrase “until the cows come home” to describe something that you will be waiting a long time for. In Russia, there is an equivalent “когда рак на горе свистнет” for an idea of “неизвестно когда” or “после дождика в четверг”. When this came up in a professional meeting, it was a source of bilateral interest, amusement, and even extended into good

The more you can understand about the philosophical and cultural traditions of the party on the other side of the table, the better the chances for both parties to unblock the ditch. Knowledges of topics such as history, geography³, language, literature, music, film – containing the threads of a civilisation’s tapestry increase the chances of success.

When there are calls for “dialogue”, expectations are created, that can be different in different cultures. Finnish for example has a difference between *vuoropuhelu* and *keskustelu* – merely talking together as opposed to an expected quality of discussion.

Islamic Law and Culture when embedded in societies that do not identify as being mainstream Islamic

This is a traditional area of conflict between cultures – more notably since 9/11 and an American centered so called “war on terror”, which often appears as demonisation of Islam and its followers. For those of us who live in Russia, this seems strange, for we have many millions of citizens and neighbours who are Muslim, with whom there is peaceful coexistence. This diversity is of course recognised in our Constitution.

This topic is broad and deep – and many fascinating texts have been written. A recent contribution looks at legal issues.⁴ The author describes Sharia law as a universal system of social regulation due to the coverage of its prescriptions with the most diverse – almost all – aspects of external behaviours. Fiqh – Islamic jurisprudence – is usefully described as the human practice and understanding of the Sharia – which it expands and develops by interpretation. Thus Sharia, which is immutable and infallible, is informed in its application by fiqh, as a result of interpretation of the Quran and Sunnah by Islamic jurists. It is suggested that without an appreciation of Sharia law and fiqh – and the culture which surrounds these, dialogues for mutual benefit and resolution of problems with these cultures will be less than successful. Such knowledge can be beneficial within the fields of State Investment Arbitration and financing practices.

UNESCO

Kofi Annan⁵ once said: “*The United Nations was created in the belief that dialogue can triumph over discord, that diversity is a universal virtue and that the peoples of the world are far more united by their common fate than they are divided by their separate identities.*”

humoured toasts to our respective animals during dinner. The linguist will also know that these also include a concept of “deceived hopes” and “vain promises”. Such as an idea being “taken away for consideration” (see above).

³ For example, knowing that Rostov and Voronezh are parts of sovereign Russia – something that Liz Truss was unaware of when asked by Mr. Lavrov if she recognised Russia’s sovereignty over these regions – as reported by Kommersant the next day. This was all a week or so after she had announced that Britain was sending supplies to “its Baltic allies across the Black Sea.” Most people know the Baltic and Black Seas are two separate bodies of water – some 700 or 800 km apart. Indeed, as the Official Spokeswoman of Russian Foreign Ministry, M. V. Zakharova said: “If anyone needs saving from anything, it’s the world, from the stupidity and ignorance of British politicians.” It is impossible to disagree with her. I put it to the British Ambassador herself in a meeting with British nationals in March 2020, that our cross cultural dialogues would be significantly improved if the Embassy here could do a better job of briefing these politicians.

⁴ Сюкияйнен Л. Исламское право и диалог культур в современном мире. М.: ВШЭ, 2021.

⁵ The Secretary General of the United Nations (1997–2006).

Conflicts are mostly the result of intolerance born of ignorance. In a diverse world, there are golden opportunities for sharing and learning about differences. This can be a driver for peaceful coexistence between different peoples.

Such learning should entail sharing ideas and differences with the intent of developing deeper understandings and appreciation of different perspectives and practices. UNESCO has much to say on the topic of intercultural dialogue¹ – including the overarching idea that it fosters social cohesion and helps to create an environment conducive to sustainable development. A more connected world does not mean that we necessarily have to live together, but rather that we are increasingly required to find ways to live together with our differences.

Barriers to effective cross-cultural communication include a tendency for people to filter their thoughts and experiences through the lens of their own culture – a form of cultural prejudice. This westerner sees this all too often in western media coverage of our life here. It should not be forgotten that the post Second World War European space was effectively “de-Europeanised” as a result of the Marshall Plan, linked with the 1947 Dunkirk Treaty, the 1948 Vandenburg Resolution, the Brussels Treaty, the Modified Brussels Treaty and finally the NATO Treaty with its nineteen² further State accessions and incremental eastwards expansion of the NATO border towards Russia.

In education

In my field, the development of legal positions for Claimants and Respondents in Moot Court Competitions is relevant. It gives dialectical training, based on a single given case study of facts. Valid positions can be argued for both sides. Competitions are based on arbitration, where one party will win. However, when used in a negotiation setting, it is possible to use these party positions to encourage real dialogue between opposing parties and find common, and beneficial solutions. This is part of the negotiation training that we encourage in students at MGYuA.

Conclusions

Our life here is radically different to that in the West – the history and culture are different. A western centred “one size fits all” view is not appreciated here. The Russian World Foundation shows many aspects of our culture that are different. The Russian *dusha* is more attuned to fruitful dialogue and exploring alternatives with an open mind with a counterparty. Those who wish to do business with Russia, or at least co-exist peacefully, would benefit from coming here with an open mind, learning about the history and culture and participating with pleasure in the way of life. But beware, you may not want to leave.

Al. A. Gromyko³

THE CYCLICAL NATURE OF HISTORY AND THE NEW “DECLINE OF THE WEST”

The explosive in its quickness, scales and destructive force crash of the relations between Russia on the one hand, and the Ukraine and the West on the other hand, their rapid transfer from toughening rivalry to the large-scale heated up stage of the confrontation, were not widely forecasted. The reputation of Russia in foreign policy that absorbed the Soviet experience to a large extent, has been built since the early 1990s basing on the principles of careful observation of the international law, fighting against its revision and bypassing the institution of the UN Security Council as

¹ See: Intercultural Dialogue. URL: <https://en.unesco.org/themes/intercultural-dialogue> (accessed: 01.06.2023).

² Soon to be twenty apparently.

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the head international judge for the issues of war and peace. In the eyes of the biggest part of the international community, Russia in case of crises related to regional conflicts in Yugoslavia and Iraq, Libya and Syria, Yemen and even Georgia not only had a convincing stand legally but also had moral advantages in comparison with those who staked on the “hard power” bypassing the UN.⁴ However, the stake of Russia’s geopolitical rivals on the crash of the system of checks and balances, which the today’s world inherited from the Cold War, led during the recent decades to the situation when Moscow had to pass over from the “acts of defense” of diplomatic and political character to preemptive steps, including military and technical.

Notwithstanding the said crash, it is not self-evident that exactly the year of 2022 became the trend-setting year in transfer from one model of international relations to another one, the future results of such a transfer are not evident either. Do we witness the birth of a new world, the premonitory signs of which are the Ukrainian crisis and the dramatically increasing rivalry between China and America, or are these phenomena in-built in the logic of the events that have been developing for a long time already? There is also a point of view according to which the ongoing processes in the contemporary world order, notwithstanding all their dramatic character, do not lead to its radical transformation and total collapse, but are another variant of redistribution of the share of various centers of influence, and this point of view has the right to exist. This redistribution again takes place

⁴ See: Громыко А. А. Куда идет мир? Летопись грандиозной трансформации // Современная Европа. 2023. № 2 (116). С. 181.

with the trans-border use of force in all its manifestations. In this case we are not dealing with something principally new in the chronicle of international relations, but more likely with putting the eternal questions about the sources of wars and conflicts: the opposite perceptions of the idea of “safety and security”, consequences of technical innovations in the art of war, different interpretations of the international law, disputes over territories, etc.¹

Various geopolitical centers of force made many attempts after the disintegration of the USSR probing for a renewed framework of the world order: to form the “Common European home”, the system of equal and indivisible security; create the American unipolar world instead of the bipolar one; push out the United States and the superiority of the “hard power” together with them from the position of the leading center of force in favor of the European Union and the “soft power” respectively: establish the duumvirate “Chimerica” as a kind of reminiscence of the post-Napoleon “concert of powers”. All this search developed within the main course of the global restructuring – from the bloc confrontation of two superpowers during the Cold War to polycentrism of international relations. The current stage of acute confrontation is fighting for redistribution of power in the field of international relations for the decades to come.

At the same time, it is difficult not to agree that the events of the 2020s are being the most dramatic part of the post-Soviet transformation period. But their in-building in the context of post-Soviet history allows, first, to evaluate them and all their causal links, and, second, not get into the trap of “uniqueness” of these or those phenomena. Following this line of argument, the category of the cyclical nature of history suggests itself, which surely can’t be reduced to stereotypes. There were many force redistribution cycles in international relations, but the way they took place and their results were always unique. The current redistribution cycle is another one in its line, but we do not know what to expect “at the exit”. The stereotypes of the Cold War or bipolarity characteristic of the second half of the 20th century can hardly be applied to this stage of history.

Each epoch needs its own security doctrine in order to provide the maximally long pause of peaceful cooperation or peaceful co-existence between outbursts of violence. Notwithstanding the age-long warnings of the founders and participants of the Pugwash Conferences on Science as well as a no small number of their modern followers (e. g., The Euro-Atlantic Security Leadership Group², The Nuclear Threat Initiative³), it can’t be excluded that the doctrine

of nuclear deterrence will stop functioning in its former version as a result of the further development of technologies. The Ukrainian crisis and the modern version of proxy wars raise this question acutely.⁴ The renewed security doctrine for Europe is still to be worked out.

The definite, unambiguous answer to the question as to where we are – at the turn of epochs or going through another stage of Russia’s looking for its place in the world – will not be given soon. The most acute periods of conflicts, heated up stages of confrontation have always been not the best time in history to forecast the future. It is still not evident to what the current events will lead to – the new “Westphalia”, “Vienna” or “Yalta”, or something more mundane. How will the trajectory of development of the antagonistic states be corrected or change? Which of them are to expect an ascent, which are to weaken, which are to expect stagnation? How will the countries of the Global South use it? There are more questions than answers.

The principle of historical optimism is an important aid for the modern international analytics. From its point of view, it is required to study the past to oppose the “catastrophic alarmism”. It is well-known that there were periods of self-destruction but also the periods of common sense and cooperation in the history of the European civilization. Europe became the epicenter of world wars twice notwithstanding all the legacy of the periods of Humanism and Enlightenment. Today, Europe is again in the center of destructive processes. The system of control over armaments is nearly destroyed, the measures of trust and security jointly worked out in the past do not work anymore. At the same time, in the course of its history Europe demonstrated and not once its ability to mutual reconciliation, formation of effective mechanisms for cooperation, adaptation to large-scale regional and global challenges. The Russian factor has always played one of the key roles in the manifestation of this ability.

Inability of Europe in the post-Soviet period to develop immunity against new extremely dangerous internal contradictions, against inclination to rely on some external and not its own strategic thought, again demonstrates the lack of prospects for the Eurocentrism resurrection course. The opinion that the decline of the role of Europe in world politics has been seen from the end of World War I seems well-grounded.⁵ “The Decline of the West” as interpreted by O. Spengler was denied by the course of events and not once, but the Eurocentric axis of the world politics is really the legacy of a faraway past.

¹ Громько А. А. *Op. cit.* С. 181–182.

² Advancing Global Nuclear “Fail-Safe” // European Leadership Network. URL: https://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/EASLG-Statement_GNFS_FINAL.pdf (accessed: 15.05.2023); Supports Joint Statement of the Leaders of the Five Nuclear-Weapon States Affirming: “A Nuclear War Cannot be Won and Must Never be Fought” // European Leadership Network. URL: <https://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/group-statement/euro-atlantic-security-leadership-group-easlg-supports-joint-statement-of-the-leaders-of-the-five-nuclear-weapon-states-affirming-a-war-cannot-be-won-and-must-never-be-fought/> (accessed: 15.05.2023).

³ Nuclear // NTI : [website]. URL: <https://www.nti.org/area/nuclear/> (accessed: 15.05.2023).

⁴ Громько А. А. *Op. cit.* С. 183.

⁵ Барановский В. Г. *Международный ландшафт: эпоха перемен. Избранная аналитика.* М. : Весь мир, 2021. С. 309.

A. A. Guseinov¹

PHILOSOPHY AND IDEOLOGY (To the centenary of the Philosophy Steamer)

Last year (2022) was the centenary of the event symbolically designated the “Philosophy Steamer” – the administrative expulsion abroad of a group of domestic scientists and cultural figures who were purposefully selected according to the criterion of their hostility to the Soviet government and its ideology (in the official language, they were called active counter-revolutionaries and representatives of the bourgeois intelligentsia).² They were exiled by steamships, including two from Petrograd, specially equipped for this purpose, and among the expelled were famous philosophers (N. A. Berdyaev, S. N. Bulgakov, N. O. Lossky, S. L. Frank, L. P. Karsavin, I. A. Ilyin, F. A. Stepun, I. I. Lapshin) – hence the genericized designation “Philosophy Steamer” arising retroactively (originally appeared as the name of a large article by S. S. Khoruzhiy in two issues of the Literary Gazette dated 1990³ that was dedicated to this event). The expulsion was formalized as a lifelong exile from the country (the expelled signed a consent on non-return, so in case of return they faced the firing squad). But, as they say, never say ‘never’: after 65 years (in 1987), the Philosophy Steamer was returned, and this event was already twice symbolic: there were no steamships, there were no more those who could return. Philosophy Steamer became an important category of modern national culture and its centenary was celebrated exactly as such by the country’s public. The very stretching over many decades indicates that we are talking about a single (one) big event of historical scale that has its deep, naturally conditioned social nature.

There is a certain symmetry between the beginning and the end of this event.

The decision to send into emigration (exile from the country) a group of well-known philosophers was undoubtedly a political act – one of the demonstrative actions of the highest authorities taken by the Main Political Directorate under the general and operational leadership of the Politburo of the VKP(b) (All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)) to consolidate ideologically the monopoly of their party Marxist philosophy, and rise it to the state ideology rank.

The return to the names that were once exiled (the removal of state censorship, the need to publish and study their works) began with the resolution of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee dated May 12, 1988 “On the publication of the series ‘From the History of Russian Philosophical Thought’”. The note attached by A. N. Yakovlev,

¹ Director of the Institute of Philosophy of the RAS, Academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor. Author of more than 500 scientific publications, including books: “Ethics and Culture”, “Philosophy – Thought and Action”, “Antique Ethics”, “The Golden Rule of Morality”, “Great Prophets and Thinkers. Moral Teachings from Moses to Our Days”, “Culturalism by Dmitry Likhachov” (co-authored), etc. Editor-in-Chief of the journals “Ethical Thought”, “Social Sciences”, member of the editorial boards of the journals “Bulletin of the RAN”, “Philosophical Journal”, “Issues of Philosophy”, and “Philosophical Sciences”. Vice-President of the Russian Philosophical Society. Recipient of the State Prize of the Russian Federation in Science and Technology. Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS.

² This event is analyzed in detail in the work: *Главацкий М. Е.* «Философский пароход»: год 1922-й. Историографические этюды. Екатеринбург: УрГУ, 2002.

³ *Хоружий С. С.* Философский пароход. Как это было? // Литературная газета. 1990. 9 мая, 6 июня.

in particular, said that “for various reasons, a whole array of philosophical works has been forgotten that would honor the culture of any European country... A long period of ‘silencing’ led to negative results,”⁴ in the list of philosophers’ names whose works were recommended for publication, passengers of the Philosophy Steamer were also included, the works were commissioned to be prepared by the magazine “Questions of Philosophy”, and published by the party publishing house “Pravda”. It is the legalization and even the accentuated stimulation of the forbidden creativity of the once exiled philosophers that gives this Resolution an undoubtedly political character and allows to consider its date the official date of the Philosophy Steamer return.

As far as I know, this Resolution, which opened the way for the return of the creativity (works) of the Philosophy Steamer passengers, has not been studied in as much detail and particularly as the preparation and implementation of their exile, about which we know why this exile occurred, who personally inspired and organized it, how it was occurring, etc. Perhaps future generations will need such research to understand its real meaning, but for us, people who were in the philosophical environment in these years, there was no need for this, since the real meaning of this Resolution was no secret. There stood behind it the suppressed discontent of minds who were burdened by the narrow limits of party ideology and who wanted to break out into the free space of independent thinking. Its social effect can be likened to the effect of water pressure breaking through the sluices standing in its way.

The Philosophy Steamer return was not as open and demonstrative as the act of exile, it was covered up by the desire to inform better of “the reasonability and justification of Bolsheviks policy and ideology.”⁵ Nevertheless, as subsequent events showed, it was understood by the humanitarian community as an actual recognition that the Philosophy Steamer was a mistake and that the state expelled philosophy as a free human activity together with philosophers on the steamer. Social status of national philosophy was changed dramatically by the rapid filling of the blank pages.

1. The Philosophy Steamer considered as a single historical event and an integral social phenomenon, can be considered as a real scientific experiment that reveals the nature of the relationship between philosophy and ideology, more precisely, as an answer to the question of to what extent philosophy can be risen to the state ideology rank.

As for the public meaning of the very idea of exile a certain group of philosophers from the country, why and how it happened, everything is clear.⁶ Philosophers were ex-

⁴ Александр Яковлев. Перестройка: 1985–1991. Неизданное, малоизвестное, забытое. 1988 год. [Док. № 29–56]. Документ № 36. Постановление Политбюро ЦК КПСС и записка А. Н. Яковлева об издании серии «Из истории отечественной философской мысли». URL: <https://alexanderyakovlev.org/fond/issues-doc/1023684> (accessed: 31.05.2023).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ “Thus, with some dispersed opinions, researchers of the history of expulsion are unanimous that the expatriation of the dissident intelligentsia in 1922 was a logical step in the country’s domestic policy development. Its main reason can be called an attempt by the authorities to establish strict ideological control by removing the intellectual elite from the country – those people who could think freely, independently analyze the situation and

pelled as people whose fault, whether voluntary or involuntary, was that they did not share Marxist views and did not endorse the new authorities. And these very authorities exiled them.¹ The real result of the Philosophy Steamer was the reorganization of the nature of philosophy activity that had two interrelated directions: a) the exclusion from the officially sanctioned public country space of all philosophical trends, except Marxist-Leninist; b) systematic, carried out with varying success, but always contradictory practical measures to rise this very only direction considered true to the state ideology rank² (by the way, among these measures, one of the most important was considered to be the compilation of an integral and popular corpus, a kind of catechism, a correct understanding of the correct philosophy). The Politburo resolution dated May 12, 1988 turned the movement in the opposite direction: it was the beginning of shift away from Marxism monopoly in the country, and eventually from the state ideology in general. It actually lifted the ban on those names and works on which it was imposed in 1922.

The first, most obvious and important consequence of it was the newly found philosophical pluralism of public life in Russia. This meant that the experiment result was negative. But it seems that this is the case when a negative result takes a special value.

2. Even at the end of Soviet power, as the ideological pressure were weakened, philosophical doctrines were formed in the country that fell out of its official canon and nevertheless became points of public intellectual attraction. It is enough to mention the names of outstanding thinkers A. F. Losev, M. M. Bakhtin, methodologist G. P. Shechedrovitsky. As the Russian philosophy of the Silver Age has been 'rehabilitated' their own associations were formed quickly and spontaneously around the names and doctrines of many of its outstanding representatives, V. V. Rozanov, P. A. Florensky, N. A. Berdyaev, L. Shestov and others.

I must say especially about the return of Soviet philosophers who were expelled in the 70s, among them, first of all, about the unique Russian thinker Alexander Alexandrovich Zinoviev, whose 100th anniversary we celebrated last year at the state level as a national event. In recent years, the domestic humanitarian environment has been replenished with new socially significant philosophical ideas and names claiming their own philosophical concepts: V. V. Bibikhin, V. A. Podoroga, V. S. Stepin, S. S. Khoruzhiy, etc. In a word, the modern philosophical horizon is colorful and multicolor.

Pluralism as an ideological multidirectionality of philosophical systems and doctrines is the normal state of philosophy, which is a product of free thought; it (at least its possibility) is a condition for a healthy mental atmosphere. There is no philosophy in general, it is always an author's work. Speaking about philosophy, we always specify whose

express their ideas, and often criticize the existing regime" (*Главацкий М. Е. Оп. cit. C. 24*).

¹ Here is an excerpt from Berdyaev's interrogation: "Question. Tell please, citizen Berdyaev, what are your views on the Soviet power structure and on the proletarian state system. Answer. According to my convictions, I cannot take a class standpoint and equally consider the ideology of the nobility, the ideology of the peasantry, the ideology of the proletariat, and the ideology of the bourgeoisie to be narrow, limited and self-serving" (*Главацкий М. Е. Оп. cit. C. 166–167*).

² In more detail about this, see: *Гусейнов А. А. Философия и общество. К 100-летию Института философии РАН // Вестник РАН. 2021. Т. 91, № 8. С. 779–793.*

philosophy it is – Descartes, Kant's, Chernyshevsky's, Marx's, etc. Hence – pluralism as its standard.

But it (pluralism) is a problem for philosophy. Philosophy is not only names and schools, it is also the self-consciousness of society, the expression of the spirit of times, of the epoch. It, especially as the purest product of the mind, is created by individuals, living individuals, not by its content it embraces the existence of people and the world in its most general form, in their first principles. This means that philosophy expresses the civilizational perspective of the people, their ability to orient themselves in the family of other peoples. Thus, Russian philosophy has always been concerned with the question of the ideal image of Russia, its place in history. In this aspect, in an effort to express the spirit of the epoch, time, the spirit of their society, their people, each philosophy strives to become their common denominator, a form of social consciousness that binds the conscious activity of people. Every society and every nation develops its own philosophy as they rise to the level of their own vision of historical development. Also the very state of philosophy, as Descartes wisely noted, is a sign of their civilization.

The national idea of philosophy can be difficult to reconcile with the pluralism of philosophical doctrines. The issue is not solved by creating social conditions so that each of the philosophical doctrines can develop freely within its own school and its followers. Some kind of solution is required, by which the pluralism of philosophical doctrines itself would be a necessary form of philosophical self-consciousness of society, at least, would not become an obstacle to this. Pluralism of philosophical doctrines (interests, schools) can exist in different forms. It can exist as a simple variety of philosophical doctrines when they are just side by side, are nearby. It may remain a superficial phenomenon or even become a source of loss of mental independence. But the pluralism of philosophical doctrines can also be their diversity within a single one: this happens when they represent different answers to the same general questions that concern the whole society, all its thinking representatives. In this case, philosophical doctrines turn out to be internally interconnected by those common themes and problems that are of interest to society as a whole, and not only for supporters of a particular doctrine. These common themes and problems are set not by philosophy, but by the history of the people themselves, its critical landmarks, major social events such as reforms, wars, the change of elites – events that unite large masses of people into certain groups (parties), sharpen reflections on the future. They are formulated by politicians, thought leaders, people authorized to speak on behalf of the state, to give people a certain course of action. Philosophy also finds these common themes and problems that concern people and society, and they find their expression and reflection in it, are translated into its 'bird' language, receive a diverse conceptual embodiment and create a new field of ideas. Thus, the pluralism of philosophical doctrines becomes a single polemical space, a kind of national round table.

3. Then finally we have a few conclusions about what we can learn from experience of the Philosophy Steamer.

The first conclusion concerns the common and different between philosophy and ideology.

Philosophy and ideology objectively have something in common: both are forms of consciousness that answer the

question of the fundamental principles of conscious human activity.

There are also differences between philosophy and ideology that in their significance of the essential characteristics of each of them are revealed precisely when they are understood as differences. They come down to two important points.

A) The subject of philosophy is every living intelligent individual, since he strives to live intelligently; the subject of ideology are large groups (classes) of people, since they strive to arrange intelligently their common (joint) life.

B) Philosophy in society as a professional occupation always exists in the plural; philosophers, since they themselves are living intelligent individuals, offer each their own understanding of the issue they are dealing with, arguing and publicly presenting it as the best, and therefore they are similar in this respect to such masters of their craft as, for example, jewelers and poets; ideology, on the contrary, always assumes the singular, since it is designed to ensure the unity of action of a large number of people, so there cannot be many of it, as there cannot be, for example, many emperors in the empire, generals in the army, leaders in an institution.

The second conclusion: this experience reveals the temptations inherent in philosophy and ideology.

Based on objectively determined coincidences and differences between philosophy and ideology as two forms of social consciousness, they cannot but reach out to each other and not just reach out, but not encroach on the sovereignty of the other, on its substitution. Each philosophy, in its content definiteness, claims to consider itself the only true one. Even when it recognizes itself as one of the skeptical (anti-dogmatic) versions, it presents this skepticism itself as a universal doctrine. In this sense, it seeks to become an ideology for all people. Plato's utopian experience described by him in the "State" and "Laws", can be considered the eternal temptation of philosophy. Ideology in its modern secular version, which, in fact, it gained together with its name after the Great French Revolution, represents an irrational-rational construction where the driving irra-

tional core is hidden deep behind a rational shell. And to the extent that, along with rhetorical, aesthetic and other points, ideology uses the arsenal of rational cognition, namely, formulates the value principles of collective consciousness and gives its content a strict formal and logical form, it inevitably appeals to philosophy. The desire to become a philosophy is the temptation of ideology.

The third conclusion: following these temptations is destructive for both philosophy and ideology. Soviet society, taken from the beginning of its heroic development to its catastrophic destruction, can be considered a colossal experiment carried out on the basis of and in accordance with the philosophy of Marx and Engels, the supporter of which was the Communist Party that won the Russian Revolution of 1917: this philosophy was considered by this party to be the only scientific, absorbing everything valuable that humanity has accumulated in philosophy. The task was to build the most advanced society, the general goals and contours of which were substantiated in Marxism-Leninism doctrines. To do this, it was necessary to raise this doctrine into a state ideology, so that it would become a program that gathers together and directs the activities of the whole society towards common goals. So Marxism-Leninism, based on the philosophy of dialectical materialism, was elevated to the ideological canon and the common faith of the whole society, supported by the necessary political, educational, institutional and other changes. In particular, it was necessary to clear (by prohibition, expulsion) the public space from all other philosophical theories as from unnecessary garbage. The start of this purification process was the Philosophy Steamer. It was precisely the 'fusion' of philosophy and ideology, the transformation of the former into a mandatory, state-controlled force and the filling of the latter with secular rational content. The negative outcome of this experiment turned out to be destructive both for the national philosophy and for the ideological life of the country. The return to philosophical pluralism and the rejection of state ideology are doubtless proofs of this. The question of how, with what costs, losses and distortions one thing happened, and the other thing is another question.

A. K. Isaev¹

THE GLOBAL SITUATION AND CURRENT CHALLENGES OF SOCIAL PARTNERSHIP IN RUSSIA

Today, in the international arena, there is actually a world war between the Western Bloc and the emerging bloc of an-

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ti-Western forces. Events in Ukraine are only part of a more global game. The essence of this game is that the Western political bloc has unleashed a war in order to maintain its dominance. Having emerged victorious from the Cold War, the United States of America planned to expand its influence, which it had previously established over half of the world, to the rest of it. And it should be said they have managed a lot in this area.

However, at the beginning of the 21st century, Western analysts noticed serious obstacles in this way – Russia and

Awarded the Order of Merit for the Fatherland IV degree, the Order of Honor, the Order of Friendship, P. A. Stolypin Medal II degree and others. Awarded a Commendation from the President of the Russian Federation, Honorary Diplomas of the Government of the Russian Federation, the State Duma, the Federation Council of the Russian Federation, etc.

China, which increasingly gained strength, pursuing own independent policy.

Western experts proceeded from the fact that their military-political bloc had already been formed, rigidly structured, clearly headed by the United States, as well as from the fact that then the West was at the peak of economic power, though gradually started to move down. Without waiting for the forces opposing the Anglo-American hegemony to unite into a single bloc, with their economic potential surpassing the potential of the Western world, the United States and Great Britain decided to be the first to attack us. They used Ukraine as a tool, following the precepts of Sbniew Brzezinski, who repeatedly stated that the best way to weaken Russia was to tear Ukraine away from it and, if possible, oppose it.

Nevertheless, at present, the strategic alliance between Russia and China is being actively formed, covering all spheres of public life. This alliance, unlike the Western one, is not aimed at establishing its own domination, but offers the multipolar world.

Unlike Western politicians, who constantly refer to some rules invented by them, this alliance proposes to consistently adhere to international law, primarily on the Charter of the United Nations. This means that all countries that do not want to put up with the role of semi-colonies of the West will sooner or later move towards this union.

By the very fact of its existence, by switching to settlements not in dollars, but in national currencies, this alliance weakens American dominance and therefore cannot but cause aggression from the United States and its allies.

In fact, a new war has been unleashed against us, which takes place in the economic and ideological spheres, with its hot phase deploying today in Ukraine.

Since ancient times, people have believed that at any war two main strategies – crushing or starvation are possible. Neither party to the war can resort to crushing tactics, as modern nuclear potential presupposes the opportunity of mutual destruction.

This means that the war against us will be waged by the method of starvation, i. e. the struggle will be protracted. But, for speeding up the process, our enemies can use as a means of struggle organization of the revolution in our rear.

In this situation, the trade union movement of Russia adheres to the patriotic positions, actively fights for our country's victory in the tough confrontation with the West. The trade unions help participants of the special military operation and their family members, collect humanitarian aid for residents of new territories, promote integration of the new regions into the Russian social space. It is difficult to overestimate the trade unions' role in maintaining social peace, supporting employees of defense enterprises and other industries, who work for the victory.

But in current conditions, the trade unions of Russia face at least three more strategic tasks.

Firstly, today, in the West, workers are increasingly dissatisfied with economic policy, including the policy of sanctions, which painfully affects not only us, but also their own countries' economies. Here, our trade unions should recall traditions of international solidarity, the experience of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (VCSPC), and become the main "bridge" between Russia's civil society and the protest movement in the West. In this, society and

the state should provide all possible assistance to the trade unions.

Secondly, in order to win, our society must become ideologically motivated, develop the clear, accurate, understandable ideology shared by everyone, which differs from the ideology of domination of financial capital and neocolonialism, to be adhered to by the West not in words, but in practice. In this case, the significant role can be played by the trade union movement, which has its own ideology based on the principles of patriotism, social solidarity, respect for the man of labour, and on the belief that productive capital should prevail over financial one. If earlier the trade union movement set the task of spreading its ideology among its own active members, today it must broadcast these values to the whole society and participate in creation of the new common ideology of the Russian people.

Thirdly, as mentioned above, our opponents will certainly try to use their favorite tactic – to organize the revolution in our rear. For this purpose, they will try to take advantage of citizens' discontent in any field and support pseudo-social and pseudo-economic movements aimed at loosening the social state system and undermining the people's unity, as happened in Poland in the 80s.

In this situation, mass traditional trade unions adhering to patriotic positions and embedded in the system of social partnership, should assume the role of the main tool of society for legitimate resolution of social conflicts.

To do this, we must provide the trade unions with additional opportunities.

Today, the most important tool of trade union activity is conclusion of collective contracts and agreements, in which employees and employers agree on working conditions, payment and social protection measures. However, many employers do not participate in the unions and therefore evade from implementation of sectoral and territorial agreements. Today, it is enough for them to send the reasoned refusal to the appropriate authority. I consider it necessary to amend the labour legislation, making the agreement binding on all enterprises of the industry or the region, if it is signed by the trade unions and employers representing the majority of workers and the majority of enterprises in the region or in the industry.

The economy develops, new areas of employment emerge, for example, platform employment. Today, millions of people work via various digital platforms: couriers, taxi drivers, programmers, representatives of other professions and specialties. Regulation in this segment is urgently needed, because we have repeatedly witnessed strikes of platform-employed workers and conflicts between them and platform operators. Importance of the regulation is also understood by the operators themselves. They are ready to create their own unions and enter into negotiations with unions of platform-employed workers.

Therefore, it is necessary to adopt a law regulating features of platform employment as soon as possible. We have agreed with the parties to the social partnership that we will prepare this document in the near future.

I would like to note that today, there is a discussion between the parties of the social partnership about the nature of platform employment: trade unions refer it to labour relations, and employers – to civil law. In my opinion, the truth is somewhere in the middle: this is a new form of re-

lations in the labour market, which undoubtedly contains signs of both.

On the one hand, platform operators act to a large extent as employers in relation to platform-employed workers: the operators determine their working conditions, put forward disciplinary requirements to them, often provide them with means of labor: vehicles, uniforms, backpacks, bags, etc. On the other hand, platform employment means relationship of three parties, which is unusual for employment relations. The customer acts as a third party. Formally, the platform operator does not pay salary to platform-employed workers, but takes an intermediary percentage from them for organizing their interaction with clients. So, I believe that the scientific dispute about the nature of the relations (whether these are labour relations or civil-law regulated ones) could be postponed, but it is impossible to delay introduction of norms regulating platform employment, which will allow resolving emerging conflicts in a civilized manner.

Undoubtedly, platform-employed workers should get the right to form their own unions, including trade unions.

It would also be the right measure to establish the council of digital platform operators, which could determine the general working conditions.

And, of course, the legislation should clearly specify that the agreements between these two parties should in no case go to harm a third party – the customer, which is not represented in negotiations between them.

As for the law “On Employment of the Population in the Russian Federation”, in March, the State Duma adopted the new draft law in the first reading. Four of the five factions yeasaid. One faction, “Fair Russia”, abstained. However, no one spoke out against the concept of our draft law. I think this is a very good result for the first reading.

Let me remind you that we have been preparing this draft law for over a year, with direct participation of the parties to the social partnership – the Government, employers’ unions and trade unions. Some of their proposals were not taken into account in the first-reading revision. Moreover, disagreements on certain points have remained. Therefore, we decided to discuss in detail the remaining issues when preparing the document for the second reading and fixed it in the Resolution of the State Duma.

We have agreed to clarify some of the concepts to be used in the draft law. It will also be needed to additionally work out the procedure for recognizing citizens as unemployed, as well as the grounds for de-registering them in employment centers.

Besides, we will pay more attention to employment of people with disabilities. In a number of issues, we have already met interests of the public organizations of the disabled, strengthening their participation in the quota of jobs and providing for the opportunity to rent these jobs within the established quota. But in their opinion, we have given too many powers to constituent entities of the Federation in matters of quotas, which will result in infringing rights of disabled people in a number of regions. We will once again discuss in detail this matter with, inter alia, organizations of the disabled people.

Moreover, we are going to clarify the list of measures aimed at supporting employers maintaining current jobs and creating new ones. Now this is stated in the draft law, but employers require to specify these issues.

It is also necessary to optimize the amount of data to be provided by employers to employment services. And, finally, we must include in our draft law norms related to private employment agencies: since they exist and operate in the labour market, it is required to delineate powers with the state employment service and define the framework, in which they can operate.

Another issue we plan to discuss is what to link the minimum and maximum amounts of unemployment benefits to – the minimum wage or the subsistence minimum. This issue has become especially controversial after the President in his Address to the Federal Assembly has set the task of raising the minimum wage at a pace faster than inflation.

Fulfillment of this task is extremely important. We often see how public attention focuses on issues of increasing benefits and pensions, but both directly depend on wages. It should also be remembered that the higher employees’ wages, the more opportunities to eliminate social problems the budget has, because Income Tax is the key source of financing of the public sector. Thus, fulfillment of the task set by the President on the minimum wage will not only increase wages, but also solve a number of other social problems.

Other tasks set by the President in the Address are also extremely important in context of the special military operation (SVO).

Firstly, it is establishment of the state fund for helping veterans of the SVO and the families of deceased soldiers. We see that many people returning from the front or those who have lost their breadwinners there need psychological support, medical care, assistance in solving everyday problems. Today, they need to apply to different authorities for each of these issues. The fund will allow citizens to receive assistance in a “single window” mode. And if at first the fund will work for the SVO participants and the families of the SVO deceased soldiers, then, in future, according to the President, its activities will be able to be extended to other combat veterans.

Secondly, Vladimir Putin said that over the past years, we had taken many measures aimed at supporting families with children. But we understand that, apart from maternity capital, which is of universal nature, these measures were mainly focused on supporting low-income citizens. Now the head of the state has proposed the mechanism for expanding tax deductions. This is direct financial support for families, regardless of their income level.

Separately, the President focused on social assistance to people working in the military-industrial complex. We are used to the fact that the defense industry acts as an economic locomotive for many industries: various civilian enterprises are loaded through defense orders, the latest developments in the defense industry are picked up by other industries. Vladimir Putin actually proposed to make the defense industry also a locomotive for establishment of new social technologies. It is about establishment of special social packages for the industry workers, as well as construction of rental housing for them at the expense of state subsidies. I would like to note that the lack of social support for people going to work to another region and their lack of rental housing in the new place have always been serious constraining factors for internal labour migration. Construction of rental housing and introduction of social packages, first in the defense industry, and then in other industries, will contribute to solving the problems

met by qualified specialists when moving from one region to another.

Finally, in the Address, the President essentially presented the concept of new industrial policy, which involves not only economic measures, such as industrial mortgages, but also social changes, including restructuring the education system, which consists of phasing out of the Bologna system, and restoring the best elements of the Soviet higher school, considering the experience of recent decades.

I am sure that we will be able to solve all these social tasks quickly and in full.

Another important for us issue is helping citizens find employment.

On September 1, 2022, our party and the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of the Russian Federation launched a new party project “My Career with the United Russia”. At first, it was implemented in five pilot regions – in the Kaluga, Lipetsk and Ryazan Regions, in the Kamchatka Krai and the Udmurt Republic.

On December 13, 2022, the meeting was held at the venue of the United Russia party, chaired by Dmitry Medvedev, at which it was decided to extend the project to all regions of our country. Since 2023, the project “My Career with the United Russia” has become all-Russian.

Within the project, special career centers have been organized on the base of public reception rooms and public support headquarters. There, employees of the regional executive committees of the party, who have undergone preliminary training, help visitors register on the portal “Work of Russia” and get access to services of employment centers.

In framework of the project, hundreds of various mass events are held to assist citizens in finding jobs and career guidance, as well. In March 2023 alone, about 500 events were held within the project, with participation over 31 thousand people, over 1,300 citizens to be employed.

There are job fairs where employers and potential job seekers can communicate with each other directly.

Professional tours and excursions for young people to regional enterprises are organized. There, senior school students and graduates get acquainted with working conditions at the factories, learn about the most popular professions.

There are thematic meetings of deputies, heads of enterprises, businessmen, representatives of employment centers with students, where young people get acquainted with the basics of business, learn how to make a CV and successfully pass the interview, etc. Such events will definitely be continued.

Recently, new forms of project implementation have been emerging, namely: production of television broadcasts and informational videos, webinars on employment and the use of resources of the Work in Russia platform.

It is also very important for us to keep our subprojects active. For example, the special subproject dedicated to women’s employment. In framework of this subproject, in particular, we actively assist young mothers, whose maternity leave is over, to restore their work skills and adapt.

Another important for us issue is supporting the SVO participants and their family members. In a number of regions, training seminars for women, whose businessman husbands have gone to the front and left their businesses on them, are held. In framework of our project, such women receive consultations from business representatives, economists, financiers, accountants, psychologists. Moreover, there are cases when wives of mobilized citizens were able to retrain or immediately find a job due to our project. But we instruct our colleagues in the regions that we do not have to wait for the SVO participants’ relatives to come to us for support, we should go to them ourselves and find out if they need our help in finding a job.

Another issue we pay special attention to is employment of forced migrants, those who had to leave the territory of the new Russian regions because of ongoing hostilities there. In some regions, in temporary accommodation facilities for forced migrants, vocational consulting is carried out. Besides, due to our project, over 100 people from the DPR, mostly former workers of Azovstal, were employed at the Vyksa Metallurgical Plant in the Nizhny Novgorod Region. Every one of them is provided with official housing and the social package.

Within the project, with providing assistance to citizens, we simultaneously continue to work at the block of laws related to employment regulation. We have received a large number of proposals from colleagues implementing our project in different regions, including such an important topic as operation of employment services in remote territories. We will definitely consider them when working on the new employment law.

I would also like to note that the Young Guard of the United Russia has joined our project. We have identified five federal subjects (Omsk Region, Sakhalin Region, Udmurt Republic, Republic of Kalmykia, Nizhny Novgorod Region), in which our youth organization will assist senior students of higher and secondary specialized educational institutions in finding employment by inviting young people to meetings with potential employers collaborating with our project. If this form of work is successful in the five pilot regions, we will extend it to the whole of Russia.

I hope that our partners – the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection, Rostrud and the governors – will also provide all possible assistance to the project implementation on an ongoing basis.

O. G. Karpovich¹

RUSSIA'S ROLE IN ASSERTION TRADITIONAL SPIRITUAL AND MORAL VALUES: NOW IS THE TIME TO ACT²

Today, we can state a systemic crisis between traditional civilizational values and the values of the neoliberal globalizing world, which is based on the contradiction between two types of civilizational development – secular-humanistic and religious-traditional.

Spiritual and moral values have been one of the foundations of the development of Russian statehood throughout the history of our country. The problems of forming, assertion and promoting traditional spiritual and moral values, both on the domestic political track and within international relations, are currently one of the hottest topics on the political agenda.

Speaking about the ideological scope of the ‘traditional values’ concept, we can note that in a broad sense, traditional values are a certain set of principles and rules that have come from the depths of centuries and have formed a certain “correct” form of social behavior and interaction, where, according to I. Kant, “a will is determined by morality.”³ Thus, a jurisprudence science supports that one of the sources of law is tradition, which in this case acts as a kind of public relations regulator. In a narrower sense, traditional values are also a set of the same principles and rules, but unique ones for each state and determined through the influence of ideology, culture, religion, political regime, etc.

Currently, traditional values are usually understood as a kind of matrix, where the human dignity, human rights and freedoms, patriotism, citizenship, service to homeland and responsibility for its fate, high moral ideals, strong family, creative labor, priority of the spiritual over the material, humanism, mercy, justice, collectivism, mutual assistance and mutual respect, historic memory, and continuity of generations. This is exactly the definition we can find in the draft “The Fundamentals of State Policy for the Preservation and Strengthening of Traditional Russian Spiritual and Moral Values”.⁴

A similar formulation, as rightly noted by the Russian researcher I. I. Gorlova: “...in general reflects the established approach to traditional values as intended to prevent

the disunity of society and preserve the unity of a multinational country.”⁵

Historically in Russia, the protection of traditional values has been viewed as a tool for promoting and protecting Russian interests in international relations, including by protecting the interests and rights of Orthodox Christians around the world, where after the fall of Byzantium it was the Moscow Tsardom, and later the Russian Empire positioned itself as the main defender of the traditional values of Christianity. The idea of protecting Slavic peoples in Europe, Orthodox Christians in the spirit of “fraternal help” was reflected in specific historic events.

Considering the historical narratives of traditional values in Russia, we are talking about the natural process of their formation within the established cultural and political community that unites many different peoples of different faiths. The family, along with self-restraint and patriotism, was one of the foundations of society lifestyle pattern, also as the sacrament of marriage as the union of one man and one woman, the family spiritual life expressed in regular visits to religious institutions, observance of religious rites, veneration of God, commandments, and elders. It should be noted that in all religious and cultural traditions, family, childbearing, and upbringing of the younger generation were one of the fundamental concepts, around which values and relationships of members of society were formed, regardless of social organization. Throughout Russian history, spiritual and moral values have been the solid foundation of the Russian state.

For the first time in the Russian political discourse, it was at the state level that the ‘traditional values’ category was voiced in 2012 within V. V. Putin’s program article “Russia: the National Question”, where the values that are “common to all traditional religions of Russia” were outlined.⁶

In the text of the Address to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, announced by the President at the end of 2013, the ‘traditional values’ category takes on clearer outlines in the form of “a thousand-year history”, “the spiritual and moral foundations of the civilization of each people”, and includes the values of “genuine human life, including religious life, not only material life, but also spiritual.”⁷

And today, Russian President V. V. Putin notes the need to defend and assert traditional values all over the world, where in some countries this has been forgotten.⁸ Ideologi-

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² The report was prepared on the basis of the article: *Карпович О. Г., Смагина Л. А.* Концепция традиционных духовно-нравственных ценностей в международных отношениях: российский подход // *Международная жизнь*. 2023. № 1. С. 54–65.

³ *Соловьев Э. Ю.* Критика практического разума // *Новая философская энциклопедия / Ин-т философии РАН; Нац. общ.-науч. фонд. 2-е изд., испр. и доп. М.: Мысль, 2010.*

⁴ Духовно-нравственные ценности России // *Стратегия 24*. URL: <https://strategy24.ru/rf/projects/osnovy-gosudarstvennoy-politiki-po-sokhraneniyyu-i-ukrepleniyu-traditsionnykh-rossiyskikh-dukhovnonravstvennykh-tsennoy> (accessed: 31.08.2022).

⁵ *Горлова И. И.* Традиционные духовно-нравственные ценности в нормативно-правовых документах Российской Федерации: состояние и пути совершенствования // *Культурологический журнал*. 2021. № 2 (44). URL: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/traditsionnye-duhovno-nravstvennyye-tsennosti-v-normativno-pravovykh-dokumentah-rossiyskoy-federatsii-sostoyanie-i-puti> (accessed: 31.08.2022).

⁶ *Путин В. В.* Россия: национальный вопрос // *Этнодиалоги*. 2012. № 1 (38). URL: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/rossiya-natsionalnyy-vopros-4> (accessed: 31.08.2022).

⁷ Традиционные ценности — идеологическое оружие современной России // *Rambler.ru*. URL: https://news.rambler.ru/other/39596481-traditsionnye-tsennosti-ideologicheskoe-oruzhie-sovremennoy-rossii/?utm_source=copyspreading&utm_medium=social (accessed: 31.08.2022).

⁸ Послание Президента В. В. Путина Федеральному собранию РФ. 21 апреля 2021 г. // Президент России: [website]. URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/65418> (accessed: 31.08.2022).

cally close to Russian traditional values, conservative ideas of the countries of the Christian (Catholic) West currently tend to be erased from the socio-political discourse, being recognized as marginal and inconsistent with the 'progressive' neoliberal agenda.

In the modern world, the so-called 'collective West' considers traditional values using a secular-humanistic approach to civilizational development, in which they are given oblivion along with traditional society and the state. At that, to accelerate the blurring of the concept of gender, family and marriage values, programs are being implemented to promote LGBT rights and spread the ideas of radical feminism.

Thus, under the auspices of the Administration of US Presidents D. Biden, acts were adopted aimed at protecting and promoting the rights and interests of sexual minorities around the world.¹ In Germany, the concept of promoting the LGBT community is also becoming one of the conceptual directions of foreign policy. At that, citizens, scientists, journalists, artists, religious and public figures and politicians who disagree with this approach experience enormous pressure and discrimination, in some cases reaching the so-called 'cancel culture'.²

At another point, Russia advocates, considering traditional values as one of the fundamental markers of civilizational and national identity. Modern Russia is one of the few modern states, where narratives of traditional values are reflected in normative legal acts, including in the higher order one – the Constitution.

If in the Western world, we can observe the process of erasing traditional values not only from public consciousness, but also from various documents, then in Russia, there is a reverse trend, which is most clearly visible on the example of the adopted amendments to the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

Thus, definitions were included in the main law of the country, consolidating the institution of marriage as the union of one man and one woman, preserving the heritage and ideals of ancestors, historically formed state unity, and faith in God. The rules adopted as part of the relevant amendments to the Constitution reflect the basic values of the tradition-based approach and are based on historically established moral principles, and reflect the basic values of the absolute majority of Russian society. It can be stated with confidence that the topics, related to the support of the traditional family, spirituality, motherhood, fatherhood, are penetrating deeper into the political discourse of modern Russia.

In addition, the Russian legal field has acts prohibiting the promotion of homosexuality among minors and the dissemination of relevant information, and a number of international treaties and conventions regulating the legal status of the LGBT community have not been signed or ratified by the Russian Federation.

Traditional spiritual and moral values are also reflected in a number of conceptual documents of strategic planning, namely:

¹ Обама объявил защиту прав сексуальных меньшинств приоритетом внешней политики США // Интерфакс : [website]. URL: <https://www.interfax.ru/russia/220625> (accessed: 31.03.2023).

² Васильева М. А. Культура отмены в современном обществе // Вести научных достижений. 2020. № 10. URL: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/kultura-otmeny-v-sovremennom-obschestve> (accessed: 01.03.2023).

– The Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation (2023);

– The Concept of Humanitarian Policy of the Russian Federation Abroad (2022);

– Russia's National Security Strategy (2021);

– Information Society Development Strategy (2017);

– The Strategy of Development of Education in the Russian Federation for the Period up to 2025 (2015);

– The Strategy of the State Cultural Policy for the Period up to 2030 (2016).

The variety of documents, which engage with the concept of 'traditional values' to one extent or another, indicates a conceptual understanding of the need for systematic work, the activities of relevant authorities, and civil society institutions to form an appropriate pedagogic, educational, and cultural policy in the country in general.

Despite the rather pronounced trend that we discussed above, a number of actors of the domestic political spectrum, primarily the so-called representatives of the 'non-systemic opposition', persons who perform foreign agent functions, take a frankly pro-Western position formed by overseas and Western European curators; and continue to focus on the need to promote the ideas of spiritual secularization, discrediting traditional religious confessions expressed in the promotion of LGBT values, the change of socio-cultural stereotype of behavior, gender diversity, the ideas of radical feminism, sexprosvet (sexual education), the legalization of prostitution, the inculcation of abortion, consumption cult development, by positioning these in the form of a pattern of progressive European values.

At that, Russia's assertion of traditional values, both in foreign policy and within the country, is positioned by such actors as an archaic vestige, a rollback to the totalitarian past, or analogies are drawn with the political regimes of a number of Arab states.³

Realizing that such ideas do not directly find understanding and support in Russian society, as evidenced by various sociological studies⁴, agents of Western influence, among whom there are not only politicians, but also individual figures of culture, art, public figures, video bloggers, use soft power tools, promoting such an agenda through mass culture, education sphere, and pseudoscientific research.

Thus, there is a latent ideological and psychological impact on the minds of Russian youth and society as a whole, consisting in the imposition of behavioral stereotypes of denial of state patriotism, service to the homeland, procreation, selfishness, immorality and permissiveness that are historically alien to them. Such activities targeted at replacing moral guidelines in Russian society, primarily in the youth environment, should be considered as one of the main threats to public and social security.

Realizing these risks in terms of the demographic situation in modern Russia, with its low birth rate, at various venues and round tables, politicians and public figures demand to ban the propaganda of not only homosexuality, but also transsexualism, abortion, the child-free movement,

³ Проект Минкультуры разбередил «пятую колонну» // Царьград. URL: https://tsargrad.tv/articles/proekt-minkultury-razberedil-pjatuju-kolonnu_486969 (accessed: 31.08.2022).

⁴ See, for example: Отношение россиян к ЛГБТ // Левада-Центр. URL: <https://www.levada.ru/2021/10/15/otnoshenie-rossiyan-k-lgbt-lyudyam/> (accessed: 01.09.2022).

and other behavior that affects the consciousness of the oncoming generation and ultimately as a result, the birth rate.

In this regard, it seems obvious to develop mechanisms to counteract the erasing of traditional spiritual and moral values in Russian society, primarily in the youth environment. After all, a conniving attitude to this problem inevitably leads to a weakening of the unity of the multinational people of the Russian Federation, which means a weakening of Russian statehood.

The unprecedented international pressure that the Russian Federation is currently under, as well as the ideologemes of the Special Military Operation in Ukraine based on values such as service to the fatherland, patriotism, mutual assistance, justice, have actualized the public discourse around values related to state patriotism. The strategy of promoting spiritual and moral values and guidelines in foreign policy that will contribute to the formation of a new, just world order, dispute resolution and conflict prevention, has been enshrined in the new edition of the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation in 2023. This was done in a timely manner.

In the modern conditions of the development of international political processes, the religious- and tradition-based approach grounded on traditional spiritual and moral values that is currently distinctive for both Russia and Russian society, can become a systemic determinant of modernization and a factor of global competitive advantage in the international arena.

Russia's assertion of traditional values in the international arena has become one of the stumbling blocks in international relations between Russia and the West. The second half of the 20th century is characterized as the time of the emergence in Western Europe of the ideological formation of tendencies to discredit religion, primarily Christianity, as the basis of the traditional state and the traditional family. It is this time interval that is associated with the emergence of the theory of overpopulation of the earth and the need to regulate quantitative indicators of population in the world. Also, the ideas of political globalism related to the restriction of national state interests, state sovereignty, the transfer of part of state functions and powers to supra-national and non-governmental bodies to make consolidated decisions based on certain 'common interests' are being significantly developed.

With the neoliberal conception of 'world politics' formulated by the American international scholar J. Rosenau, the main actors, along with states, are numerous non-state actors entering into relations with each other that have a completely different nature than interstate relations. At that, the actor interaction is formed regardless of the states and is beyond the control of their central authorities.¹ Declining role of state institutions in political governance, economic life, and public relations is one of the basic values of liberalism.

The famous Austrian philosopher and economist Friedrich August von Hayek, considering the state functions in his works, put forward theses about the need to transfer a number of such functions to the private sector.²

¹ *Розенау Дж. Н.* Управление без правительства: порядок и изменения в мировой политике. URL: http://www.worldpolit.ru/dl/gwg_rus.doc (accessed: 08.07.2012).

² *Hayek F. A.* Law, Legislation and Liberty: A New Statement of the Liberal Principles of Justice and Political Economy. L. : Routledge, 2012.

Similar ideas were also expressed by the Austro-American economist, philosopher and historian L. von Mises, who spoke about the need to decline the role of state property in favor of private property as the main principle of "organizing human society life"³.

R. C. Cornuel, an American libertarian writer, developed the concept of the so-called 'third sector' that was based on the possibility of more efficient implementation of a number of state functions by non-state structures.⁴

As part of the attack on the traditional state in the Western world, an attack began on the traditional family. In 1952, the International Planned Parenthood Federation was formed, which, declaring the seemingly harmless goals of family planning and preparing parents for childbirth, began actively promoting various mechanisms for restriction of birth.

At the level of state policy, these proposals included the reduction of social benefits and preferences for large families, pregnant women, young mothers, and the ideas of voluntary sterilization, decriminalization, and moral justification of abortions, as well as depathologization of homosexuality were promoted in society. The latter aspect seems to be the most significant in terms of the attack on traditional values, because it is the exclusion of homosexuality from the list of mental diseases and pathologies that has allowed deploying in full the tools of its propaganda as a norm.

As the Russian researcher N. S. Semenova noted, "Of course, same-sex relationships, like other 'non-traditional sexual relations,' have been known for centuries, but until the 20th century no one tried to equate them with the traditional family relationships, presenting them as the same norm. Moreover, in most countries that have legalized same-sex relationships, children are beginning to be accustomed to their 'normality' and 'naturalness.' Parents who try to prevent children from obtaining such knowledge, facing the responsibility from the administrative penalty to criminal penalties."⁵

Today, we can observe the implementation of such an approach in the 'progressive' Western world in terms of depathologization of bestiality and decriminalization of pedophilia. This is due to the fact that traditional European conservatives openly surrender their positions to the neoliberals, their party ideology is becoming more and more distant from traditionalism. As the Russian researcher M. A. Burda noted, "As an example, we can cite the attitude of conservative parties to the legalization of same-sex marriage, migration policy, the depth of European integration, etc., which does not fundamentally differ from the ideas of the liberal wing."⁶

However, not all European political forces follow within the framework of the paradigm of values set by the Neo-

³ *Мизес Л. фон.* Либерализм в классической традиции / пер. с англ. С. Г. Каменского, Ю. В. Кочетыговой. М. : Начала-Пресс, 1995.

⁴ *Cornuel R. C.* Reclaiming the American Dream: The Role of Private Individuals and Voluntary Associations (Philanthropy and Society). N. Y. : Transaction Publishers, 1993.

⁵ *Семенова Н. С.* Традиционные ценности vs «прав ЛГБТ» в рамках реализации права на образование: международно-правовой подход // Вестник РУДН. Сер. «Юридические науки». 2016. № 4. URL: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/traditsionnye-tsennosti-v-prav-lgbt-v-ramkah-realizatsii-prava-na-obrazovanie-mezhdunarodno-pravovoy-podhod> (accessed: 01.09.2022).

⁶ *Бурда М. А.* Миграционные процессы в Европе и феномен роста влияния правых политических партий // PolitBook. 2017. № 4. С. 123.

liberals. The attack on traditional values carried out in the United States and the European Union also does not find unconditional support in society, which is reflected in the inculcation of a number of political forces that were considered marginal ten years ago.

Taking into account the still existing demand for traditional values in Western society, an empty niche is occupied by European right-wing parties, which are currently the only fighters defending traditional European Christian values. It is also necessary to take into account the exponentially growing Muslim population of Europe that also has a strong traditionalist basis and, in this regard, is very critical of depopulation propaganda.

Even broader groups of society in Eastern European countries (Hungary, Serbia, Poland, Bulgaria) support politicians who are ready to oppose the destruction of their people in this melting pot of modern global Europe. Thus, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Poland refused to ratify the Istanbul Convention, which “teaches gender diversity”. In Poland, more than 80 city councils have signed the “Family Charter”, declaring them an LGBT-free zone.

We can state that the shift away from traditional spiritual and moral values monotonously undermines the previously seemingly unshakable European unity. In such a situation, traditional values, which still remain significant for the Christian states of Southern and Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and their support become an element of constructive and mutually beneficial interaction between Russia and nationally-oriented political forces of European states opposing the secular-humanistic approach of globalism, which makes a hybrid war against modern Russia.

This, in turn, requires the intensification of Russian diplomatic activity, including within the implementation of existing mechanisms of soft power and people’s diplomacy. It is obvious that the anti-Russian hysteria fueled in the West makes it difficult to use formal channels of interaction with political allies in Western countries, but this only actualizes the importance of informal channels.

Modern Russia, which has assumed the role of one of the main defenders of traditional values and the traditional family as their most important component, has a significant potential for coordinating relevant work among all actors sharing this approach.

As we said above, modern globalism opposes not only the traditional state, its political and economic independence, but also opposes the traditional family. It is the family and childbearing that is the basis of sovereign demographic policy, which is one of the key elements of ensuring national security, and therefore preserving state sovereignty.

Speaking about the formal and legal aspect of the implementation of the promotion of the concept of spiritual and moral values in international relations, it is necessary to take the following steps.

Firstly, to conduct a legal analysis of international documents ratified by the Russian Federation for their compliance with the Constitution and to denounce individual provisions or documents in general if they are aimed at promoting the destructive agenda of reducing the birth rate, terminating pregnancy, and promoting non-traditional sexual relations.

Secondly, to initiate the development of international documents (agreements, conventions) on the protection of the family and traditional values, including at the level of

the CIS, the EAEU, and the Union State of Russia and Belarus, as well as BRICS.

Thirdly, to initiate discussion and adoption of international documents protecting the life and rights of a child from the moment of conception, as well as protecting him from sexual assaults and LGBT propaganda.

As part of improving national legislation:

Firstly, to introduce the institute of accreditation (licensing) of the activities of non-profit organizations dealing with issues of demography, migration, inter-gender relations, in order to identify and close organizations engaged in destructive activities aimed at countering traditional values.

Secondly, at the legislative level, further expand measures of social and credit and financial support for large families, young parents, parents with two children, including in the field of educational opportunities on a budgetary basis, additionally protect the legal status of pregnant women and young mothers and fathers in the Labor Code, increase the number of nursery groups in preschool institutions.

Thirdly, to initiate the introduction of the subject “The Basis of Family Culture and Interaction” that is based on traditional spiritual and moral values, into the school curriculum.

As part of the formation of a positive image of a traditional family, a large family and traditional relationships, to ensure:

Firstly, the availability of relevant information content in the media, culture, art, commercials of a traditional family – dad, mom, and several different-sex children.

Secondly, to hold thematic socio-political forums and conferences, the main task of which will be the formation of a positive image of modern Russia as a state actively promoting and protecting traditional spiritual and moral values.

Such events can become a platform for effectively countering the attempts of the “collective West” to isolate Russia, as well as for cooperation with all political forces that share a religious- and tradition-based approach, including in unfriendly countries, focused on combating modern political globalism.

The result of the work of such social and political discussion platforms can be declarations, memoranda, agreements, conventions of various kinds, any formats of declared international cooperation that can influence the promotion of the concept of traditional spiritual and moral values in international relations.

In conclusion, it seems necessary to note that the Ministry of Culture has formulated the goals and objectives of Russia’s state policy “in the sphere of traditional values.” Among them: “to ensure Russia’s moral leadership in international relations as a guardian of traditional universal values” and countering “destructive ideology”. The emphasis is placed on the fact that “the activities of extremist and terrorist organizations, the actions of the United States and its allies, transnational corporations, and foreign non-profit organizations pose a threat to traditional values.” Thus, traditional values act as a means of improving world politics and the crisis economy. During a serious economic crisis, even cynical politicians seek salvation in traditional values, religion and moral foundations and speak of traditional values as a “life ring”, using which a global market economy devoid of morality can float out. This idea is not new for Russia. Russia has long asserted the need to

strengthen moral principles in international relations, seeking to reject double standards. The issue of the possibility of combining traditional values and modern politics in the West and East is already in the focus of progressive Rus-

sian diplomacy, and the task of preserving, strengthening, and promoting traditional spiritual and moral values is becoming of crucial significance to the preservation of civilization as a whole.

A. Kevin¹

UKRAINE: A WAR THAT RUSSIA IS INEVITABLY WINNING

The Russian special military operation in Ukraine – I will call it the Ukraine war for convenience – began on 24 February, 2022, nearly 14 months ago as I write this essay in Canberra, Australia. It falls into two distinct phases, pre- and post- September 2022, when the whole character of the war sharpened and hardened.

For Russia, this war really began nine years ago – with the violent overthrow in February 2014 by a US-supported coup d'état in Maidan Square in Kiev of the elected (in 2010) Yanukovich government of Ukraine. The Maidan coup upset the delicate post-Soviet political balance of the multi-cultural multi-lingual Ukrainian post-Soviet state.

It brought to power fanatical extreme Ukrainian nationalists – sometimes called Ukrainian Nazis, or less provocatively Banderists, after their leader in World War Two, Stefan Bandera. These people's grandparents worked in partnership with German Nazis during the German occupation of Ukraine to try to eliminate non – Ukrainian racial or cultural elements in the population: particularly Jews but also Poles and Russians.

The hard core of Banderists – those who did not flee as displaced persons to US and Canada, and a few to my country Australia – never went away after the second world war. They silently bided their time in Soviet Ukraine until 1991. They became politically active after 1991 in post-Soviet independent Ukraine setting up newspapers, universities like Kiev Mohyla, youth programs etc., to disseminate their nationalist Russia-hating ideology. They are numerically strongest in Western Ukraine, and their cultural capital is the city once known as Lemberg (in German, from the time when it was a major multicultural city in Austro-Hungarian Galicia), or Lvov (as it was known in Russian), or Lvoov (as it was known in Polish) or Lviv as it is known now in Ukrainian. This attractive wealthy city escaped physical damage from bombing during WW2. But its inhabitants suffered violent Banderist purges and pogroms of Jews, Russians and Poles during that war. In its aftermath, the city and region were repopulated with Ukrainians, who were generally Ukrainian speakers.

Stalin prudently left Ukraine to its own devices, hoping that time and postwar reconstruction and prosperity in the greatly enlarged Soviet Ukraine would heal old wounds. This did not happen: the old Banderist ideology sputtered on undercover, carried from generation to generation. The United States and Canada continued to encourage these elements throughout the Soviet and post-Soviet postwar years, through covert action and support of Ukrainian diaspora communities, seeing them as a potential Cold War weapon

against the Soviet Union and then against the Russian Federation and its friends within Ukraine.

Ukraine has historically been the Russian Empire's soft strategic underbelly. Fertile and rich in minerals, with prosperous trading ports on the warm Black Sea, many invaders have coveted its wealth. Kiev in the 10th and 11th centuries was the main centre of Russian Orthodox Christian civilization, until sacked by the Mongols in 1240. Charles XII of Sweden mounted his failed European coalition invasion of Russia in the early C18 through Ukraine, accepting as an ally the nationalist Hetman Ivan Mazepa. The decisive battle in which Tsar Peter's forces defeated the enemy was fought in 1709 at Poltava, southwest of Kharkov. In the 1850s, British French and Turkish forces successfully captured Sevastopol, Russia's key warmwater naval base, after a hard-fought naval and on-land siege. Crimea was allowed to return to Russia, but as a demilitarised port for the next twenty years.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Russian Empire developed and russified the wide rich lands of Ukraine. Kiev, Kharkov, Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk, and Sevastopol became proud Russian cities. Cities like Krivoi Rog, Zaporizhie, Luhansk, Donetsk and Mariupol were important centres of mining, industry and commerce, down through Soviet times.

Imperial Germany recognized the resources and strategic potential of Ukraine. In both world wars, German-led European armies invaded and occupied the whole of Ukraine. In WW1, they encouraged anti-Russian Ukrainian nationalism. After WW1, the Communist-led Soviet Union suppressed this movement. Ukraine became a rich agricultural and industrial heartland of the Soviet Union. Many Soviet Communist leaders were Ukrainian.

Hitler in WW2, after failing to take Moscow by the northern Napoleonic invasion route, mounted successful blitzkrieg warfare across Ukraine and well beyond, as far as Stalingrad on the lower Volga, where his armies were turned back after a horrendous siege. But all of Ukraine suffered under Nazi occupation for at least two years. There was immense physical and social destruction in Ukraine from the Nazi invasion, occupation and Red Army rollback.

The Banderists had collaborated enthusiastically with the Nazis in cruel genocidal crimes against Jews, Russians and Poles, seeing this as their historic opportunity to build a Ukrainian monocultural nation. Despite American CIA covert support to them after the war ended, as a violent resistance movement they petered out.

Ukraine never found post-communist national leaders of real worth after the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991. Its industrial assets were corruptly privatized by rich oligarchs who controlled the national parliament through bribed politicians. Its political leaders – people like Krav-

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chuk, Kuchma, Tymoshenko, Yushchenko, Yanukovich – were unimpressive. However, there was a kind of rough democracy in Kiev. The economy languished for 23 years and its old Soviet heavy industry base stagnated. There was largescale emigration.

By 2010, the two largest party groupings were the Fatherland Party representing the largely rural and Ukrainian-speaking countryside in the west and northwest: and the Party of Regions led by President Yanukovich, representing the more developed and largely Russian-speaking mining, industrial and commercial south and east of the country.

Native Russian speakers were around half of the population. The East and South were the Party of Regions' voting base. Russian was the language used by educated and cultured people. The constitution guaranteed equal language rights to all groups. Most Ukrainian citizens whatever their native language knew some Ukrainian.

Russians thought kindly and in retrospect naively of Ukrainians as their 'little brothers'. There was a lot of tourism and educational and economic exchange and intermarriage. Essentially the two republics were becoming one country, or so the Russians fondly thought. I would compare Scotland in the UK after 1745 or Ireland after the Act of Union in 1801.

All this changed for the worse after the 2014 Maidan coup. American anti-Soviet ideologues like Polish-American Zbigniew Brzezinski and Madeline Albright had seen years earlier the potential for the US to weaken Russia through destabilising Ukraine, drawing on the hateful energies of the Banderist movement. They encouraged these Russia-hating fanatics, in the pre-Maidan period never more than 6% of the Ukrainian population, to infiltrate their nationalist ideas into Ukrainian culture and into major Ukrainian parties and institutions. They plotted and triggered the criminal violence at Maidan that overthrew the elected President Yanukovich who fled the country, narrowly avoiding Banderist death squads who pursued him. The Americans then installed pro-American puppet nationalist leaders: first Yatsenyuk, then Poroshenko, then Zelensky.

Immediately after the Maidan coup, a terrified Russian Crimea seceded from Ukraine by overwhelming popular referendum and rejoined Russia. The referendum was protected by unofficial Russian forces from the Sevastopol naval base and was never recognised by the West. In 1954, sixty years earlier, Soviet leader Khrushchev had foolishly given Crimea to Ukraine, thinking this would bind the two Soviet republics closer together. But Crimea had always resisted Ukrainisation and remained firmly Russian in culture and spirit. I know this from my visit there in 2018. It will never return to Ukraine.

Immediately after the Maidan coup in Feb 2014, the Ukrainian Rada (Parliament) enacted harsh anti-Russian language laws in early 2014, in its bid to reshape Ukraine as a monolingual Ukrainian-speaking nation. There was violent suppression of Russian speakers' language rights in Odessa. 48 demonstrators who took refuge in a trade union building were burnt to death by Banderists as police looked on, an atrocious crime that was never punished.

Two key Eastern provinces, Donetsk and Lugansk, hereinafter referred to collectively as Donbass, rebelled against Kiev and appealed to Moscow for protection as it had protected Crimea. President Poroshenko in May 2014 angrily ordered full-scale military assault against rebel Don-

bass, causing immense suffering there over the next eight years: 14000 dead including many civilians as documented by OSCE observers: 100,000 refugees bombed out of their homes. This major civil war was ignored by the West but not in Russia where it caused public grief and anger.

Putin tried for eight years 2014–2021 through the Minsk diplomatic process to protect the Donbass communities' human rights as Russian speakers while leaving these oblasts within a democratic multicultural Ukraine. The West and Kiev cynically pretended to take these Minsk negotiations seriously. But they never intended to honour them, they were only buying time to rearm Ukraine against Russia.

Meanwhile, the US and NATO trained and equipped the Ukrainian Army and helped Banderists to take control of it, reshaping it as a fanatical anti-Russian army. When Biden came to power in US in 2021, he took the fatal decision to give powerful long-range precision-targeted artillery weapons to Kiev. This meant that by late 2021, Kiev at last had the military means to invade the rebel Donetsk and Lugansk lands. Kiev had heavily fortified the post-2015 frontline just west of Donetsk City and had put its best and most fanatical anti-Russian troops there.

Putin did his best to deter this imminent invasion. He massed over 100,000 Russian forces along the northern Ukraine border, as a deterrent. He made a last-ditch attempt at diplomacy, proposing in late 2021 Ukrainian neutrality and a new all-Europe security settlement based on NATO permanently withdrawing from Russian borders. US and NATO and Kiev sneeringly rejected this out of hand.

Finally, as pre-invasion Ukrainian Army shelling of Donbass cities sharply intensified, Putin on 21 February, 2022 accepted the Donbass republics' desperate declaration of secession from Ukraine and offered them an immediate mutual security treaty with Russia, hoping this would deter Kiev from further attacks on Donbass. It did not. Russian intelligence reported imminent preparations for mass invasion of Russian-protected Donbass. Russia was forced to move pre-emptively, on 24 February, 2022.

It is clear now that US and NATO had manoeuvred Russia into a no-win situation. If Russia had let its allied Donbass fall to Kiev after guaranteeing its security, this would have broken faith, led to mass genocide there, and humiliated and possibly destabilised Putin at home. If Russia used force against Ukraine to defend Donbass, Russia would have to violate Ukrainian national sovereignty: which the West would hypocritically condemn as a so-called 'unprovoked' invasion of a sovereign country.

The Russian government chose the latter, lesser evil. On 24 February, Russia invaded Ukraine on three fronts from north, east and south. With the best Ukrainian forces concentrated just west of Donetsk, Russia initially made large territorial gains elsewhere. Russia came close to taking the cities of Kiev and Kharkov, it retook some of Kiev-occupied Donbass, and it took most of Zaporizhie and Kherson oblasts in the south. By 30 March 2022 Russia occupied almost one fifth of Ukrainian territory. Putin through Israel and Turkey attempted peace talks with Kiev, but US and Britain vetoed this.

Putin's stated war aims were to protect the now independent Donbass provinces and Crimea, and to denazify and demilitarise Ukraine and ensure its future neutrality. For the first six months of the war, Russia fought it very gently. They did not destroy infrastructure or civilian prop-

erty. The Ukrainians took advantage of this restraint by firing from civilian locations. After a month, Russia retreated in March 2022 from areas north of Kiev: the returning Ukrainians wreaked murderous vengeance on local civilian people whom they suspected had collaborated with the Russians. The Bucha massacre was a deliberate mass execution blamed on the retreating Russians. No evidence was ever produced, and circumstantial evidence points to Ukrainian murders of pro-Russian civilians. A few months later, Ukraine retook quite large areas in Kharkov province in the north-east: their only military victory in this war.

In the south, in September 2022, Russia withdrew from Kherson City and areas west of the Dnieper River, to create a shorter more defensible line east of the Dnieper. This time they evacuated most local civilians with them, to avoid more Bucha-style false flag massacres.

In September-October 2022, the character of Russia's war changed completely. By now, large numbers of NATO forces were openly embedded as fighters and advisers in the Ukraine Army. It had become a full-on NATO proxy war, heavily assisted by US satellite surveillance. Ukrainians were now using drone-assisted precision long-range NATO artillery weapons to attack well behind the Russian frontline.

US and UK special services were now assisting Ukraine special services to carry out terrorist sabotage operations in Russian – held parts of Ukraine, in metropolitan Russia, and beyond. Drone attacks, and sabotage or terrorism groups, struck deep into Russian territory.

The many reports of Ukrainian torture and murder of Russian prisoners of war; the Western-assisted sinking by attack drones of the Russian Navy flagship in the Black Sea, the 'Moskva', on 14 April 2022; the audacious murder of daughter Darya of philosopher Alexander Dugin near Moscow on 20 August; the successful sabotage of the Russian-German Nordstream Baltic gas pipelines on 26 September; the terrorist attack on the Kerch Bridge on 8 October – all these events fomented urgent Russian public demands on Putin to take the gloves off, to prosecute the war harder.

In September 2022, Putin responded. A tough new frontline commander, General Surovikin, shortened and stabilised the front. Russia began a sustained campaign of precision missile attacks on Ukraine's key energy infrastructure installations. These have over the past seven months' time reduced the Ukrainian energy grid by an amazing 90%. Key electric transport nodes have been destroyed. The Ukraine economy is essentially crippled. Ukraine survives now on Western life support.

Much happened in Russia in September 2022. A mass mobilisation of 300,000 new forces began, as began a full scale military mass production of tanks, guns, missiles, ammunition and drones. The four partly Russian-occupied oblasts Donetsk, Lugansk, Zaporizhie and Kherson held referendums which voted overwhelmingly to join Russia. They were accepted into the Russian Federation as full new members.

In the central war theatre, Russian technical war-fighting superiority has gradually turned the balance since October 2022. The heavily fortified Ukrainian citadels of Bakhmut and Avdiivka, just west of Donetsk city, became huge killing fields. In battles reminiscent of WW1, Ukrainian forces were ordered by Kiev to cling tenaciously to ground, at huge cost in lives. Most of the initial well-trained

and motivated Ukrainian soldiers there in February 2022 have been killed or wounded. Their ill-trained conscripted replacements are being sent forward and slaughtered in terrible numbers.

Ukraine has since Feb 2022 lost, according to estimates by independent military commentator, retired US Colonel Douglas MacGregor, whose analysis I trust, an estimated 200,000 soldiers killed in action and about 300,000 more permanently incapacitated. Russia – which guards its soldiers' lives more carefully – has taken heavy losses too but nothing like on this scale.

The broad consensus now of informed military observers in the West as well as the East is that Kiev can no longer hope to prevail in this clearly unequal war. The war is draining Ukraine's remaining manpower in Bakhmut despite savage forced conscription. Kiev does not have the strength left to mount viable offensives anywhere else along the front. No amount of re-supply of equipment by US and NATO could change this outcome now. Ukraine has lost the war: the question is only when Kiev and Biden might accept this, and what the final political and territorial outcome might then be?

Ukraine now exists only on Western money and support. Civil society is unravelling. Biden and the war-mongers around him in Washington live in a fantasy world. They want Kiev to keep fighting "to the last Ukrainian" (US Senator Lindsay Graham's words), they hope until the US presidential election in November 2024, a long eighteen months from now. But it is hard to see the Kiev regime surviving militarily or politically until then.

There is in Ukraine a growing despair and a desperate desire just below the surface to end the war which Ukrainians know is draining their lifeblood away. Only ruthless enforced Banderist suppression is holding Ukraine together. Russia just has to maintain its steady offensive pressure along the present frontline, to go on bleeding Ukrainian lives and Western-supplied weaponry, and it will sooner or later prevail. It may or may not mount a spring offensive when the winter mud dries out.

There are increasingly strong voices from the Pope, from China and from leading nations in the global south like India, calling for an immediate ceasefire on the front line as it stands, and Kiev-Moscow negotiations thereafter for a realistic permanent peace. Washington has so far rejected these appeals, but how much longer can it go on exploiting Ukraine's suffering in this unwinnable war? A war that Russia can obviously sustain indefinitely.

China has proposed general principles for peace in accordance with the UN Charter and China has offered to chair direct peace talks between Kiev and Moscow. The US and Kiev will have to accept that Kiev has lost, at the minimum, all those parts of former Ukraine now east of the front line. It may have to give up more territory, depending on when a ceasefire comes. Certainly, Donbass and Lugansk which have suffered so much in these past nine years of war will plead to Moscow to regain their original pre-2014 oblast boundaries.

If Kiev moves early enough towards ceasefire and realistic peace, it might hope to retain Kherson City, Zaporizhie City, and Odessa. It has permanently lost Crimea and all the Azov Sea coast and hinterland.

The Kiev regime may still be too blinded by fanatical anti-Russian hatred yet to see and act on these harsh mili-

tary truths. So this tragic war could continue for some time yet. It has truly taken on the character of a civil war. In the US Civil War, the US South was no less brave and patriotic than the US North. But in the end the South lost because it was outmanned and outgunned by the North. So it will be in the Ukraine war. The US and NATO are getting tired of the war, and tired of Zelensky. The recent whistleblower leaks out of the US indicate that the US military wants the US to stop propping up the Zelensky regime. They will not wait eighteen months for a new President. Will Biden and his cronies listen? Will the Houses of Congress finally show some courage to say No?

Within Russia the war has caused a great simplification and clarification in Russian society, accompanied by and assisted by mass emigration of numbers of Western-influenced liberal intelligentsia. This is comparable in scale to the emigration of intelligentsia after the Russian civil war: it represents a real loss of national talent, but Russia will survive. The technical and business intelligentsia on the whole did not emigrate. They have become more resolute. Even many of the cultural intelligentsia – people like Netrebko and Gergiev – remain resolutely patriotic. Russian morale, social cohesion and military industrial capacity remain strong, and this will continue for as long as is necessary.

Russia will not trust the West again, perhaps for decades. It will be a very cold new Cold War. Military confidence-building contacts will continue out of prudent necessity, but much diplomacy, cultural and sporting contacts will continue to be handicapped by Western political elites' indoctrinated and now ingrained Russophobia.

The impact on Russian relations with China and on Russian foreign policy in general towards the West and global South has been profound especially since September 2022. Russia's relations with China and other key BRICS countries, and with Africa and the Middle East and Asia, continue to grow and prosper as parts of a new UN-based multilateral global economic system. Not good news for US, Europe or Australia which still cling to the familiar but declining US-dominated rules-based trade and currency order. Russia has proved that it has survived futile Western sanctions, through import substitution, and rapidly growing trading and banking relations with China and the global south. Countries like India and in the Middle East are unafraid to defy US secondary sanctions. They are acting as sovereign trading intermediaries. The EU economies are staggering under self-inflicted energy cost wounds. The US dollar is rapidly weakening as a former global reserve currency and the impact on a weakening US economy is starting to show.

I don't see any risk of the war being extended to Poland or to the rest of NATO. Russia will not extend the Ukraine war to these countries. A basic prudence is telling Washington and London that NATO cannot now credibly by conventional warfare oppose determined Russian military pressure if they should widen the war, unless they threaten nuclear war. Fortunately, NATO governments are not ready for such an act of desperation.

In this war, Western information warfare has been massively employed to present false pro-Kiev narratives of this war, which have until recently convinced Western public opinion audiences in general, thereby delaying and impeding a ceasefire and a peaceful final settlement on realistic terms. They have indefinitely extended Ukraine's agony, the ongoing sacrifice of Ukrainian lives and national wealth.

This phase is now drawing towards an end. The Western information war is now so far divorced from reality that even heavily indoctrinated Western elites are starting to question its claims. In Ukraine, the heroic defense by babushkas, young mothers and widows, and invalids, of canonical Ukrainian Orthodox Church monasteries and churches, passively resisting intimidation by Banderist thugs, shows the real courage of decent Ukrainians starting to re-emerge. I pray for a Von Stauffenberg style internal regime coup in Kiev – but successful – before more Ukrainian and Russian lives are lost. But with US and UK covert intelligence continuing to deter organised resistance to the Zelensky puppet regime, the people of Ukraine may continue to suffer under their present violent and cruel regime for a while yet.

The negative impact on Australian foreign and strategic policy over the past fifteen months of war has also been profound. Australia's retreat from Asia to the 'white' Anglo-American laager is being cemented by the bipartisan strengthening of the new AUKUS alliance. Our Asian neighbours are keen to cooperate with China and Russia, the emerging Asian regional great powers, and are bemused at Australia's retreat from Asia. But we stubbornly acquiesce in America shaping Australia as its proxy warrior against China, as a new Ukraine in the Asia-Pacific region: a compliant and trusting ally that can be used, abused and if necessary sacrificed in a possible US war on China. Some in the US seem to be trying to provoke such a war sooner rather than later, as the balance of economic and military power continues to slide away from the US in favour of China.

These are dangerous times.

T. Ya. Khabrieva¹

GLOBAL LEGAL DEVELOPMENT BASED ON EQUAL RIGHTS OF CULTURES

In philosophy, culture is interpreted as the system of supra-biological programs of human ability to live (activity, behavior and communication of people).² In this logic of reasoning, law appears as one of such programs, and its evolution can be considered in the general context of cultural and even civilizational development.

Two alternative strategies of globalization, designated as poly- and monocentric scenarios, include legal aspects. In the first variant, strengthening countries' system communication implies preservation of their state sovereignty and development of agreements on certain adjustments of International Law.³ The second variant is aimed at spreading established legal norms of the globalization leader to all regions of the planet, as which the US leaders have already publicly declared its country.⁴

Currently, there is a trend to transition from the monocivilizational model to the multi-civilizational one of the world order. In this regard, the legal doctrine and practice raise the question of a new concept of correlation of universal and national law⁵, which should be sought in the coordi-

nate system of the universal civilizational project⁶. In many states, including Russia, there is the search for new semantic contents for this concept, which is confirmed by constitutional reforms and the practice of national courts. Thus, in 2015, in its Resolution dated July 14, 2015 No. 21-P, the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation pointed out that "interaction of European and constitutional legal orders is impossible in conditions of subordination, since only dialogue between different legal systems is the base for their proper balance." The Court also determined parameters of formation of the national constitutional identity concept, to basic components of which it attributed intrastate norms on fundamental rights, as well as provisions on foundations of the constitutional system, ensuring these rights.⁷ Now, new revision of Article 79 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation establishes that decisions of interstate bodies adopted on the basis of provisions of international treaties of the Russian Federation in their interpretation, contrary to the Constitution of the Russian Federation, are not subject to be executed in the Russian Federation.

In the global legal development, there happened a reversal in this direction. Hierarchical correlation of universal and national law has been replaced by combination of the all-human, the universal and the local (the polycentric approach based on fundamental equal rights of different cultures and civilizations). Prerequisites for this were growing discrepancy between the statement about the universal nature of the civilizational model developed by one local (European – American) culture, and obvious diversity of vectors of evolution of other local (Russian, Arab-Muslim, Indian, Chinese, etc.) cultures, which formed their own civilizational projects.⁸

This has resulted in identification of the vector of global legal evolution in the logic of the all-human civilizational project. States implement new development strategies, searching for their own sociocultural, national and constitutional identity,⁹ equal rights for cultures. Original concepts

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² See: *Степин В. С.* Идея права как социокультурный феномен // Трансформация парадигмы права в цивилизационном развитии человечества: докл. членов РАН. М., 2019. С. 93.

³ See: *Право и национальные традиции: материалы круглого стола / А. А. Гусейнов, В. С. Степин, А. В. Смирнов, Г. А. Гаджиев, Н. С. Бондарь, Э. Ю. Соловьев, В. М. Межуев, П. Д. Баренбойм, В. В. Лапаева, С. Л. Чижков // Вопросы философии.* 2016. № 12. С. 5–41.

⁴ See: *Хабриева Т. Я.* Конституционная реформа в России: в поисках национальной идентичности // Вестник Российской академии наук. 2020. Т. 90, № 5. С. 403–414.

⁵ See in detail: *Хабриева Т. Я.* Новый концепт соразмерности в конституционном праве: докл. на Междунар. конф. Конституционного Суда РФ «Конституционная идентичность и универсальные ценности: искусство соразмерности», состоявшейся в рамках IX Петерб. междунар. юрид. форума (Санкт-Петербург, 14 мая 2019 г.) // Феде-

ральная палата адвокатов РФ: [website]. URL: <https://fparf.ru/news/fpa/konstitutsionnaya-identichnost-i-universalnye-tsennosti/> (accessed: 23.05.2023).

⁶ See in detail: *Смирнов А. В.* Всечеловеческое vs. общечеловеческое. М., 2019.

⁷ See: Постановление Конституционного Суда РФ от 14 июля 2015 г. № 21-П «По делу о проверке конституционности положений ст. 1 Федерального закона „О ратификации Конвенции о защите прав человека и основных свобод и Протоколов к ней“, пунктов 1 и 2 статьи 32 Федерального закона „О международных договорах Российской Федерации“, частей первой и четвертой статьи 11, пункта 4 части четвертой статьи 392 Гражданского процессуального кодекса РФ, частей первой и четвертой статьи 13, пункта 4 части третьей статьи 311 Арбитражного процессуального кодекса РФ, частей первой и четвертой статьи 15, пункта 4 части первой статьи 350 Кодекса административного судопроизводства РФ и пункта 2 части четвертой статьи 413 Уголовно-процессуального кодекса РФ в связи с запросом группы депутатов Государственной Думы».

⁸ See in detail: *Смирнов А. В.* *Op. cit.*

⁹ The concept "constitutional identity" appeared in Russian Constitutional Law several years ago. It was mentioned (along with the terms "constitutional values" and "constitutionally protected values") in the ruling of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation dated July 14, 2015 No. 21-P "On the case of checking constitutionality of the provisions of Article 1 of the Federal Law "On Ratification of the Convention for Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and Protocols Thereto," Paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 32 of the Federal Law "On International Treaties

of correlation of universal and national values emerge. This, for example, is evidenced by the extensive practice of updating national constitution.¹

Cultural and historical specific features become characteristic of modern constitutions. If dozens of new constitutions of the 1990s era were written in very similar language, reflecting ideas about the final victory of liberal ideology, the constitutional reforms of the 21st century demonstrate the unique surge of national identity. This might be facilitated by unsuccessful results of the new wave of globalization, the crisis of multiculturalism policy, the next cycle of disintegration, regional upheavals like the Arab Spring.

Some countries in the post-Soviet space have amended their constitutions, changing the scale or priority of national values (Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan). For example, the Constitution of the Republic of Armenia (as amended in 2015) emphasizes the fundamental principles of Armenian statehood, recognition of the exclusive mission of the Armenian Apostolic Holy Church “as the national church in the Armenian people’s spiritual life, in development of its national culture and preservation of its national identity” (while guaranteeing the freedom of activity for all religious organizations operating there in accordance with the procedure established by law). The Constitution of Kyrgyzstan (as amended in 2016) states “the firm will to develop and strengthen the Kyrgyz statehood, to protect the state sovereignty and unity of the people, to develop its language and culture.” The Constitution of Kazakhstan (as amended in 2017) lists “eternal” constitutional values in a new way, which are not subject to be changed by subsequent constitutions. These are the state’s independence, unitarity and territorial integrity, the form of government, as well as fundamental principles of the Republic’s activity.

A similar modernization of constitutional texts is also observed in non-CIS countries. Thus, the preamble of the Egyptian Constitution of 2014 indicates “the gifts of Egyptians to humanity”, milestones of the unique Egyptian history, and listing Egyptian society’s goals and values takes several pages.

of the Russian Federation,” Parts 1 and 4 of Article 11, Paragraph 4 of Part 4 of Article 392 of the Civil Procedure Code of the Russian Federation, Parts 1 and 4 of Article 13, Paragraph 4 of Part 3 of Article 311 of the Arbitration Procedure Code of the Russian Federation, Parts 1 and 4 of Article 15, Paragraph 4 of Part 1 of Article 350 of the Administrative Procedure Code of the Russian Federation, and Paragraph 2 of Part 4 of Article 413 of the Criminal Procedure Code of the Russian Federation, because of the group of the State Duma deputies’ request (Collection of Legislation of the Russian Federation. 2015. No. 30. Art. 4658). This concept is historically associated with intensified competition of national, supranational and transnational legal systems and is increasingly used by judicial authorities of other countries (mainly France, Germany and Italy) as part of legal protection of their national constitutional values in context of integration. “National identities of the member States” that “should be respected” are mentioned in Article 4 of the Treaty on the European Union (as amended by the Lisbon Treaty of 2007). Importance of the phenomenon of national constitutional identity and the developed constitutional culture for a particular society is that as the society “matures”, it forms the sustainable and consistent system of fundamental legal principles based on the values recognized by this society. This allows it to further develop comprehensively, and carry out self-adjustment, logically and morally verify improvement of the national legal system, and first and foremost its foundation – the constitution.

¹ See in detail: *Хабриева Т. Я.* Конституционная реформа в современном мире. М., 2016; *Хабриева Т. Я., Чиркин В. Е.* «Цветные революции» и «арабская весна» в конституционном измерении: политолого-юридическое исследование. М., 2018; *Khabrieva T. La réforme constitutionnelle dans le monde contemporain.* P.: Société de législation compare, 2019.

Constitutions of many developed countries consolidate higher values. They reflect priorities of moral and spiritual development of each particular society, raised to the state policy level.

In the Constitution of Italy, nature, the nation’s historical and artistic heritage, social solidarity, freedom, peace and justice, mutual assistance, especially public assistance to the elderly, the disabled and the unemployable, private charity, public benefit, good morals, loyalty to the Republic, discipline and honesty of public servants are designated as values. The Constitution of Spain explicitly lists values considered the highest ones, among others: freedom, justice, equal rights and political pluralism. Herewith, the text of the Constitution fixes the democratic system, the state of law, culture, traditions, language, peace and cooperation with other peoples. In the Bulgarian Constitution, freedom, peace, humanism, equal rights, justice, tolerance are declared the highest values; in the Greek Constitution – respect and protection of the human person, consolidation of peace and justice, development of friendly relations between peoples and states, social and national solidarity of the citizens.

Besides references to the will of Allah and belonging to “the great Arab nation”, in almost all new constitutions of Muslim countries, there are indications of their own traditions.

Modern constitutional reforms are important and interesting because they affect not only the law itself and the country’s legal system. The value-based legal understanding, more profound view of national and constitutional identity, and new concepts of the “multi-level” world legal order are widely strengthening themselves in the world. Taking into account the constitutional values, relations between a person and the state are built.²

The strategic guidelines of the new paradigm of global legal development are accepted by Russia, as well. As the result of the constitutional reform of 2020, the value list in the Basic Law was expanded. The historical origins, spiritual traditions and own ideals of Russian society were more clearly reflected in it. Moreover, configuration of the national legal system dichotomy, the ratio of its openness and protection from external influence by embedding in the Constitution and constitutional legislation a new, but already tested due to the activities of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, the formula of correlation of universal and national legal values, principles and norms has changed.

In the updated Constitution of 1993, a number of socially significant institutions and guidelines received a new sound, which essentially expanded and deepened the value content of the Basic Law. Among them, the following should be highlighted:

– *sociocultural and spiritual values – the basis of national (state) identity and self-identification of the Russian people – the multinational union of equal peoples united by the thousand-year history; continuity in development of the Russian state; historically established state unity; the state (Russian) language as the language of the state-forming people; equal rights for all peoples of Russia; all-Russian cultural identity, culture as the unique common heritage while preserving the cultural identity of peoples, ethno-*

² See: *Зорькин В. Д.* Современный мир, право и Конституция. М., 2010. С. 81.

cultural and linguistic diversity; preserving the memory of the ancestors who gave us ideals and faith in God¹; historical truth and its protection; patriotism; citizenship; honoring the memory of the defenders of the Fatherland; the importance of the feat of the people in the defense of the Fatherland; traditional Russian family values – marriage as the union of a man and a woman; ensuring the priority of decent family education; respect for parents and elders and caring for them; solidarity of generations;

– *values of social (including socioeconomic) development* – sustainable economic growth; advanced scientific and technological development; state policy focused on society; “value-based” attitude to labor and respect for the person of labor; social partnership; public and individual health and formation of the citizens’ culture of responsible attitude to their health; environmental value guidelines – preservation of the country’s natural and biological diversity, ensuring environmental safety, environmental education. Regulation of these provisions aims, inter alia, at establishing optimal balance between individual freedom and the social, public interests;

– *sociopolitical values* – civil peace and harmony in the country; economic, political and social solidarity; development of civil society and support of its institutions, including non-profit organizations; international peace and security, peaceful coexistence of states and peoples. In the Russian Federation, the listed values have not been raised to the level of constitutional regulation before, except for a number of provisions of the foreign policy section of the Constitution of the RSFSR of 1978 (where there is a reference to the Constitution of the USSR);

– *state-legal values* – the principle of succession (legal succession) in relation to the USSR, consolidating the Russian constitutional identity in domestic and international space; the principle of the public authority unity. Since the system of separation of powers, assuming “checks and balances”, is one of the signs of the rule of law and represents a value of the political, state-legal nature, it is possible to state certain changes in this system.

Emphasis has been placed on such values previously enshrined in the Basic Law as sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Russian Federation, entrepreneurship and private initiative, goodness and justice. Systematic interpretation of the norms of the Constitution makes it possible to single out as values the strong, independent state that corresponds to the Russian mental tradition.

Thus, in the new constitutional cycle, the value list of the Basic Law has been replenished with moral guidelines, generally significant political and legal ideals that have become real constitutional features of Russian society and the

¹ As noted by the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, these amendments relate to issues of all-Russian state identity; they are non-political, non-partisan and non-confessional in nature. Russian belief in God does not mean abandoning the secular nature of the state and does not put citizens in the unequal position depending on such faith; it is intended only to emphasize the historically significant sociocultural role of the religious component in development of Russian statehood (see: Заключение Конституционного Суда РФ от 16 марта 2020 г. № 1-3 «О соответствии положениям глав 1, 2 и 9 Конституции Российской Федерации не вступивших в силу положений Закона Российской Федерации о поправке к Конституции Российской Федерации „О совершенствовании регулирования отдельных вопросов организации и функционирования публичной власти“, а также о соответствии Конституции Российской Федерации порядка вступления в силу статьи 1 данного Закона в связи с запросом Президента Российской Федерации» // Российская газета. 2020. № 56).

state. They are historically inherent in the Russian people and form the basis of its “sociocultural code”. Mechanisms of public power are also improved. Russia has developed its own national model of the Constitution, respective with the domestic mentality and new requirements of the country’s national security. It better than before reflects the state-civil identity of Russia, its sociocultural basis, political-legal ideals. This value model considers the accumulated historical experience, practices proven by evolution and priorities realized not only by the authorities, but also by the broad strata of society.²

Values forming the sociocultural core of the Russian mentality have been institutionalized not only in the updated Constitution, but also in official strategic documents. For example, the Strategy of the State National Policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025³ identifies such values as truth and justice, distinctive traditions of the peoples inhabiting Russia and some others. According to Paragraph 11, “the modern Russian state unites the single cultural (civilizational) code based on preservation and development of Russian culture and language, historical and cultural heritage of all the peoples of Russia, which is characterized by a particular desire for truth and justice, respect for original traditions of the peoples inhabiting Russia, and the ability to integrate their best achievements into the single Russian culture.” This results in receipt of another support at the level of the Constitution by Russia’s strategic policy.

In 2020, among the values of social (including socioeconomic) development, which have become the most important guideline and priority of state policy (at the federal and regional levels), scientific and technological progress, as well as science and scientific potential of Russia as its sources and independent values, received constitutional consolidation. As a result, the constitutional and legal basis of Russian science has been significantly expanded.

The Constitution of the Russian Federation essentially establishes the function of the state, which consists in ensuring scientific and technological development (by referring to the subjects of jurisdiction of the Russian Federation) and managing it. The Basic Law provides for this the necessary tools:

– Article 71 – fundamentals of the federal policy (this issue is attributed to the subjects of the Federation for the first time); state regulation, state (federal) programs of scientific and technological development of the Russian Federation (this means the immutability of state funding);

– Article 114 – powers of the Government of the Russian Federation in the field of supporting, preserving and developing the scientific potential of Russia (this is also a novelty);

– Paragraph “m” of Article 71 – an independent area of state activity – “ensuring safety of the individual, society and the state in application of information technologies, digital data turnover.”

The constitutional basis of science consists of not only the four articles of the Constitution of the Russian Federa-

² See: *Хабриева Т. Я.* Право и новые стратегии цивилизационного развития // Хабриева Т. Я., Черногор Н. Н. Будущее права. Наследие академика В. С. Степина и юридическая наука. М., 2020. С. 71.

³ The Strategy was approved by the Edict of the President of the Russian Federation dated December 19, 2012 № 1666 “On the Strategy of the State National Policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025” (СЗ РФ. 2012. № 52. Ст. 7477).

tion, including Article 44, but also other constitutional novelties, which, due to their polyfunctional nature, form “the field of opportunities” and the solid constitutional-legal foundation for development of domestic science. Among them:

– norms aimed at improving the mechanism for ensuring supremacy of the Constitution of the Russian Federation throughout the state, as well as changes designed to ensure that the updated concept of correlation between the universal and the national is reflected in the Basic Law and the legislation of the country (Articles 79, 125 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation). These norms make it possible to preserve the autonomy of Russian science and education necessary to achieve the national development goals of Russia (in accordance with the Edict of the President of the Russian Federation dated July 21, 2020);

– provisions extending social warranties for citizens, importance of which has significantly increased when the role of human capital, scientists and researchers has essentially grown. Accordingly, measures of their social support become an important factor in development of domestic science, which, in turn, transforms into a determining factor of economic growth. The situation with development of coronavirus vaccines is a vivid example of this.

It can be stated that the updated Constitution, firstly, creates the worldview paradigm, in a sense, the ideology of socioeconomic development of Russia (based on knowledge and high technologies), including criteria for determining the limits of permissible use of technological innovations. They reflect incentives for scientific and technological development (in the unity of science as a source and technology as a result of scientific research), and warranties of protection from its undesirable effects, and for all the main subjects of constitutional relations – individuals, society, the state.

Secondly, meanwhile, constitutional guidelines are formalized for achieving Russia’s strategic goals.

Thirdly, the constitutional model of the public life sphere called by philosophers as “technosphere”, or more broadly as “anthropotechnosphere”, including its value basis, institutional and functional foundations, objects and subjects of legal interaction, legal instruments for imple-

mentation of state priorities, as well as constitutional warranties for safety of the individual, society and the state, is being formed.

There is no such comprehensive approach to the realities of the new technological order in any constitution of the world. This lays the solid foundation for development of own culture, including the legal one, especially since Part 4 of Article 68 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation for the first time as the result of the amendment made in 2020 recognizes the culture in the Russian Federation as the unique heritage of its multinational people, which is supported and protected by the state. Thus, the state recognizes its culture as the most important factor in harmonization of public relations, a condition for preservation of the single cultural space and the territorial integrity of Russia. Confirming by the Constitution of the Russian Federation the culture importance is designed to ensure a higher level of the society development, its ability to civil unity, setting and achieving common goals in national development.

In the search for new strategies of legal development both at the global and national levels, the ideological issues related to cultural identity are attributed to the core ones in most states of the world. For Russia, it is extremely relevant. The value markers are finally placed in the Basic Law, and the legal system of the Russian Federation continues to be adjusted in accordance with the constitutionalized spiritual, moral, and political-legal guidelines.

The domestic legal doctrine, which has absorbed values of both pre-revolutionary and Soviet jurisprudence, is able not only to provide ideological support for the appropriate strategy of state-legal development, but also to maintain the immunity of public consciousness to concepts and ideologies that provoke cardinal changes in the value basis of the state-legal arrangement of Russian society.

This does not mean that domestic legal science should ignore changing legal conditions. Here it is important to distinguish between unshakable values that help preserve all the most important things within the sociocultural genotype, and values of the evolutionary nature, which are offered to humanity by the changing environment. These values, introduced by new challenges, will also gradually be integrated into the public consciousness of justice.

A. D. Khlutkov¹,
N. M. Mezhevich²

GEOPOLITICS AND GEOECONOMICS OF THE RUSSIAN NORTHWEST: IN THE CIRCLE OF BARRIER AND CONTACT FUNCTIONS OF THE BOUNDARY

The beginning of the 21st century has altered the established pattern of economic development of the world and its leading countries. The new reality is planetary processes of integration of markets, finance, and economy under the umbrella of a single concept of globalization. The primary reasons for rapid development of economic globalization are the basic needs of the modern economy and society: fast-paced market densification, increased competition, and limited basic resources.³

Analysis of current trends in world development suggests that the 21st century is likely to become an era of confrontation between two trends: the strive of nation states to preserve their sovereignty and attempts to ignore the boundaries of a nation state as a result of the expansion and deepening of the process of globalization and destruction of the Yalta system.⁴ “The world’s multinational corporations and international banks depend on the free flow of goods and capital to lobby the promotion of economic globalization and liberal market ideology outside their home states. This also underlies the systematic policy of spreading the Western system of values, their imposition on other states who seek to preserve their own ethnic and cultural identity, historical memory, autonomy and independence in laying their economic and political course.”⁵ In other words, globalization was breaking down boundaries, both economically and politically. In the meantime, up to a certain point, the globalization processes entailed an obvious economic benefit,

so Russia and its Northwest in particular learned to put up with their negative implications.

L. Fawcett fairly observed, “Regionalization of world economy is partly the result of resistance of states to the destructive effects of globalization.”⁶ The first two decades of the new century have shown that “in response to rising social costs and macroeconomic management problems, an increasing number of countries will seek to insulate their markets, companies, and economic clusters as a whole from adverse external influences.”⁷

The economic significance of national boundaries should be evaluated from various perspectives. From the perspective of global processes, boundaries hinder the development of integrative economic processes, create territorial socio-economic differences and, at the same time, the possibility of cross-boundary and near-boundary cooperation. To identify objective economic trends, economic boundaries are more important. In terms of the national interests of the country, their role is also contradictory. Boundaries are where the integrative nature of the economy in the past comes into conflict with the peculiarities of the economy of a modern particular country. Near-boundary location is of particular importance in the shadow economy.⁸

The Soviet Union as a whole, Leningrad and the Leningrad Region as part of it, in terms of external relations, most of the time were in geoeconomic isolation of varying degrees. The boundary with “capitalist” Finland was nearby, but inaccessible. Mind that the only external boundary for the Leningrad Region and Leningrad was with Finland. Relations with it were purely friendly. Convertible ruble was used for trade with Finland. Soviet tourists went to Finland quite rarely, but Finnish tourists, as we remember well, learned the road to Leningrad since the 1970s.

Leningrad and the Leningrad Region had a special status in the USSR and even some authority in the foreign economic domain. Lenfintorg association carried out barter deals that helped solve problems of providing the huge city with essential goods in exchange for supplies of raw materials. The border was “locked” and it would be incorrect to speak of a serious impact of foreign economic relations with Finland on the model of socio-economic development of Leningrad and the Leningrad Region. In Soviet times, the world across the national boundary was perceived as alien and hostile. The boundary, accordingly, had a barrier function, not a contact function. The barrier of civilization separated Russia from the rest of the world, and the symbol of the barrier was the boundary. Contacts and communications with the world took place at the highest level, and there were virtually no cross-boundary or near-boundary

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³ See: Кузнецов С. В., Межевич Н. М., Ткачев С. А. Границы и приграничное сотрудничество в России как результат глобализационных вызовов // Корпоративное управление и инновационное развитие экономики Севера. 2017. № 4. С. 68–76.

⁴ Максимцев И. А., Межевич Н. М. Уроки эволюции глобальной экономики и перспективы евразийской интеграции // Изв. С.-Петерб. экон. ун-та. 2023. № 1. С. 7–11.

⁵ Арапова Е. Я., Юрова Н. В. Политическая экономия и международные отношения сегодня // Международная аналитика. 2023. Т. 14, № 1. С. 10.

⁶ Fawcett L. Regionalism in historical perspective // Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organization and International Order / ed. by L. Fawcett, A. Hurrell. N. Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995. P. 26.

⁷ Европа в кризисном мире / под ред. Ал. А. Громыко М.: ИЕ РАН, 2022. С. 350.

⁸ See: Жабреев А. А., Межевич Н. М., Леонтьева А. Н. Развитие приграничного сотрудничества — цель и совокупность задач стратегического развития Северо-Запада Российской Федерации // Псковский регионологический журн. 2011. № 12. С. 3–9.

ties The “Finnish spirit” or Finnish goods were as present in the Leningrad Region as they were in the Magadan Region.

The collapse of the Soviet Union led to a fundamental revision of points of view on ensuring national security of the state. The new economic, political, and geographical position of Russia as the successor state requires some reflection. In fact, a whole range of economic, military, and political tasks faced by the USSR turned out to be virtually “inherited” by Russia. At the same time, the state and its institutions were forced to assume the responsibility for taking care of the interests of the country, even though the economic, political, and geographic opportunities for doing so were greatly diminished.¹

Without touching the issues of the collapse of the Soviet Union, let us resort to the definition given by V. P. Fedorov, Corresponding Member of the RAS, Deputy Director of the IE RAS: “...the new authorities inflicted defeat on themselves, one after another, giving out the country’s geography and history into the wrong hands.”² Of course, this process was not linear, and in addition to the negative aftermath at the regional level, there were positive consequences.

Since 1992, external and foreign economic relations with Finland have been steadily growing. Apart from the state, large, medium, and small businesses became actors in these ties, and hundreds of thousands of residents of the region received Finnish visas. Mutual influence between southeast Finland and Northwest Russia did not need any proof; it was evident even on the ground, in the landscape.

Certainly, according to the laws of dialectics, the absolute positives came alongside the negative aspects, such as those only too well known to the representatives of law enforcement agencies; nevertheless, both Russia and Finland expressed satisfaction with the developing external ties. There was a similar situation in other boundary regions of Russia, but for Leningrad Region, these processes were central, since the “window to Europe” was cut here by Peter the Great and later secured by Alexander Pushkin in the world culture. In the early 1990s, the model of foreign economic openness returned and began to have a positive impact on the regional economy.

At some point, it seemed as if this situation had become permanent. Russian citizens bought property in Finland, the number of joint ventures grew steadily, and thousands of Russian-Finnish marriages were effected. Importantly, the European Union supported cross-border cooperation programs. First, it was within the framework of TACIS, and then under the Interreg programs, Russia – South-East Finland, Cross-Border Cooperation and others.

Certainly, Russian regions, provinces, and republics have different potential for European cooperation. The integration capabilities of our region led the Leningrad Region to membership in the Assembly of European Regions (AER), and the story of St. Petersburg’s external relations in the first two decades of the post-Soviet era could be very long. By the end of the first decade of the 21st century, the common practice was for residents of St. Petersburg to pay in borderline Finland in rubles. And this practice suited absolutely everyone. Then it was over. Strictly speaking, this

¹ *Межевич Н. М., Шамахов В. А.* Современность и традиция в российской геополитике (статья первая) // Управленческое консультирование. 2020. № 1 (133). С. 10–19.

² *Федоров В. П.* Актуальные уроки: против односторонних уступок // Аналитическая записка. 2017. № 7 (80). С. 2.

is how it was supposed to happen: external and foreign economic openness is a cyclic process, and once export openness reaches a certain maximum, the rebound trends begin to prevail.

Before proceeding with further analysis, we should say that cross-boundary contacts are not always a good thing. As professor I. I. Sigov noted, “Trade of Russian boundary regions with neighboring states is becoming more extensive, to the detriment of the development of domestic economic ties. This creates an economic basis for separatism of these regions and their inclusion in other economic systems, rather than in the unified national economic complex of Russia.”³ This crucial observation was made at the very beginning of the 21st century, at a time when only a few leading scientists could see it.

Boundary regions occupy a dual position in the economic space of the state, being both the center of relations and the periphery of their own country. “The periphery is a dependent territory, which controls at best only its own resources and is influenced by uncertainty even in distant markets; it is isolated from all other regions, except the central one, and contributes less to the communication flow within the territory; it has little cultural potential, which is fragmented and limited, and does not prevail in a politically defined territory. In all these areas, the periphery depends on one or more centers...”⁴

Integration into the world economy, unfolding avalanche-like in the 1990s, has led to a reassessment of the accumulated regional wealth. For the international division of labor, the extraction, processing, and transportation of natural resources were of the greatest interest. Prediction “The heartland of Russia risks being forgotten. There will be disputes over infrastructure (‘I have an oil pipe, you have oil’)” was absolutely accurate.⁵ The struggle for control of the Soviet raw material base was the true content of the redistribution of property in the early 1990s. However, the sale of raw materials, due to the peculiarities of the relationship between the economic complex of the USSR and the outside world, did not warrant a significant influence on world pricing.

Sovereignization of the Russian regions meant their true colonization: complete dependence on a single-channel export of raw materials without any influence on the raw materials market means that you are just that – a colony.⁶ This situation might have been an inevitable norm in 1993, but in 2023 it could only be seen as an impasse.

The coordinated position of our opponents also implies an adequate response at the national and regional level. External ties of regions, previously seen as a competitive advantage (and not without reason), are now becoming a burden for a number of key regions.

Let’s summarize. In the beginning of 2023, the EU leaders once again announced that they would not change their policy regarding Russia. Such “commitment” has led to

³ *Сизов И. И.* Региональная собственность СПб., 2001. С. 14.

⁴ *Rokkan S., Urwin D. W.* Introduction: Centres and Peripheries in Western Europe // The Politics of territorial Identity. Studies in European Regionalism / ed. by S. Rokkan, D. W. Urwin. L.; Beverly Hills; New Delhi: SAGE publications, 1982. P. 5.

⁵ Проблема регионализации России и факторы внешнего влияния // Школа целостного анализа. 1999. Вып. 5. URL: <http://kurg.rtcmm.ru/publ.shtml> (accessed: 24.02.2023).

⁶ *Котлов А.* Путин начинает демонтаж колониальной системы // GlobalRus: [website]. URL: <http://globalrus.ru/opinions/138508/> (accessed: 02.01.2005).

global catastrophes in the 19th and 20th centuries. The intention to organize a crisis at Russia's boundaries has led to an unusual economic result: "International investors are conservative people... so if something goes bad in Russia, they will withdraw everything they can from neighboring countries as well."¹

The latest IMF report on the state of the world's financial system (Global Financial Stability Report. April 2023) designed to give an optimistic interpretation of the situation, reports problems: "The outlook once again appears uncertain amid turmoil in the financial sector, high inflation... and three years of the COVID pandemic." The authors of the Report cannot but mention Ukraine and problems in East Asia. The main thing, however, is not specified. The cycle associated with globalization and foreign economic openness is ending (or has ended?), and the stage of regionalization is approaching. The question is how St. Petersburg and the Leningrad Region will be positioned in the new context, and what will the "turn to the East" look like? How can one lose some of the competitive projects and gain others, taking advantage of the new geo-economic situation? A realistic answer to these questions must be found not only at the national, but also at the regional level.

From our point of view, we can assume the following scenarios for the adaptation of St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region to the new economic and political conditions.

Pessimistic scenario. Due to the geographical location and specifics of the regional economy, St. Petersburg and the Leningrad Region are more susceptible to external influences and inherent internal systemic problems. This scenario presupposes an increase in crisis phenomena related to regional, national and global objective problems. The negative effects of this scenario are intractable. In terms of timing, these challenges may be positioned as long-term ones. Overcoming these challenges, including the challenges of external isolation, is ultimately impossible. A complex scenario of forced adaptation is likely to take place.

The most likely scenario can be described as a realistic one. An optimistic, unproblematic scenario in the style of "let's wait and the problem will solve itself" will not happen, this option is simply not possible in the current circumstances. The realistic scenario assumes that the nature of external challenges for St. Petersburg and the Leningrad Region will not change, but within the framework of the regional level's mobilization efforts, and with the support of the federal centre, the negative factors of development can be curbed. For example, with the reduction of the "Baltic" arm of development, the "Arctic" vector will develop successfully.

The history and geography of St. Petersburg show that the current difficulties are not the first in our regional practice. However, each time they have been overcome. The wind from the East will overcome the wind from the West.

O. I. Kostikova²

VALUE CONSTANTS OF TRANSLATION IN THE DIALOGUE OF CULTURES

In modern scientific research, the axiological approach is given a special place. Interest in this approach and its possibilities was caused by transformations of socio-cultural space against the background of new challenges resulted from a number of circumstances.

Thus, according to scientists, the globalization model established in the 1990s resulted in "indifference to high meanings and values of life," "the process of institutional dehumanization." Principles, which the economic model of this period was based on, contributed to releasing low human instincts, formation of various psychological and physical pathologies. As the consequence, neglecting the ideal,

¹ *Саморуков М.* Как российская девальвация накрыла Восточную Европу // Delfi : [website]. URL: <http://rus.delfi.lv/news/daily/versions/maksim-samorukov-kak-rossijskaya-devalvaciya-nakryla-vostochnuyu-evropu.d?id=45382824#ixzz3PNSgeVg7> (accessed: 25.12.2022).

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its denigration and ridicule, substitution of culture.³ Many of the globalization fruits have been poisoned, and today this is evident.

The second circumstance to be mentioned in the context we are interested in is transition of society to the "digital" era. These transformations are revolutionary in nature and affect all aspects of social life – from development of public institutions to organization of daily life and socialization of an individual, different kinds of art, various types of professional activities. There arise the following questions: how to implement digital transition with all ensuing consequences for security, sovereignty and quality of life, and what the outcome of this transition may be, what kind of society will result from these changes, and whether humanity will alter.⁴ Estimating prospects of digital transformation, experts note high probability of human intelligence degradation manifesting in clip thinking, intellectual dependence on technology (transfer of memory functions to various electronic devices), blurring the line between reality and illusion, formation of an inadequate view of the world, borrowing values and needs from digital templates, etc.⁵

³ *Агеев А. И.* Насколько Россия подготовлена к вызовам XXI века // Независимая газета. 2019. 14 янв.

⁴ See: *Гарбовский Н. К., Костикова О. И.* Интеллект для перевода: искусный или искусственный? // Вестник Моск. ун-та. Сер. 22. Теория перевода. 2019. № 4. С. 3–25.

⁵ К «цифре» готов? Оценка адаптивности высокотехнологического комплекса России к реалиям цифровой экономики : итоговый докл. М. : ИИЭС, 2018. С. 19–21.

Against the background of these processes, scientific community strives for identifying, defining, evaluating and systematizing values that are relevant to humanity today and will prove decisive for its development.

The axiological approach is in the centre of the humanistic paradigm of education and upbringing, where a person is regarded as the highest value, and his/her well-being – as the goal of social development.

Since time immemorial, translations from one language to another have been done by people. Ignoring the Babylonian curse, translators come to rescue humanity. They constantly build bridges between peoples, races, cultures and continents, overcoming disunity, proving to be a vital link in the long chain of knowledge transfer between peoples separated by language barriers. Between the past and the present. Space and time are subject to translators. Due to them, key texts – scientific, philosophical, artistic ones – gain universality. Multilingualism and cultural diversity are not retribution from above to the human race to be proud of its *technological* capabilities, but a valuable gift. After all, as N. S. Trubetskoy stated, “a single, universal culture, devoid of any individual, national attribute, is extremely lopsided, with complete spiritual emptiness and moral savagery under enormous development of science and technology,” but, because of the law of diversity of national cultures, “it becomes possible for different peoples to have cultural values that are morally positive and spiritually uplifting a person.”¹ It is this opportunity that translators give humanity: by opening new horizons and broadening the outlook, they help bypass obstacles of linguistic and cultural differences and understand the world better, appreciate its diversity.

D. S. Likhachov rightly believed that interest and kind attitude to foreign culture arises only from “love for native one”, which “gradually expanding... turns into love for one’s country – for its history, its past and present, and then for the whole of humanity, for human culture.” That is why, the scientist emphasizes, “fostering love for the native land, for native culture, for native village or city, for native language is the task of paramount importance.”² It is obvious that only a person imbued with love for native word and native culture is able to successfully perform most important mission of translator, which was mentioned above.

Moreover, if love for the native teaches to love and accept the alien, then it is true, as well, that self-awareness occurs through the alien: “identity in its historicity is built via contact with the other.”³ Leibniz also wrote about this, reflecting on opportunities of native language, “translation of good books turns out to be a true touchstone for language richness or poverty, due to its flexibility for translation.”⁴ Likhachov emphasizes that the world of Russian culture is unusually rich precisely because of its receptivity: rich-

ness of the Russian language is determined by the fact that “it was created in the vast territory to be extremely various in its geographical conditions, natural diversity, variety of contacts with other peoples, presence of a second language – Church Slavonic... The Russian language consciousness, the world seen by the Russian language consciousness, includes concepts and images of *world* literature, *world* science, *world* culture – through painting, music, translations, through the Greek and Latin languages.”⁵ In his another work, he gives an example of a different kind, confirming the life-giving role of intercultural contacts for strengthening their identity: once banned books by Russian authors first became the commons abroad, and from there, recognized and glorified, returned to their homeland. “Our literature, our art have enriched world culture, having become a catalyst for public and spiritual life. The same, literature and art of foreign countries affect our culture, enriching us spiritually, aesthetically,” the scientist concludes.⁶

So, the cultural-creative essence of translation is obvious, and it is embodied by people – translators – “post horses of enlightenment”, as the great Russian poet depicted in the capacious image.

However, history shows that translation, one of the most ancient and constantly in demand in all ages type of intellectual activities, nevertheless, has not received unambiguous assessment of society. For many centuries, regularly consuming “fruits” of translation activities in all fields of public life – in politics and diplomacy, in science and religion, in art and military affairs, human society has not tired of reproaching translators for inaccuracy, incorrectness and even betrayal.⁷

Today, as before, in public opinion, a translator is often regarded as a person performing some kind of auxiliary activity by providing “communication services”. To perform this function, it supposedly does not require a lot of intellectual effort, one’s own thoughts, the ability to make independent decisions. Discussing significance of translation for modern cultural space, researchers state “the shadowy, repressed, rejected and secondary position of translation,” up to the “arousing suspicion”, which affects the position of translators.⁸ This position, coupled with active developments in the field of artificial intelligence, poses a threat to the art of translation as a kind of creative activity of individuals and the source of their livelihood.

Contesting with artificial intelligence, a human translator can lose, because (s)he has a smaller amount of RAM, there is no immediate access to big databases, but even if there was such an opportunity, data processing by man would take much longer than that by a machine. Moreover, the process of training and continuous improvement of a human translator’s skills is extremely resource-intensive. Automatic translation with all its flaws proves economically more profitable.

Therefore, today in the science of translation, attempts to comprehend and evaluate significance of the human factor in translation come to the fore, to understand issues of translation deontology, to build models of interaction in the human – artificial intelligence system relevant for intercul-

¹ *Трубецкой Н. С.* Вавилонская башня и смешение языков // Трубецкой Н. С. Наследие Чингисхана. М.: Аграф, 1999. С. 83–84.

² *Лихачев Д. С.* Избранные труды по русской и мировой культуре. 2-е изд., перераб. и доп. / сост. и науч. ред. А. С. Запесоцкий. СПб.: СПбГУП, 2015. С. 485.

³ *Meschonnic H.* Éthique et politique du traduire. Lagrasse: Éditions Verdier, 2007. P. 120.

⁴ *Leibniz G.-W.* Considérations sur les Langues en général & sur la culture de la Langue Allemande en particulier // *Esprit de Leibniz ou Recueil de pensées choisies sur la religion, la morale, l’histoire, la philosophie, & c.* Extraites de toutes ses œuvres Latines et Françaises. T. 2. Lyon: Jean-Marie Bruyset, Imprimeur Libraire. Avec Approbation & Privilège du Roi, 1772. P. 229.

⁵ *Лихачев Д. С.* *Op. cit.* С. 27–28.

⁶ *Ibid.* С. 510.

⁷ See: *Костикова О. И.* История перевода: предмет, методология, место в науке о переводе // Вестник Моск. ун-та. Сер. 22. Теория перевода. 2011. № 2. С. 3–22.

⁸ *Berman A.* L’Épreuve de l’étranger. P.: Editions Gallimard., 1984. P. 6.

tural communication and creation of multilingual content, as well as to forecast social relevance in future of translation as an activity in general and a human translator in particular.

Common to these studies, discussions and searches is the concept “value of translation”, the idea of translation as a good, the matter of realization of the value of translation, its usefulness, acceptability of its quality and variability of its evaluation.

Who is a translator – an ordinary bilingual, a literalist who obediently follows the letter in absence of own writer’s gift, a traitor-transposer who distorts the original text, destroying its spirit due to his/her poor competence, or a comprehensively educated intellectual, linguist, ethnographer, philosopher, psychologist, historian and wordsmith, “who differs from the creator only by name,” a necessary and irreplaceable link in the chain of translanguing and crosscultural communication?

N. K. Garbovsky defines translation as “social function of communicative mediation” in a certain situation and for certain purposes.¹ The social function of translation is “satisfying the information hunger” and overcoming “the communicative discomfort” caused by the inability to understand the other person due to difference in communicative codes in conditions of bilingual communication.² But a translator has no ethical right to behave like an ordinary “communicant” (reader or listener). A translator is a psychologist, researcher, historian, ethnographer, literary critic, philosopher, who must make out in the text, in the message, exactly what the author encoded in the signs of his/her language.³ Where there is a sign, there is ideology, Bakhtin wrote, “we, in fact, neither ever utter words nor hear words, but hear truth or lie, good or evil, significant or insignificant, pleasant or unpleasant, etc. The word is always filled with ideological or vital content and meaning.”⁴ For translation, it is both a challenge and an opportunity. Whatever translatability of the material, which the translator works at, was, (s)he never can be exempted from the function of a critic, which determines the quality of his/her work.

This function includes two objectives: besides analyzing the actual *contents* (realized in the unity of form and content) of what is translated and what it embodies into, the translator must determine the viewpoint on each of these texts, in accordance with the field of social practice (technical, legal, medical, educational, political, etc.), within which and for which the translation is carried out. The viewpoint, one of basic concepts of hermeneutics, implies *distancing* mandatory for a critical position. The key to limiting subjective bias, a kind of *warranty*, in this case, is reliance on the previous corpus of valuable and significant texts in the two languages. Dualism of the viewpoint and the warranty ensuring its impartiality determines the value of translation, turning it into a genuine creation.⁵

The tendency of reducing the original text to the “source” and the translation text – to the “target” is, un-

doubtedly, still common among adherents of information issues, as is the desire to see in translation a kind of dialogue or compromise between two existing value systems – among followers of the communicative paradigm. Translation is not just transition from one system of ideas or beliefs to another one, from one ideology to another one: it is at equal distance from them, and opens up new space, enriching the corpus of both languages involved. If the translator refuses his function of a critic and does not maintain the necessary distance, then he only concretizes the already established belief system: Rastier calls this kind of translation ideological.⁶

The problem of correlation between the content and the value of translation is evident when considering disadvantages of machine translation: limitation only to the content of the text, in absence of both the viewpoint and the warranty mentioned above, deprives the translation of value. The reverse side of the coin is tendentious translation that seeks to impose an uncritical viewpoint: regardless of its political correctness, it is nothing but violence against the original text, and emaciation of its translation.

The “elusive” ideology is omnipresent, its peculiarity is that it has no special markers, as is sometimes believed when analyzing various types of discourses. Of course, one can give examples of words filled with symbolic meaning or imagery, but it is no less important that the meaning of a text is often formed not by words, – a machine can translate words too! – but by their absence. Absence of certain words in the text speaks volumes, and may be explained by avoiding them by the author, and a number of other factors. So, talking about cultural sense, cultural experience, which are mandatory for creating works of art, A. S. Zapesotsky made assumption to be fundamentally important for the methodology of translation, “conceptual spheres of a particular literary text, of its author and of its reader may consist of many individual concepts, each of which is not only a ‘spoken’ something that has found specific verbal embodiment in the national language, but also ‘implied’ – potentially incorporated, but not quite realized, perhaps even by the author himself, for which the word simply has not been found yet.”⁷ For translation, both the said and the not-said are significant, as the value of the text is consistent with its “de-ontology”.

Translation practice depends on the philology of the people, into whose language the translation is done, in a particular historical epoch, on public notion about the beautiful and the ugly, the right and the wrong, the necessary and the unnecessary. Approaches to assessing quality, truth and accuracy of translation are subject to cycles and fashion, the same solutions in various time periods could be evaluated differently, and sometimes even opposite. The contradiction that arises when estimating translators’ activities that permeate its entire history, can be explained both by the ontological dichotomy of translation activity, and by the contradiction of the general and the particular – the two sides of the quality category. Specific mistakes made by translators have been severely criticized at all times, successful translation solutions have been admired. But in historical coverage, translation errors and luck appear as particular cases. Over time, they are forgotten, and only a gen-

¹ *Гарбовский Н. К.* Теория перевода. М. : Изд-во Моск. ун-та, 2004. С. 214.

² See: *Гарбовский Н. К., Костикова О. И.* Перевод и общество // *Вестник Моск. ун-та.* Сер. 22. Теория перевода. 2018. № 1. С. 17–40.

³ *Гарбовский Н. К.* О переводе. М. : Форум, 2016. С. 593.

⁴ *Бактин М. М.* (под маской) Фрейдизм. Формальный метод в литературоведении. Марксизм и философия языка. Статьи. М. : Лабиринт, 2000. С. 406.

⁵ *Rastier F.* Préface // *Idéologie et traduction.* Sous la direction d’Astrid Guillaume. P. : L’Harmattan, 2016. P. 7.

⁶ *Rastier F.* Op. cit. P. 7.

⁷ *Занецоцкий А. С.* Культурология Дмитрия Лихачева. 3-е изд. СПб. : СПбГУИ, 2022. С. 138.

eral idea of translation and its social significance remain in the public consciousness.

Thus, variability of translation evaluation is opposed to its value constants.

Translation activity indeed seems to be one of the most important social functions that ensure the ability to live for multilingual and multicultural human society. Without translation, communication, as one of the most important conditions for society's existence, often turns out to be very difficult or even impossible.

In this regard, negative judgments about translators are of interest not so much as characterization of translation activity in general, but as reflection of firmly rooted critical attitude towards each particular act of translation, as a reminder of imminence of comments and criticisms, analysis and reasoning that it inevitably entails. Ontologically, translation is a "secondary" object, which, on the one hand, raises questions about its compliance with the "primary" object, and, on the other hand, a priori imposes a second-rate stamp on it.

This contradiction of the general and the particular in the context of translation activity is especially clearly manifested when referring to the history of translation, which preserves names of great people who had significantly influenced on development of human civilization.¹

Here, the translator's personality is of great importance: it is the most complex intellectual psychophysical activity of the person in translation that creates something to be called a kind of *added value* – positive value for an individual, society, culture, which appeared as the result of translation activity in terms of its ability to satisfy latent or hidden needs, generate innovations, be a catalyst for progress. Both the value of translation and its added value is the role that translation plays or can play in the life of an individual and society in terms of needs, interests and goals. However, if the value of translation is related to satisfaction of specific needs and expectations from translation, within its direct function realized by society, then the added value is associated with the element of surprise evaluated positively and only indirectly related to the tasks of communicative mediation, solved in each specific act of translation. Added value is always concomitant, but often the primary property of translation, which manifests itself in the form of translation constants in historical understanding, not as a specific act of translanguing communication, but as a phenomenon contributing to establishment of a dialogue or settlement of a conflict of cultures.

Added value includes everything that constitutes the great civilizing mission of translation: creative writing, dissemination and development of religions, improvement of philology, transferring scientific knowledge, development of statehood in the bilingual environment, multiplication of cultural centers, maintenance and dissemination of spiritual values, etc. In the modern world experiencing the era of

"big data", the translator turns out to be one of the most important links of the general information system, generating *new data*. Due to translators' activity, the general world information system is replenished with so-called translanguing big data, i. e. multilingual images of phenomena of a particular culture.

"Translation was and remains one of the most significant and worthy types of mediation in universal global interaction," Goethe wrote. Hugo expressed similar thoughts, talking about the civilizing mission of translation: "Translators serve civilization. They pour spiritual substance from one to the other. They serve dissemination of ideas. Due to them, one nation's genius meets another nation's genius. Fruitful combinations. After all, a new thought is just as necessary as new blood." Heidegger believed that "the essence of translation is not to facilitate communication with other-language speakers, but to help in solving some urgent for everyone issue. It serves mutual understanding in some higher sense. And every step in this direction is a blessing for the nations."

Today, the most important mission of translators is appreciated in the world community at the highest level: On May 24, 2017, the UN General Assembly adopted a special Resolution confirming "the role of professional translation in bringing peoples closer, strengthening peace and promoting mutual understanding and development." This role is highly responsible and extremely relevant today, because as stated in Article 6 of the Declaration of the Rights of Culture developed by the team of scientists of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences (SPbUHSS) under the scientific supervision of D. S. Likhachov, "Cultural cooperation, dialogue and mutual understanding of peoples of the world are the key to justice and democracy, the condition for preventing international and interethnic conflicts, violence and wars."²

Translation has always been a social activity *sui generis* in the sense that it is in demand, carried out and evaluated by society, or rather, by its particular representatives. Social relations play a crucial role in translators' professional life. Function of translation is not determined by a formal analysis of the source text; it is pragmatically set by the goal of transcultural communication, and quality of translation is determined, in addition to linguistic equivalence, by many other factors, and above all by the social context, which largely guides and regulates translation activities. It will largely depend on social attitudes what, how, when and for what purpose will be transferred from one culture to another, will become the property of language and literature, developing and enriching them or, conversely, adapting to them as much as possible. Or it may sink into oblivion, never having received public recognition, or will freeze in anticipation of changes in cultural guidelines, social attitudes, political situation, etc.

¹ See: *Гарбовский Н. К., Костикова О. И.* История перевода. Практика, технологии, теории. Очерки по истории перевода. М.: Изд-во Моск. ун-та, 2021.

² *Лихачев Д. С.* Op. cit. С. 503.

A. V. Kostina¹

TRADITIONAL VALUES IN RUSSIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM

In the conditions of the existential war waged by the collective West against Russia, many things are being reinterpreted, including the value foundations of human existence. These processes are carried out most intensively in the countries that set the paradigm of modern geopolitical development, and are reflected in the strategic planning documents of these countries, which define not only their goals and objectives, but also the axiological grounds for their implementation. Values and metaphysical images of the world behind them take on a special significance in the modern era; today, value worlds become the main target of the enemy, and their defense is a condition of victory in consciential and informational wars.

The commitment to traditional values is inherent in countries with centuries-long history, such as Russia and China. The importance of traditional values for Russia is reflected in the National Security Strategies of the Russian Federation of 2015 and 2021², the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation dated November 9, 2022³, where the basic values are defined as the protection of life, human rights and freedoms, family, labor, justice, historical unity of the peoples of Russia, the continuity of history, patriotism, citizenship, serving the fatherland, and responsibility for its destiny.

In China, provisions related to national security determine the content of the decisions of the Congresses, resolutions of the plenums of the Communist Party and the Central Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee, documents of the Central Military Council and the State Council of the PRC, as well as the Law on National Security and the White Paper "National Defense of the People's Republic of China" open to the public.⁴ The documents record that "the PRC's national security orientation on tradi-

tional civilizational values will bring ... success both within mainland China and in the format of the global Chinese *oecumene*."⁵

Mind that the basic documents defining the security and national sovereignty of Russia and China emphasize the traditional nature of basic values. This underscores not only the significance of the states themselves in world history, but also demonstrates the relevance of these values today. Of course, value systems, despite their relative inertness, at least within a single generation, still change significantly, both under the influence of objective factors, such as technological progress, and under the purposeful influence exercised through the systems of education, mass media, and mass culture. Despite the intensity of this impact on the consciousness of the Russians in the post-Soviet period, which certainly led to a transformation of their value system, its basic matrices and attitudes have proven stable, according to the sociological research.

One of the key values within domestic culture is the value of the family – it is directly linked to such concepts as historical memory and continuity of generations. Among the terminal values – that is, those reflecting the desired social relationships – the value of family was 61% in 1990, 69.3% in 1994, 66.8% in 1998, and 72.8% in 2002. In 2010, "family ranked first in the hierarchy of the Russians' value conceptions on a five-point scale (77.7%), along with such values as children (74.9%) and health (73.4%)."⁶ According to a study of 2022, the structure of value orientations of modern Russian youth positions family values on the first place of importance: "97% identified family health and safety as important, 96% identified family relationships; 95% identified family financial situation."⁷ At the same time, the importance of the value of tradition is not lost, but significantly increased – so, in 1990 the value of tradition was highlighted by 41.5%, in 2002 – by 45.3%⁸, in 2016 – by 58%⁹.

The values that the U. S. defines as basic are seen by the U. S. as universal, reflecting 'universal values.' This is reflected in the 2015 and 2017 U. S. National Security Strategies, the latter of which emphasizes that Russia and China together "seek to shape a world that is contrary to American values and interests."¹⁰ In Strategy 2022, the U. S. goals

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² Указ Президента РФ от 31 декабря 2015 г. № 683 «О Стратегии национальной безопасности Российской Федерации» // КонсультантПлюс : [website]. URL: http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_191669/ (accessed: 08.01.2023); Указ Президента РФ от 2 июля 2021 г. № 400 «О Стратегии национальной безопасности Российской Федерации» // Президент России : [website]. URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/47046> (accessed: 08.01.2023).

³ Указ Президента РФ от 9 ноября 2022 г. № 809 «Об утверждении Основ государственной политики по сохранению и укреплению традиционных российских духовно-нравственных ценностей» // Официальный интернет-портал правовой информации. URL: <http://publication.pravo.gov.ru/Document/View/0001202211090019> (accessed: 08.01.2023).

⁴ Концепция национальной безопасности КНР. URL: https://studref.com/566103/politologiya/kontsepsiya_natsionalnoy_bezopasnosti (accessed: 08.01.2023).

⁵ Новая концепция национальной безопасности Китая как выражение системы трансформирующихся культурно-цивилизационных ценностей в условиях глобализации // Восток : [website]. URL: <https://www.portal-vostok.ru/index.php/kitaj/sovremennost/53-novaya-kontsepsiya-natsionalnoj-bezopasnosti-kitaya-kak-vyrazhenie-sistemy-transformiruyushchikhsya-kulturno-tsivilizatsionnykh-tsennostey-v-usloviyakh-globalizatsii> (accessed: 08.01.2023).

⁶ Cited from: Зыбуновская Н. В. Ценность семьи в массовом сознании россиян (социологический анализ) // Социология власти. 2012. № 1. С. 66–72.

⁷ Российская молодежь рассказала о своих ценностях и приоритетах // Санкт-Петербургские ведомости. URL: https://spbvedomosti.ru/news/country_and_world/rossiyskaya-molodezh-rasskazala-o-svoikh-tsennostyakh-i-prioritetakh/ (accessed: 08.01.2023).

⁸ Лавин Н. И. Как чувствуют себя, к чему стремятся граждане России. Результаты мониторинга «Наши ценности и интересы сегодня» (1990–2002 гг.) // Мир России. Социология. Этнология. 2003. № 4. С. 120–159.

⁹ Cited from: Зыбуновская Н. В. *Op. cit.*

¹⁰ Савин Л. Что нового в новой Стратегии национальной безопасности США // ПравдИнформ : [website]. URL: <http://trueinform.ru/modules.php?name=Laid&file=article&sid=20617> (accessed: 08.01.2023).

regarding Russia are even more explicitly defined as “limiting Russia’s strategic economic sectors, including defense and aerospace, and... continuing to confront... Russia.”¹

Among the ‘universal values’ that the U. S. intends to uphold everywhere, in addition to liberalism and democracy, are the rights of sexual minorities, among them “lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people.”² In 2011, the protection of these groups was declared a priority of U. S. foreign policy by B. Obama.³ Of course, the definition of values within the United States is the purview of this country alone. But the recognition of sexual minority rights as a universal value is certainly at odds with the real imperatives of non-Western countries – Russia, India, China, the Middle East, Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

At the same time, America and Europe have been conducting a deliberate policy of discrediting traditional values, including the value of the family, which has led to its devaluation and actual abolition. The first step in this direction was the 1959 U. S. State Department Report, voicing the idea of the need for population regulation. This thesis was fleshed out in a memorandum that called for measures to “regulate the birthrate, including sterilization, abortion, reduction of social support for motherhood, and the encouragement of homosexuality.”⁴ To promote homosexuality as a normal behavior, homosexuality was removed from the American Psychiatric Association (APA) list of psychiatric disorders after three years of pressure. In 2021, President Joe Biden signed an executive order to protect and promote the rights of the LGBT community worldwide – a White House press release states that America “demonstrates leadership in human rights by strengthening protections for the most vulnerable, including the LGBT community.”⁵

For Russia, LGBT propaganda is unacceptable. This is why Russia has not signed the Council of Europe’s Istanbul Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (2011). Along with good intentions, the Convention contains the concept of ‘gender equality,’ which, however, is not limited to the customary relationship between the two sexes, but extends to “socially constructed roles, behaviors, actions and attributes that a society considers appropriate for women and men.”⁶ For the same reason, Turkey, being the first to ratify the Convention, withdrew from it in 2021. According to its official statement, “The Convention, originally intended to protect women’s rights, has been appropriated by a group of peo-

ple trying to normalize homosexuality, which is incompatible with Turkey’s social and family values.”⁷

In Russia, there is a similar position that is also related to traditions and religious postulates, and to national security interests, where depopulation is one of the most significant threats. Maintaining and strengthening traditional values, such as family and parenthood, has a positive effect on the spiritual health of the nation, and maintaining it is one of Russia’s top priorities.

Traditional values are the foundation of non-Western civilizations. They are inherently alien to the United States, which is understandable – traditions are preserved through people that practice them. In America, on the other hand, colonization took lives of up to 14 million indigenous people, according to various estimates.⁸ A parallel process was the destruction of the “traditional type of economy, its sacral justification, traditions and beliefs, language, traditional cultural activities, and forcible assimilation”⁹ of Indians. Similar damage was inflicted on the culture of black Africans displaced to America from Africa – their number is estimated at about 12 million people.¹⁰ Although the institution of slavery in the United States was abolished by President Abraham Lincoln in 1862, the document has not been formally ratified by about a quarter of the states – the last one being Mississippi just nine years ago, in 2013.¹¹

This is why traditional values are not part of the U. S. axiological arsenal. As for the values of liberalism and democracy, they are not included in the value system of the Confucian, Hindu, Buddhist, and Islamic worlds. Russia’s values are also different from those of the United States. And today, it is clear that the boundaries between value systems are becoming lines of civilizational fractures.¹²

This is determined by the fact that values act as meanings and understandings shared by most members of a society and are the metaphysical foundation of a particular culture. And while for Russia traditional values are most relevant, for the United States it is the issues raised by the so-called ‘new ethics’ – the dominant Western discourse.

The philosophy of the new ethics elaborates the basic principles of the philosophy of tolerance – as a paradigm aimed at accepting group and individual differences, from ethnic to cultural, as normal, not to be pressured. However, the ‘new ethics’ goes further by accepting these diverse manifestations as the only possibility, and all others, no matter how dominant, as reprehensible. The new ethics is postulated to oppose the ‘tyranny of the majority’ and to remove this ‘tyranny’ through its own injunctions and prohibitions, “whose violation entails sanctions, sometimes very severe.”¹³

¹ «Россия — угроза, Китай — конкурент»: основные тезисы Стратегии национальной безопасности США // Военное обозрение. Аналитика. URL: <https://topwar.ru/203900-rossija-ugroza-kitaj-konkurent-osnovnye-tezisy-strategii-natsionalnoj-bezopasnosti-ssha-v-kontekste-vneshnepoliticheskikh-planov-vashingtona.html> (accessed: 08.01.2023).

² Стратегия национальной безопасности США 2015 г., раздел 4. Ценности // Российский правовой портал. Библиотека Пашкова. URL: <https://constitutions.ru/?p=17992> (accessed: 08.01.2023).

³ Обама объявил защиту прав сексуальных меньшинств приоритетом внешней политики США // ИнтерФакс. 2011. 7 дек. URL: <https://www.interfax.ru/russia/220625> (accessed: 08.01.2023).

⁴ Юмашева И. Семейные ценности как ключевой механизм «мягкой силы» России // Парламентская газета. 2021. 11 июня. URL: <https://www.pnp.ru/columnists/semeinye-cennosti-kak-klyuchevoy-mekhanizm-nyagkoy-sily-rossii.html> (accessed: 08.01.2023).

⁵ Байден подписал указы о «восстановлении роли США в мировом сообществе» // Новости стран Центральной Азии. URL: <https://centralasia.news/kirgiziya/politika-kirgiziya/baiden-podpisal-ykazy-o-vostanovlenii-roli-ssha-v-mirovom-soobshestve> (accessed: 08.01.2023).

⁶ Конвенция Совета Европы о предотвращении и борьбе с насилием в отношении женщин и домашним насилием от 11 мая 2011 г. URL: <https://doccoe.home.blog/coe210/> (accessed: 08.01.2023).

⁷ В Турции объяснили выход из Стамбульской конвенции по защите прав женщин // РИА Новости. URL: <https://ria.ru/20210321/turtsiya-1602231081.html> (accessed: 08.01.2023).

⁸ Геноцид коренного населения Америки в США // Namta.ru : [website]. URL: <https://namtaru.ru/genotsid/item/254-genotsid-korenного-naseleniya-ameriki-v-ssha.html> (accessed: 08.01.2023).

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Lovejoy P. E. The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa: A Review of the Literature // Journal of African History. 1989. Vol. 30. P. 368.

¹¹ В штате Миссисипи отменили рабство // Lenta.RU. URL: <https://lenta.ru/news/2013/02/19/mississippi/> (accessed: 02.01.2023).

¹² Национальная военная стратегия США 2015 // Арсенал Отечества. 2015. № 4 (18). URL: <https://arsenal-otechestva.ru/article/619-usa-strategy-2015> (accessed: 02.01.2023).

¹³ Сысоев Т. Философ Артемий Магун: «Новая этика» — это не про культурность, а про «новую моральную аллергию», которая пришла к нам из США // Культура : [website]. 2021. 26 февр. URL: <https://portal->

One can see a certain continuity between the principles of the new ethics and the principles of multiculturalism. This trend, reflected both in sociocultural practices and in their theoretical justification, essentially reflects the desire of ethnic and other cultural minorities as groups ‘discriminated against’ to justify their right to receive certain privileges. The main problem of modern Western democracy, however, is finding the right balance between ethnocultural identity and legal norms; between the rights of minorities, which must be upheld, and the rights of the majority, which correspond to the principle of equality of all citizens. S. Benhabib, author of the famous study on multiculturalism, shows that ‘minority discourse’ has gradually become dominant, making the majority social groups discriminated – not because of any negative social activity on their part, but only because of their ‘dominant’ position.

Of course, both the philosophy of tolerance and the philosophy of multiculturalism were products of their time, reflecting a struggle with the social processes that characterized the development of the American legislative sphere and public thought during approximately three decades of the 20th and 21st centuries. They are a reflection of real and complex problems generated by the policies of the United States during the colonization of America. Today, these problems find their ultimate expression in the Black Lives Matter movement. While recognizing the importance of this social movement¹ combatting racism and police violence against African Americans, we must say that in some rituals aimed at making white Americans aware of their privileges, there are clear features of the same discrimination against whites² and not of democracy and equal rights.

The same principles can be traced in the philosophy of the ‘new ethics,’ where, as theater director K. Bogomolov noted, “ethical purity has replaced racial purity,” where each individual’s ethical past is “examined under a microscope” for “harassment, abuses, or simply statements that do not correspond to the new system of values.”³

Note that such a critique of the new ethic is not done from the perspective of traditional values, but from the perspective of the values that are quite Western – liberalism and democracy, which are losing their universality and are adapting to the demands not so much of certain social groups as of the political forces behind them.

* * *

Obviously, all forms of culture are historically mediated, and their content corresponds to the context of the era, in which they develop. This applies both to morality, which is the object of research on ethics as a practical philosophy, and to ethics itself – not as self-consciousness of morality, but as a value-based, ‘moral’ consciousness. Both morality and ethics reflect those social dominants that are produced by specific historical conditions. In this sense, special significance of the ‘new ethics’ as a discourse related to capturing and reflecting the resentment consciousness and victimhood can only be recognized if this paradigm is seen as a historically conditioned phenomenon rooted in the social development of American society. But in no way it is a universal concept that can be seen as some kind of an alternative to the indigenous axiology. The very idea of opposing the ideology of imperialism, colonialism, and racism is certainly worthy of support. But it seems that these are rather the problems of the society where such ideology is widespread.

In the current situation of confrontation with the collective West, traditional Russian values must be treated with special care and protection. These meanings and understandings, which form the basis of Russian statehood, are targeted in the war waged in the informational and humanitarian spheres. Therefore, it is extremely important today to preserve Russian culture in its value integrity, defining the image of Russia as a country capable of defending its history, its vision of the future, and its sovereign right to implement it.

kultura.ru/articles/world/331659-filosof-artemiy-magun-novaya-etika-etone-pro-kulturnost-a-pro-novuyu-moralnuyu-allergiyu-kotoraya-p/ (accessed: 04.04.2023).

¹ The severe psychological trauma of African Americans associated with slavery is described in numerous studies. Some of the African Americans themselves describe it as follows: “There is no doubt that we blacks had less [freedom] in this country two hundred years ago than we have now. But are we truly free? I don’t think so. Is our thinking free from the memory of enslavement? No. A ‘slave’ still influences our society... I think mentally, not physically, blacks here are still ‘enslaved’, still don’t have their own loud voice to be heard” (Бондаренко Д. М. «Вперед в прошлое»: память о работорговле и взаимоотношения между африкано-американцами и мигрантами из Африки в США // Новое прошлое. The New Past. 2016. № 1. С. 45).

² In these rituals their participants take “a step forward for every privilege (...for white skin color ...for male gender, ...for heterosexuality ...etc.) and a step back for every missing privilege. Only if the participants admit their guilt can they be accepted into the ranks of anti-racists” (Афанасьева Н. Тоталитарна ли «новая этика»? Обсуждают философ и социолог // Афиша Daily : [website]. 2021. 19 февр. URL: <https://daily.afisha.ru/infoport/18867-totalitarna-li-novaya-etika-obsuzhdayut-filosof-i-sociolog>).

³ Манифест Константина Богомолова «Похищение Европы 2.0» // Новая газета. 2021. 21 февр. URL: <https://introvertum.com/manifest-konstantina-bogomolova-pohishhenie-evropy-2-0-polnyj-tekst/> (accessed: 04.04.2023).

THE EMERGING MULTIPOLAR BALANCE OF POWER VERSUS THE ARROGANCE OF AN EMPIRE IN DECLINE

Concept and history of global order

In discourses on international affairs, “world order” is understood in a *descriptive* as well as a *prescriptive* (normative) sense. The confusion of the two aspects has fueled many of the actual polemics. For the purposes of this analysis, we confine ourselves to the former, namely a contemplation of the actual *relations of power* that determine – and limit – the global interaction of states. Order in such a context – and the balance of power it incorporates – is nothing static. It is in a state of constant flux. Depending on the historical constellation, there may be one, two, or multiple centers of power. So far, in empirical terms, not much can be said about the stability of either of these configurations – unipolar (hegemonic), bipolar, or multipolar. Everything depends on the imponderables of the historical sequence.

While Metternich’s multilateral order – the concert of great powers post-1815 – provided, after the Napoleonic upheavals, a framework of relative stability,² it ultimately gave way to unrestrained power struggles of those countries, culminating in World War I. That conflict resulted in a rather synthetic and fragile reorganization of international relations on the basis of priorities set by the victorious powers.

In contrast, the remarkable durability of the bipolar order post-1945 depended on *mutual deterrence* between that era’s major nuclear powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, i. e. on their unceasing awareness of the brutal truth of “mutually assured destruction” (MAD).³ Although this predicament did not end with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the bipolar order ultimately succumbed to the overwhelming economic power and persuasion of the United States, the new hegemon. In the meantime, the stability of the resulting unipolar constellation has proven to be rather fragile and elusive, in spite of the propaganda slogan of the “end of history”⁴. The main trigger of instability was the growing rejection – in all corners of the globe – of a triumphant, effectively *impe-*

rial, claim to power. The development, described by some observers with reference to a so-called “blowback effect”⁵, appears to be far more *comprehensive* and *multidimensional* than a transformation of the global power constellation along purely economic and/or military lines.

While the multipolar order after World War II was essentially shaped by military parameters reflecting the balance of power between the victors of that conflict,⁶ and the bipolar system of the Cold War period perpetuated this type of constellation in the course of an *escalating arms race*, accompanied by ideological phraseology, the world now appears to be on the trajectory to a new, more genuine multipolar constellation. The gradually evolving multipolarity of power relations is *multidimensional*, comprising military, economic, social and cultural factors. In terms of power relations, multipolarity will only be sustainable if it is multidimensional.

In spite of the many solemn proclamations of a “New World Order” by the main beneficiary of the collapse of the bipolar order,⁷ the “imperial overstretch”⁸ during the post-Cold War period made this order unsustainable. The rapid technological and industrial development in the non-Western world, and the resulting political empowerment of multiple players, boosted and consolidated by globalization, was an unintended consequence that had not been foreseen by the propagators of a borderless world under U. S. auspices. The dynamic of the process appears unstoppable, not the least due to the law of *actio-reactio* that also applies to economic, social and cultural relations.

Arrogance of an empire in decline

Rarely in history has the transition from a hegemonic (unipolar) order to a multipolar balance of power been smooth. As defender of the status quo, a hegemon almost unavoidably tends to deny reality and to repress and ignore the dynamics of power relations. A most illustrative example is the National Security Strategy proclaimed by U. S. President George W. Bush in 2002 according to which the supreme guideline for the United States military must be to build and maintain the country’s defenses “beyond challenge.”⁹ This was the proclamation of a strategy of *perpetual hegemony*,¹⁰ with the President unambiguously stating, “our forces will be strong enough to dissuade potential adversaries from pursuing a military build-up in hopes of

¹ President of the International Progress Organization (Vienna, Austria), Professor Emeritus at the University of Innsbruck, former Chairman of the Institute of Philosophy, Ph. D. Author of 40 scientific publications, including: “Phenomenological Realism: Selected Essays”, “Democracy and International Legal State. Proposals for an Alternative World Order”, “The Concept of Humanitarian Intervention in the Context of Contemporary Political Power”, “Global Justice or Global Revenge? International Criminal Law at a Crossroads”, “Muslim-Christian Ties in Europe. Past, Present, Future”, “Security Council as Performer of Justice?”, “World Order: Vision and Reality”, and others. Awarded the Medal of Honor of the Austrian Higher Education Society, the Medal of Honor of the International Peace Bureau (Geneva, Switzerland), the Great Medal of David the Invincible of the Armenian Academy of Philosophy, etc. Honorary doctor of the Mindanao State University (Philippines) and the Armenian State Pedagogical University. Professor Emeritus of Pamukkale University (Turkey). Member of the Advisory Board of the Academy for Cultural Diplomacy (Berlin, Germany).

² See: *Sofka J. R.* Metternich’s Theory of European Order: A Political Agenda for ‘Perpetual Peace’ // *The Review of Politics*. 1998. Winter. Vol. 60, № 1. P. 211–228.

³ For an overview, see: *Sokolski H. D.* Getting MAD: Nuclear Mutual Assured Destruction, its Origins and Practice // *Strategic Studies Institute (SSI)*. Carlisle Barracks, PA : U. S. Army War College, 2004.

⁴ *Fukuyama F.* The End of History? // *The National Interest*. 1988. Summer. Vol. 16. P. 3–18 ; *Idem.* The End of History and the Last Man. L. : Hamish Hamilton, 1992.

⁵ E. g., *Blowback J. C.* The Cost and Consequences of American Empire. N. Y. : Metropolitan Books, 2000.

⁶ The composition of the United Nations Security Council, in terms of permanent membership, mirrors that constellation. For details see: *Köchler G.* Security Council Reform: A Requirement of International Democracy // *Democracy at the United Nations: UN Reform in the Age of Globalisation* / eds. by G. Finizio, E. Gallo. Brussels : P. I. E. Peter Lang, 2013. P. 263–274. (Ser. “Federalism” ; № 1).

⁷ For details, see: *Köchler H.* Democracy and the New World Order // *Studies in International Relations*. Vienna : International Progress Organization, 1993. Vol. XIX.

⁸ *Kennedy P.* The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000. N. Y. : Random House, 1987.

⁹ The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. September 2002. Washington, DC : The White House, 2002. Chapter IX.

¹⁰ For the geostrategic implications, see: *Gaddis J. L.* A Grand Strategy of Transformation // *Foreign Policy*. 2002. Nov.-Dec. № 133. P. 50–57.

surpassing, or equaling, the power of the United States.”¹ Ultimately, this would be a *program to stop history*. In real terms, it is the quintessential form of a geostrategic denial of reality, along the lines of the earlier paradigm of the “end of history”.

In less than two decades, the grand vision, in fact illusion, of unchallenged hegemony has come to an end. Always in history, the encounter with the realities of power, and the eventual awakening to the unstoppable progress of time, has proven traumatic for any dominant player. Due to the ultimately “defensive” nature of imperial rule², the hegemon, feeling a need to “preempt” potential threats at any moment, and especially at the peak of power, will increasingly resort to acts of *self-assertion* and *self-righteousness*. (Emperor Hadrian who – at the zenith of the Roman Empire – decided, proverbially speaking, to “retreat from Babylon” may have been a rare exception.³)

In the present global scenario, self-assertion has often meant an excessive – and illegal – use of unilateral economic sanctions, including their extraterritorial enforcement, by the defender(s) of the status quo.⁴ In a resolution adopted with an overwhelming majority, the practice has been decisively condemned by the United Nations Human Rights Council at its latest session.⁵ Also, there exists an intricate nexus between this essentially punitive approach and the self-righteousness of a hegemonic power that arrogantly asserts its values vis-à-vis antagonists or competitors for power. The so-called *Global Magnitsky Act* of the United States is a case in point.⁶ The evocation of democracy, human rights and the rule of law – or a “rules-based order”, in the newspeak of the West – has been part of an ultimately futile effort at *delegitimizing* all competitors who do not subscribe to the Western interpretation of these notions – with the aim of *legitimizing* the West’s hegemonic claim to power. A *false universalism*, which almost hysterically insists that everyone endorse Western interpretations, indeed the “deconstruction”, of values related to family, social and cultural identity, etc.⁷, is part of the colonial legacy of Western powers. It amounts to a new form of *cultural imperialism* that totally neglects the global diversity of worldviews and

socio-cultural values – in different phases of their expression – and instead imposes cultural and civilizational uniformity on all nations and peoples.⁸ Pope Francis has rightly, and repeatedly, criticized such an approach as a form of “cultural colonialism” by which “Western countries seek to impose their values on developing ones in return for financial aid.”⁹ Self-righteousness, coupled with political and economic blackmail, has often in history been characteristic of the rearguard battles of empires in decline.

In today’s global reality, however, these strategies and policies may trigger counter-reactions among an increasing number of peoples and countries. Overzealous self-assertion, meant to preserve a predominant position, will actually accelerate the decline of power. Insisting on the perpetuity of leadership – claiming paradigmatic status at the global level – has always been a delusional strategy. The events since February 2022 are clear evidence of this law of history.

Risk of global instability amidst the emerging multipolar order of the future

While in the first two decades after the collapse of the bipolar balance of power the assertion of geostrategic interests by the new hegemon brought war and destabilization especially to the wider Middle East, with serious repercussions for Europe, the recent developments in Europe carry the risk of a wider geopolitical confrontation, indeed a major global conflagration. The Cold War of the bipolar era is reemerging as a new “cold war” between the Western block, controlled by the United States, and the Russian Federation. The proxy war in and around Ukraine has resulted in a highly volatile global situation.¹⁰ In this scenario, the struggle for power among today’s major competitors (United States, Russia, China) overshadows the gradual emergence of a new multipolar configuration of the world. As history has taught us, a trial of strength among a multitude of actors, aiming at once to determine the outcome in their own favor, always threatens to be a harbinger of protracted turbulence. Also, in a situation of major geopolitical transformation, indeed a recalibration of the balance of power after a rather violent hegemonic interlude,¹¹ the risks of nuclear confrontation must not be overlooked.¹²

The events of 2022 have intensified the evolution of global order towards a new multipolar constellation that will be markedly different from that which existed right upon the end of World War II. Though this is not the “change of eras” (*Zeitenwende*) diagnosed by the German Chancellor – in spite of the UN Charter, the Chancellor’s “rules-based order” did not exist, or was not respected by the predominant Western power, in the time before February 2022 – it will be a sea change nonetheless, not in terms of the paradigm, but in terms of a shift of the center of gravity from the Western industrialized world towards countries

¹ The National Security Strategy of the United States of America.

² This characterization may appear rather counterintuitive. At first glance, hegemonic rule means the tendency to spread power and control over the entire globe, which requires an *offensive* strategy. However, the offensive approach implies that a hegemonic country is constantly “on the defensive”, feeling a need to contain the counter-reactions of other actors and to defend the status quo. This is the “defensive vigilance” of the hegemon.

³ Köchler H. MMXXII – War or Peace: Speeches and Thoughts in a Pivotal Year // Studies in International Relations. Vienna : International Progress Organization, 2023. Vol. XXXVIII. P. IX.

⁴ On the legal implications see: Köchler H. Sanctions and International Law // International Organisations Research Journal. 2019. Vol. 14, № 3. P. 27–47 (“Economic Sanctions, Global Governance and the Future of World Order”), 32ff (“Unilateral sanctions”).

⁵ United Nations / General Assembly, Human Rights Council. Fifty-second session. Doc. A/HRC/52/L.18. 27 March 2023. “The negative impact of unilateral coercive measures on the enjoyment of human rights.”

⁶ Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act (GMA) : 114th Congress, Public Law 114-328, signed into law by President Barack Obama on December 23, 2016. See also: Countering America’s Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) : 115th Congress, Public Law 115-44, signed into law by President Donald Trump on 2 August 2017.

⁷ See: Köchler H. Human Rights and Global Power Politics : Statement delivered at side meeting of the 51st session of the United Nations Council on Human Rights. Geneva (CH) / Changchun (China), 19 September 2022. Vienna : International Progress Organization, 2022 // International Progress Organization : [website]. URL: <http://i-p-o.org/Koehler-HUMAN-RIGHTS-GLOBAL-POWER-POLITICS-UNCHR-Side-Meeting-19Sept2022.pdf>.

⁸ On the nature of cultural imperialism, see: Köchler H. Culture and Empire: The Imperial Claim to Cultural Supremacy versus the Dialectics of Cultural Identity // International Progress Organization : [website]. URL: http://i-p-o.org/Koehler-Culture_and_Empire-IPO-OP-2009.htm.

⁹ Pope Francis criticises West for trying to export own brand of democracy to Iraq and Libya // Reuters. Faithworld. 2016. 18 May. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/instant-article/idUK415642318520160518>.

¹⁰ For details see: Köchler H. MMXXII – War or Peace. P. 113–140.

¹¹ We mean here the repeated wars of aggression, acts of intervention and use of economic coercion by the global hegemon after 1990.

¹² See: Köchler H. Politics of Peace in the Nuclear Age // Current Concerns. 2022. 11 Oct. № 21. P. 1–3.

and regions that for many decades were treated rather arrogantly by the West.

Similar to developments in Europe, the role of the People's Republic of China as mediator of so far intractable disputes in the Middle East (Iran-Saudi Arabia / proxy war in Yemen) is a sign of the times. The perpetual predominance of the U. S. as power broker and global arbiter is not set in stone anymore.

Elements of sustainable multipolarity

As explained earlier, if the new multipolarity is to be *genuine*, it must be *sustainable* in terms of it being *multidimensional* and *comprehensive*. A stable and genuine multipolar order cannot exclusively be determined by the actual military balance of power, but also must have sound and robust economic foundations. In that regard, a lot will depend on the formation and progress of new frameworks of international economic cooperation, at regional and global level. It is worthy of note that, in terms of GDP based on purchasing power parity, the BRICS group of states (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) has already more economic weight than the G7.¹

This development will need to be complemented by alternative financial arrangements that create a balance against the dominance of the US dollar, which in the last few decades has almost *systemically* been used for purposes of US power politics, namely as a tool for the enforcement of unilateral coercive measures, and in particular for their extraterritorial application. There is no logic in insisting that one particular country's currency should be the only medium of international transactions, and even less so when that country's position of global influence is gradually eroding, while it frantically clings to this unsustainable privilege, abusing it to preserve its hegemony. The "New Development Bank", established by the BRICS countries with headquarters in Shanghai, headed by Dilma Rousseff, the former President of Brazil, is an important step in the direction of alternative financial structures. In the words of President Lula of Brazil: "Why can't an institution like the BRICS bank have a currency to finance trade relations between Brazil and China, between Brazil and all the other BRICS countries?"²

Other cornerstones of a new multipolar architecture may be organizations with regional outlook such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), with its multidimensional focus on defense, international security and economy, or the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP), provided the latter grouping can avoid falling victim to a *divide et impera strategy* "from behind" (through which an outside actor might seize upon and exploit tensions between the agreement's pro-Western members and China, which applied for membership in the group in 2021).³

Also, a robust multipolar order will need to do away with *global cultural hegemony*, a legacy of the unipolar period that followed the sudden end of the bipolar balance of power. The multidimensionality of the new multipolar order must include the spheres of *ideology* ("Weltbild") as well as

information and *communication*. In such an order, no country, and certainly not the erstwhile hegemon, should be in a position to claim leadership in defining global standards of human rights or the rule of law. There can be no multipolarity on the basis of cultural or ideological uniformity. One must not see the world exclusively "through the eyes of the West,"⁴ which is just one of several poles in the emerging global constellation.

In view of the new multipolar dynamic, one should also revisit the concepts of a "New International Economic Order" and a "New International Information and Communication Order" that were hastily abandoned under Western pressure in the 1980s.⁵ The information boycott and systematic censorship by the Western block of news from Russia and Iran, to give just two of the most salient examples, has once more highlighted the need for genuine multipolarity in the field of global information. The most recent case in point, indeed a classic example of disinformation and hybrid warfare, has been the coverage, or suppression of it, of the sabotage of the Nord Stream pipelines in Europe by the Western mainstream media.

In terms of the emerging new order, a major issue will also be the practices of international criminal justice initiated during the unipolar interlude of the 1990s, namely a number of arbitrary, imbalanced and dysfunctional ad hoc arrangements or bodies that are not in any way representative of the international community.⁶ A genuine and stable multipolar balance of power requires respect of the *sovereign equality* of all states (as expressed in the UN Charter) on the basis of *mutuality*. This excludes any institutional framework of international criminal justice that lacks universality of membership and, as such, would risk being manipulated by powerful actors from inside and outside that framework.⁷ A peaceful multipolar order cannot coexist with a politicized system of fake international jurisdiction. The disparity of the paradigms – sovereign equality of states versus the universal and absolute authority of office-bearers of an unelected body, without any democratic legitimation – reveals this incompatibility. The resulting confusion is an invitation to an opportunistic use of criminal justice and a recipe for permanent tension and conflict among states.⁸

Conclusion: Sovereignty and balance of power

For the new multipolar order to be robust and sustainable, it needs to be based on the *mutual* recognition of sovereignty.

⁴ See: Communication – the key word to peace // Cyprus Mail. 1984. 27 Oct. P. 3, commenting on a meeting of experts convened by the International Progress Organization on the New International Information and Communication Order.

⁵ For details see: The New International Economic Order: Philosophical and Socio-cultural Implications : Studies in International Relations / ed. by H. Köchler. Guildford (England) : Guildford Educational Press, 1980. Vol. III ; The New International Information and Communication Order: Basis for Cultural Dialogue and Peaceful Coexistence among Nations : Studies in International Relations / ed. by H. Köchler. Vienna : Braumüller, 1985. Vol. X.

⁶ See: Köchler H. Law and Politics in the Global Order: The Problems and Pitfalls of Universal Jurisdiction // International Conference on the Emerging Trends in International Criminal Jurisprudence : Souvenir & Conference Papers (New Delhi, 10–11 December 2005). New Delhi : Indian Society of International Law, 2005. P. 28–30.

⁷ See: Köchler H. Global Justice or Global Revenge? International Criminal Justice at the Crossroads. Vienna ; N. Y. : Springer, 2004.

⁸ About the systemic problems of international criminal justice in the context of power politics see also: Köchler H. Justice and Realpolitik: The Predicament of the International Criminal Court // Chinese Journal of International Law. 2017. Vol. 16. Iss. 1. P. 1–9.

¹ For details see: Heng Weili. BRICS' GDP, potential currency a challenge to US dollar dominance // China Daily Global. 2023. 14 Apr.

² Ibid.

³ The United States withdrew from the preceding TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership) agreement in 2017.

In a substantive sense, the concept relates not only to the legal, but also to the military, economic and cultural domain. *Pro forma* (voting) rights of states in international organizations are abstract and superficial if the majority of states ultimately are at the mercy of powerful players who are able to impose their choices by way of methods that effectively amount to blackmail.¹

Only under conditions of a genuine multipolar constellation may smaller and medium powers regain and maintain their capability to decide as *equal* members of the international community, as stipulated by the UN Charter.² Only a configuration where multiple centers of power hold each other in check will provide sufficient space for decision-making of smaller states without undue intimidation

or fear. This alone will help them to evade the *divide et impera* trap that is so often laid out by a hegemon who is trying to prevail at all cost. The desperate attempts by the dominant Western player to reap the benefits of such Machiavellian tactics even vis-à-vis major powers such as China or India³ are just the latest, and most obvious, sign that the transformation towards a multipolar global configuration is under way.

In the emerging configuration, no country may claim paradigmatic status. The arrogant missionary insistence on cultural and ideological supremacy, used to command obedience and legitimize coercive action anywhere on the globe, has become a blunt weapon and will not prevent the inevitable.

Ye. I. Makarov⁴

THE BRICS TRADE UNION FORUM: TEN YEARS OF NEW TYPE INTERACTION

Discussing the problem of the transition from unipolarity to multipolarity from the standpoint of trade unions may seem like a waste of time, since the Russian trade union system has been standing on a solid, practice-proven foundation for more than a century. You could say it has remained traditional and rigid, which helps it survive in difficult periods of change. In spite of several revolutions and other dramatic transformations of our society, elements of the trade union system, the hierarchy, and the way its parts interact remain almost unchanged. The organizational foundation and procedural order are multiplied and legislated in more than two hundred internal documents regulating union life, relations with external parties and with its own members. Moreover, Russian law explicitly requires unions to comply with the norms outlined in their Charters, prescribing that they must ensure strict voting procedures and mechanisms for maintaining internal democracy. Certainly, there is room for discussion and a choice of variations of democracy in trade unions: some put forward ideas of greater centralism, some unions build extensive and rigid hier-

archies, and some organizations prefer freer rules of operation. At the same time, the framework, basic principles, and forms of work remain relatively stable and common to all organizations.

These considerations are relevant not only to Russian trade unions; they are successfully applied with varying degrees of similarity in Europe, America, as well as in trade unions in Japan, South Korea, and other countries lying outside the Anglo-Saxon tradition.

Various international trade union organizations are built along similar lines. The ITUC (International Trade Union Confederation), the ETUC (European Trade Union Confederation), the GCTU (General Confederation of Trade Unions), etc., follow the same approaches based on the Cartesian worldview, rationalism, reductionism, and other basic philosophical ideas conceived in the Renaissance and New Age, and impregnated with the ideals of “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity”.

There is no doubt that the formats of interstate bilateral and multilateral relations and organizations, mostly built in the 20th century, also bear the aforementioned features. Ideologically, procedurally, and formally, the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council implement similar principles. The same can be said about informal gatherings of G7 and G20 leaders. And how could it be otherwise, if traditional diplomacy, with its set of theoretical postulates, values, rules, and moral norms, was formed under a strong European influence and, having received a powerful impetus after World War I, has remained in the same intellectual vein throughout the entire subsequent period.

Establishment of the BRICS in 2006 marked the emergence of a new philosophy of relations between states. A notable feature of this association is that the member countries mostly do not have common borders and are located on different continents. By and large, they have more differences than common features. It is noteworthy that this association was based on the common interests of its member countries and similar views on the world order, largely dictated by imperfections and dissatisfaction with the existing model of international relations.

Organizational forms, procedural rules, and decision-making mechanisms of the BRICS are quite difficult to un-

¹ For an example, see the pressure used to influence the voting behavior of non-permanent members in the UN Security Council prior to the Gulf war of 1991, referred to by Erskine Childers in: *Childers E. The Demand for Equity and Equality: The North-South Divide in the United Nations // The United Nations and International Democracy / ed. by H. Köchler. Vienna : Jamahir Society for Culture and Philosophy, 1995. P. 17–36.*

² Article 2(1) states “sovereign equality” of states as foundational “Principle” of the United Nations.

³ The simultaneous membership of India in BRICS and the “Quad” alliance (“Quadrilateral Security Dialogue” between Australia, India, Japan and the United States) illustrates the problem.

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derstand and implement, since they are markedly different from customary mechanisms, as will be discussed in more detail below. Without delving into the history of the BRICS association, one should say that despite periodic predictions of its demise and allegedly low efficiency (in the traditional system of evaluation of such projects), over the 17 years since its creation, the BRICS is gaining increasingly more supporters and potential participants.

It is important to explain what all of the above has to do with the trade union movement. Since 2012, when the largest national trade union centers of the BRICS member countries signed the Declaration on the Establishment of the BRICS Trade Union Forum and established the principles of its work during the regular event of the International Labor Organization in Moscow, the interaction between members of this Forum has become systematic and long-term. Over the years, the Forum has held eleven plenary sessions, addressed a wide range of issues of interest to unions, and adopted and implemented joint decisions. Participants of the BRICS Trade Union Forum intend to continue to interact in this format and consider it helpful and productive.

At the same time, behind the facade of the BRICS Trade Union Forum, there are quite significant problems that have arisen due to the exceptional novelty of relations within this format and the complexity of the transition from the generally accepted system of decision-making to a new one built on different foundations.

Here a small digression is necessary. As Deputy Chairman of Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, I was charged with preparing the plenary session of the BRICS Trade Union Forum in 2014, then held in Russia for the first time. This decision was based on the fact that in 1991–2000 I had to act as a coordinator of international relations of the Northwest region of Russia with European countries. It was during the period of profound, comprehensive transformation of the Russian trade union movement, from the “drive belt” model (cascading of goals and objectives from the CPSU to the workers) to the model of an independent federation of industry and territorial trade union organizations (with its own procedures for the development, adoption, and implementation of decisions based on the opinion of member organizations). It was necessary to find methods and tools to solve problems in almost all areas of trade union life that would enable this transition with minimal losses. These tasks were accomplished, although the losses were higher than expected.

The method of transferring ready solutions, which was then widely used to find answers to the questions of organizing life “in a new way”, was based on the notion that our society had “gone the wrong way”, that the working masses had been duped by the pipe dream of a “communist tomorrow” and were left with empty shelves and no means of survival, while dwarf neighboring countries and large distant states have lived much better and more comfortably while moving in the vein of the capitalist system. I will not criticize the past; most likely, in that period, there was little choice of development options and under the pressure of the circumstances, the society and its rulers (the elite) chose the path that we have all taken. It led to both negative and positive results. Adoption of the available foreign experience of trade unions’ work under capitalism (with Russian specifics) was inevitable, since the socialist economic system had been killed off, replaced by an unmanageable “market”, and

capitalism, as we then imagined it, still had a long way to go. Apparently, the internal content of the adopted foreign trade union experience, its entire philosophy, corresponded to the Protestant work ethic, and was impregnated with elements of the American model of the trade union movement. In Northwest Russia of that period, it seemed that the Scandinavian model of the social system suited us best, and we wanted to implement it through the accelerated introduction of the social partnership system and other mechanisms of interaction with employers. At the same time, because of the enormous size of our country, the ideas of autonomous regional unions, embodied in the United States in the form of local unions, also appeared attractive.

The approach to the borrowing outlined above has worked well at that time, but its energy wore off by the early 2000s. The Russian trade union movement faced new tasks that had to be solved immediately, and no ready recipes were available in foreign experience. The main problems were massive non-payments of wages and social benefits, low labor productivity due to obsolete means of production, lack of qualifications for participation in the global labor market, and the need to develop a new labor law. In these conditions, we had to rely more on our own experience and our own “brains”.

Returning to the BRICS Trade Union Forum, it is clear that the method of borrowing and adapting existing practices is inapplicable here, because the Forum is rooted in the principles and mechanisms unfamiliar to the trade union movement in Russia or the countries, with which we have established relations of trust. It is no exaggeration to say that the development of forms and methods began from scratch.

What were the differences that necessitated building a new relationship with the five BRICS members?

A fundamental difference from other formats, in which unions had previously participated, was that in the BRICS union association, there were no juniors and seniors, newbies and oldies among the five member countries. There were no donors and recipients, no one with experience to share, and no newcomers in need of mentors. All of the sixteen national trade union centers that make up the BRICS Trade Union Forum are equal. This means that all members of the organization must equally support the work of the Forum on a rotating basis, contributing materially and intellectually to its construction.

The second, not least important difference is that all decisions made in the course of the Forum are made by consensus. This is a fundamental point. Consensus is a special kind of decision-making that involves the agreement of everyone without exception. Let me emphasize: the decision is not made by voting, although this procedure can be applied, but always and only unanimously, otherwise the decision is not considered to be made. This procedure was adopted at the creation of the Forum; it is also used for decision-making at summits with participation of heads of state, and, as far as I know, in other formats within the BRICS (ministerial meetings, various forums of non-governmental organizations, etc.), of which there are more than a hundred.

It is not easy to make the turn from democratic procedures, where the minority always has the right to be heard, has no right to cancel a decision made by the majority, but has an obligation to implement it, to procedures where the participants work together to prevent the emer-

gence of a minority. Basically, in preparation for the year of our presidency of the BRICS in 2015, Russian trade unions had to build and embrace completely new procedures that implement unfamiliar ethical norms, which are completely devoid of the missionary role of the author of the idea. All this habitual baggage had to be replaced by hard collective work to develop solutions that would take into account the views of each participant. In other words, it was necessary to move from a democracy based on “majority rule” to full realization of “common interests” through “conflict avoidance”.

The seeming simplicity of replacing one procedure with another could not be realized in the case of the BRICS, because the differences between the countries that make up the international association are truly vast. If anyone could come up with a list of major developing nations with the biggest differences, there is an 80% chance they would get the BRICS. Many researchers and experts wrote about this in the initial period of formation of the association. Over time, however, it has become apparent that despite the differences, it is necessary to implement what unites us – the enduring common commitment to creating a model of international relations that would ensure accelerated economic and social development on an equitable basis, universal security in the world, and elimination of all forms of colonialism and dictatorship. This has everything to do with the union work, since unions represent the core interests of workers in member countries.

The differences are really enormous. What matters most for the unions is particularities in the construction of labor relations, in the daily practices of interaction in the workplace between workers and employers. It is important for unions to understand the motivational aspects of labor, worker attitudes toward unionization, and many other nuances that result from the internal development of our countries.

Each country in the BRICS has its own history, its own state, political and social structure, which should be taken into account in the work of the BRICS Trade Union Forum. Otherwise, it would be difficult to reach consensus on substantive issues, or the solutions would be devoid of specifics and would be perceived as a struggle for “everything good against everything bad.” The European and Anglo-Saxon models of relations are almost always built on educational, missionary principles, which involve the flow of resources from those who have them to those who lack them. It doesn’t matter if it’s knowledge, experience, equipment, or funds. It is usually implied that this overflow obliges the recipient to “pay back” at some point. Such interactions are often built on the division by seniority in an imagined hierarchy; we all remember the “divide and conquer” formula; we have not forgotten the British mission of “white man’s burden”, etc. All of the BRICS countries without exception are familiar with its practical implications. In terms of game theory, the familiar system of relations outlined above is almost always a zero-sum game, i. e. an antagonistic game. This generally falls within the philosophical framework I mentioned earlier.

A logical question would be, is it possible to build a relationship that will lead to a nonzero result, in which there will be no losing sides and there will be added value, i. e. the system will have “emergence”? What should be the rules and conditions of such an interaction?

This question is difficult to understand and is even more difficult to answer. But finding this answer is the main mission of the national trade union centers of the BRICS countries, motivating them to work together. Reaching a common understanding, a consensus, as opposed to making decisions in a hierarchical system, is a very time-consuming process that involves a lot of preliminary work and the need to include all participants in the development of decisions.

To gain “added value”, participants in the BRICS Trade Union Forum adhere to several rules.

First, at all stages of developing joint solutions, participants are obliged to know and respect the diversity of historical patterns of social and working life in the BRICS countries, especially in the chair country, sometimes deeply rooted in the history and culture of peoples of the participating countries.

Without turning this report into a cultural study, let me mention that, for example, in Indian society the division into castes and, as a consequence, into professional groups for the majority of the population derives from the Vedic worldview based on religious and philosophical sources of the 16th century B. C. And this background cannot be misunderstood or ignored. We must also bear in mind that informal employment typical of the service sector and agricultural labor (almost always within the family) is the backbone of the Indian economy. 78% of more than 560 million employable people work in the informal sector, and the recipes for bringing these workers into the formal sector look very different from those in Russia. In the current year of South Africa’s presidency, we should remember that apartheid (the separation of black, “colored” and “white” citizens) was only overcome in that country in 1994 and the kinds of businesses and jobs where “whites” dominated are at times vacant because there are not enough indigenous Africans and “colored” employees with the right competencies. Administrative measures, no matter how sophisticated, cannot make up for the physical shortage of local qualified personnel. The issue of expropriation of the land of landowners who have left the country is still relevant in South Africa, so agricultural development is still constrained by property relations and this is already turning against the economy, taking on ugly forms of “reverse apartheid”. Every BRICS country has such characteristics, and importantly, none of us is waiting for “teachers” to bring the “light of knowledge” and explain how to live and solve problems.

The second rule. When discussing any serious topic, one should not seek to impose one’s own understanding of the question and the answer to it on other participants. It may be the case that they simply do not understand the nature of the phenomenon under discussion, cannot grasp its essence. In that case, it is better to put such a question aside, no matter how important it may seem. If there is no common interest and understanding, there can be no consensus.

The third rule. There should always be an opportunity for a free exchange of views, a process that can be called “reaching mutual understanding”. This is something similar to editorial work, but it is based not so much on the search for appropriate words and terms as on the elimination of contradictions on a worldview level, since the perception and wording of the same problem in Chinese, Indian, Brazilian, African, and Russian versions will always be different.

In concluding my report, I should say that trade unions, as a special institution for the realization of indigent interests of working people, have made a unique contribution during the ten years of joint activities within the BRICS Trade Union Forum in finding ways to transition from a unipolar world that holds developing countries back, to a new and fairer world order where the full-

est potential of the peoples that constitute them will be unlocked. The national trade union centers of the participating countries, united in the BRICS Trade Union Forum, are determined to develop this format, including through the involvement of trade union organizations of countries aspiring to membership in this international association.

G. Mettan¹

PANDEMOCRATISM AND THE COLLAPSE OF WESTERN VALUES

“Russia, an aging tyranny, seeks to destroy Ukraine, a defiant democracy. A Ukrainian victory would confirm the principle of self-rule, allow the integration of Europe to proceed, and empower people of goodwill to return reinvigorated to other global challenges. A Russian victory, by contrast, would extend genocidal policies in Ukraine, subordinate Europeans, and render any vision of a geopolitical European Union obsolete. Should Russia continue its illegal blockade of the Black Sea, it could starve Africans and Asians, who depend on Ukrainian grain, precipitating a durable international crisis that will make it all but impossible to deal with common threats such as climate change. A Russian victory would strengthen fascists and other tyrants, as well as nihilists who see politics as nothing more than a spectacle designed by oligarchs to distract ordinary citizens from the destruction of the world. This war, in other words, is about establishing principles for the twenty-first century. It is about policies of mass death and about the meaning of life in politics. It is about the possibility of a democratic future.”

This is how Timothy Snyder, one of the most prominent academic representatives of the Western establishment, describes what’s at stake in the war in Ukraine, in the September 2022 issue of the American journal *Foreign Affairs*. Defense of “European values” against barbarism, democracy against dictatorship, heroic virtues against war crimes. Such is the narrative that has been served up to us, day after day, by Western leaders and media, since February 24, with a tone and a unanimity that broaches no dissent.

Are we really sure that this vision corresponds to reality and that this war corresponds to a struggle between the good guys and the bad guys? And what are these famous values that we hear so much about, but which we are careful not to define and, above all, to put to the test in our own behavior? For what is the value of a “value” that has been rendered useless because it has been adulterated or devalued by attitudes that are even more criminal than those of which the adversary is accused? These questions are not insignificant because, seen from the rest of the world, Europe is showing that it has failed to share its internal model – cooperation between member nations on an egalitarian basis of mutual respect – with the other nations of the world and that it is losing its honor and its credit with them.

An inventory is necessary.

The first problematic observation is that the founding value of Europe since 1945, the one that was proclaimed for seven decades to justify the creation and success of the European Union – peace between nations – has totally disappeared from official and media discourse since last April.

It is true that peace had already suffered a serious setback in the 1990s, during the Yugoslav war, when Germany’s premature recognition of the independence of Slovenia and Croatia set off a firestorm; and in 1999 the German and NATO chiefs concocted the false Operation Horseshoe and staged the Raçak massacre, allegedly planned by the Serbs to liquidate the Kosovars, and thus justifying the bombing of a European state for 78 days at the cost of dozens of deaths and billions of damages. This ideal of peace was also undermined by the gradual transformation of NATO into an increasingly aggressive alliance after the demise of the Soviet Union, as evidenced by the aforementioned attacks on Serbia, Iraq, Libya, Syria and Afghanistan, most of them committed in violation of international law. Not to mention the continuous bombing of the civilian population of Gaza or the deportation of the inhabitants of the Chagos Islands by the British to install a military base (Diego Garcia), recently condemned by the International Court of Justice.

Despite these deviations, peace, officially at least, remained a foundation for action and a claimed “value” of Europe and the West. It was in the name of preserving peace that President Sarkozy rushed to Moscow in the summer of 2008 to meet with President Putin after the failure of the war in Georgia, unleashed by Saakashvili.

It was also in the name of peace that Europe, led by France and Germany, negotiated and guaranteed the Minsk Agreements that followed the overthrow of the Ukrainian government and the uprising in Ukraine’s Eastern provinces after the February 2014 riots and the joining of Crimea to Russia. There had even been hope that peace would be possible between Ukraine and Russia in late March of this year, until the media coverage of Bucha and the visit of Boris Johnson in early April put an end to any hint of negotiations on the Western side.

Since then, peace has disappeared from the European horizon. Moreover, ministers and the media, led by the President of the European Commission, are constantly calling for more war, more arms deliveries, more sanctions, more financial support, more energy austerity, stigmatizing the few voices that dare to call for de-escalation and diplomacy – as traitors. This wide gap between proclaimed values and actual behavior undermines the entire Western discourse on values.

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In the same vein, how are we to interpret the discourse of European leaders and media, who have no words harsh enough to castigate the nationalism of Serbia, Russia, Hungary, Turkey, China (vis-à-vis Taiwan), the chauvinism of the so-called “far-right” parties in France, Italy, the Netherlands, Austria and elsewhere, as well as the separatism of the Catalans, of the Donbass and Crimean republics – but who then have every possible consideration for the secession of Kosovo, the independence of Taiwan, the occupation of the Golan Heights and the colonization of the West Bank, which are not recognized by international law, and for the “righteous struggle” of the Ukrainian ultra-nationalist battalions, which has been condemned by the United Nations in the resolutions against Nazism? How can one praise the nationalism of some by providing them with arms, financial support and political recognition, while condemning the nationalism of others, who, unlike the former, have not started any war? What is a value that deserves all respect, even when it is stained with blood, but is given no respect when it is expressed peacefully through the ballot box?

The second value defended by the West is democracy. As for peace, we want to applaud. But on closer inspection one has doubts. How can one justify the unconditional support to a country, Ukraine, under the pretext of democracy, when this same country has banned all opposition parties (last March), closed all non-governmental information channels (in 2021 and 2022), banned all opposition parties (last March), closed all non-governmental news channels (in 2021 and 2022), banned minority languages (and even majority languages, since Russian is spoken by two thirds of the population), has had dozens of journalists, political opponents and even negotiators murdered by its security services, and allowed rampant corruption to develop (122nd position in the world corruption ranking, not far from Russia), sold off 17 million hectares of good agricultural land to three American multinationals despite popular opposition, forcibly enlisted the male population in its army, executed prisoners of war, used its own civilian population as human shields (see the Amnesty report), filled its army and its administration with notorious neo-Nazi sympathizers – to name but a few of the facts that have been acknowledged by the dominant media? Is this really the model of democracy we want to defend?

And what about our own appetite for democracy when US supported or planned so many violent *coups d'état* and bloody *regime changes*, from Iran's Mossadegh and Guatemala in 1953 and 1954 to Maidan in 2014, when the West rushes to Baku to cajole the dynast Aliyev who keeps attacking Armenia, to Saudi Arabia to coax Prince MBS who had the Yemen broken into pieces, to Qatar to smile at the emir, or to Cameroon to make friends with President Biya who has been in power for 40 years – for the sole aim of getting a little gas or oil? All this to boycott Vladimir Putin, who has only been president for 18 years and who is ready to deliver us less polluting gas and oil for cheap?

Similarly, there are no words harsh enough to denounce Russia's interference in the affairs of democratic countries, as was the case throughout Donald Trump's term and during the 2017 French elections. But what is the response when two American special prosecutors (Messrs. Robert Mueller and John Durham) establish the opposite? Nothing! On the contrary, we enthusiastically endorse our interference

in the political functioning of third countries, as was the case in Venezuela in 2019 with the support for the self-proclaimed president Juan Guaido, with the putsch against Bolivian president Evo Morales and with all the color-revolutions designed to overthrow legitimate governments like the one in February 2014 in Ukraine.

Australian journalist and filmmaker John Pilger recounts that during his eighty-three years of life the United States government has succeeded in or attempted to overthrow fifty foreign governments, most of them democratic; that it has interfered in the elections of thirty countries; that it has waged war or dropped bombs on thirty countries, most of them poor and defenseless; that it has fought liberation movements in twenty countries and tried to assassinate the leaders of fifty nations – all this at the cost of carnage, massacres and destruction beyond reckoning. A fine example of democracy and respect for the people!

And finally, what are we to think of our own democratic functioning when we support a war without having consulted the citizens, when we scuttle neutrality without debate, as is the case of Switzerland, when we are engaged in warmongering against the opinion of the people? Let us recall in this regard the poll conducted in Germany and published on August 30 by the magazine *Stern*, to the absolute indifference of the Western media, because it is contrary to the dominant doxa: 77% of Germans are in favor of peace negotiations in Ukraine (as opposed to 17% who believe that nothing should be done); 87% believe that it is necessary to talk to Putin (as opposed to 11%); 62% that heavy weapons should not be delivered to Ukraine (as opposed to 32%). Another survey in Austria gave more or less the same results. These are popular opinions that we should not listen to.

The third category of values we are supposed to defend in Ukraine is human rights. Western ideologists claim that Russia committed a crime of aggression, the worst of all crimes according to the Nuremberg Tribunal, by launching its “special operation” against Ukraine. This is possible. But the Russians, in the same fashion as the Western accusations about the Uyghurs in China, counter that they have only responded to the crime of “genocide”, perpetrated by Ukrainian forces since 2014 in the Donbass, at the cost of 14,000 deaths, attested by the UN. Ditto for violations of humanitarian law, the taking of civilians as hostages, the execution of prisoners. According to estimates in August, the UN put civilian casualties at 5587 dead and 7890 wounded since February. That's 6,000 dead and 8,000 wounded civilians too many, but it's a far cry from the widespread massacre and hundreds of thousands of civilians killed by NATO troops and pro-Western armies in Iraq, Afghanistan or Yemen.

Crimes against crimes, accusations against accusations. We are no further ahead if we look at things from a little distance. And in any case, if we are honest, we have to admit that we do not know enough at the moment and that, if we wanted to judge the supposed aggressor for his crimes, we would have to start with ourselves.

In the same way, the West, and Europe in particular, likes to present itself as a model of freedom of expression, compared to a Russia that would shamelessly flout them. But how to explain then that our sycophantic media trample all the criteria of objective information by unanimously taking sides with Ukraine, without listening to the other party?

Altera pars audiatur say journalism manuals. Almost every day, you can hear three experts debating on TV and radio channels, all of them viscerally anti-Russian. Where is the famous pluralism of the press? The diversity of opinion? And why were the Russian media *RT* and *Sputnik* banned from the EU? Isn't this a crass attack on freedom of expression, even when it is justified under the pretext of countering "Russian propaganda"? Since when is censorship democratic and representative of freedom of expression? And how can we justify the despicable treatment inflicted on Julian Assange, Edward Snowden or Chelsea Manning, because they denounced the turpitude of the NSA, the American crimes in Iraq, or the compromises of Hillary Clinton and the Biden son?

The last point, for a list that could be lengthened – is the flagrant violation of the right to private property, with the confiscation of the assets of the Russian Central Bank, the private assets of the oligarchs, and the sequestrating of billions of Afghan and Venezuelan assets by the American and British central banks?

The fourth and final category of values betrayed by Western practices is ecology and the fight against climate change. Since the Rio Summit in 1992, the West has posed itself, not without difficulty and with much internal debate, as the champion of the fight for the "preservation of the planet" and the development of green technologies by declaring war on CO2 emissions. In 2019, its political and media elites were swooning over Greta Thunberg and the youth-strikes, while at the same time calling on the countries of the South, which account for almost nothing of greenhouse gas emissions, to join the pack in exchange for huge investments, which the manipulative President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, estimated at hundreds of billions of dollars.

Three years and six months of war in Ukraine later, what has happened? Nothing but an abandonment of all the promises made and the betrayal of the countries of the South. In the name of the fight for Ukraine and the "bringing of the Russian economy to its knees," Europe has begun to import, at great expense and with great quantities of oil tankers and polluting bulk carriers, gas and shale oil that were once reviled. Coal-fired power plants are being reopened in Germany and Poland with the blessing of environmental ministers who would have cried scandal only 12 months ago. And soon it will be the turn of nuclear power plants.

All over Europe, the Greens, who were once at the forefront of the anti-nuclear and pacifist struggle, have become leaders of the most warmongering and anti-environmental policies, under the pretext that this would be temporary and that it would not compromise the climate objectives! Like the socialists who voted for military credits in 1914, today's Greens have put on the green-gray uniform to adhere to the most virulent militarism and convert to the benefits of fossil fuels certified as "democratic" even though they are bought in Qatar, Saudi Arabia or Azerbaijan. Look for the error!

As for the countries of the South, they feel more cheated than ever. At the last Euro-African summit on climate change held in Rotterdam on September 5, not a single European head of state made the trip, with the exception of the Dutch host! This is a slap in the face that Africans will not soon forget, as the continent has only contributed 3% of

historical greenhouse gas emissions and was promised \$100 billion per year in aid from 2020. The European heads of state were too busy fine-tuning the latest sanctions against Russian natural gas.

The preceding catalogue of small and large violations of the values professed by the West in the context of the war in Ukraine is symptomatic not only of the hypocrisy of the West – which is nothing new – but of the collapse of the moral principles and exemplary behavior which it used to pride itself on, in order to justify its domination over the rest of the world. It was in the name of these values that it fought and won the Cold War against the Soviet adversary. The great diplomat and Cold War theorist George Kennan had already written in 1951 that "...the most important influence that the United States can bring to bear upon internal developments in Russia will continue to be the influence of example: the influence of what it is, and not only what it is to others but what it is to itself... Any message we may try to bring to others will be effective only if it is in accord with what we are to ourselves, and if this is something sufficiently impressive to compel the respect and confidence of a world which, despite all its material difficulties, is still more ready to recognize and respect spiritual distinction than material opulence."

We in the West have to admit that we are not on this path. Fed on propaganda, to the point of indigestion, Europe is convinced that it still embodies a moral ideal and that it can be satisfied with declaiming the moral clichés of the Cold War – Good against Evil, democracy against dictatorship – without having to apply them. Whatever the outcome of this conflict, whatever the responsibilities of each party, it is clear that it is only deceiving itself, and that this war, waged in the name of morality through the Ukrainians, is only the mask of a desire for universal predation and world hegemony that has never been satisfied and that no longer deludes – nor amuses – the other six billion inhabitants of the planet.

In conclusion, we can say that the West is practicing what I call *pandemocratism*, i. e., a totalitarian vision, a weaponization of democracy which is used for extending the imperial hegemony of the West onto the world. *Pandemocratism* has nothing to see with democracy but everything to do with its instrumentalization in favor of geopolitical purposes. It functions on the same patterns as *pangermanism* 125 years ago, when German nationalists pretend to unify all the German speaking people of Europe and were launching crusades for that. The so-called "summits of democracies" and crusades "for Western values" are playing the same game nowadays.

That's an extension of the concept of *democratism* as it has been developed by Richard Sakwa: "Democratism does not preclude support for democracy, but too often democracy promotion and support for indigenous democracy advocacy groups become part of broader regime change agendas. When democracy becomes an ideology and an instrument in great power competition, then it becomes democratism. The instrumentalization of democracy not only undermines diplomacy but works to delegitimize democracy itself. Democratism inevitably gives rise to double standards, the selective applications of ostensibly universal principles to favor allies while inflicting punitive measures on adversaries. It also imposes a rank order on

states and serves to delegitimize some while elevating others.”¹

Pandemocratism pretends to favor democracy at the national states level but curiously prohibits it at the supranational level, imposing a dictatorial model of world gov-

ernance under the guise of democracy. In that sense, that’s the exact opposite of the multipolar world, which proposes a supranational democratic governance of the planet as a necessary condition for the freedom and sovereignty of peoples and nations.

D. V. Mosyakov²

EROSION OF THE TRADITIONAL CULTURE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE INDO-PACIFIC REGION

The Indo-Pacific waters and their densely populated coastal areas constitute a certain political and geographical whole, being linked by dotted lines of numerous maritime trade routes carrying a great variety of cargoes. A rapidly developing economy, a diversity of political systems, cultures and religions, territorial contradictions, together with a complex history of mutual relations between countries and peoples, make the IPR unique in terms of its scale and peculiarities. It comprises thirty-six countries spread across sixteen time zones; these countries account for more than half the world’s population, contain twenty-four of the world’s thirty-six megacities, and cover more than half the planet’s surface area.

The region is home to three of the world’s largest economies, seven of the largest armies, and five of the seven partners in mutual defense agreements with the United States.³ At the same time, despite significant economic growth and the commitment of most countries to the existing status quo, the IPR is challenged by growing tensions and uncertainty, along with the threat of local wars that could easily spread across the world. This is because the entire region has become a geopolitical battlefield for global leadership between China and the U. S. It would take a dedicated study to cover in detail the entire frontline of this confrontation; we are currently focusing on the military, political, and economic dimensions of the conflict. The author was mostly interested in the history of emergence of the contemporary U. S.-China confrontation in Asia and especially in Southeast Asia, its development, contributing processes, and predictions that can be made about the IPR’s future. The main purpose of the research was to give Russia a more realistic outlook of this confrontation and the processes taking place in the IPR, in order to formulate policies that would take into account the actual situation.

¹ See: *Саква Р. Опасности демократизма // Полис. Политические исследования. 2023. № 2. С. 88–102. URL: <https://www.politstudies.ru/files/File/2023/2/Polis-2023-2-Sakwa.pdf> (accessed: 04.05.2023).*

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³ *Браун Р. Индо-Азиатско-Тихоокеанский регион и концепция сражения во многих областях. URL: <https://sgs-mil.org/war-theory/multidomains/265-indo-aziatsko-tihookeanskiy-region-i-koncepciya-srazheniya-vo-mnogih-oblastyah-domenah.html> (accessed: 14.05.2023).*

The focus of our research is to analyze the APR-IPR issues through the prism of the U. S.-China conflict as well as through the politics and interests of the APR countries and especially SEA countries. Clearly, the control of the vast expanse of the APR-IPR, its mineral wealth, trade routes, and political preferences of the populous and rapidly developing states, is key to the success of the U. S. global dominance, which has been challenged by China. Therefore, the conflict for world leadership is expressed in its fullest extent here rather than elsewhere in Africa or even the Middle East. In this struggle, adversaries combine different elements of aggregate power, whereas “hybrid warfare” is the main form of confrontation. Even a cursory analysis shows that this is the war that the U. S. is waging, seeking to out-balance China in the trade and economic relations in order to prevent the political dominance of the latter in any state or the region as a whole. The parties to the conflict are also engaged in an information war and compete for sympathies of the local elites. The issue of Taiwan and the direct military collision in the South China Sea play a signature role in this confrontation as mutual military demonstrations and the U. S. ship crusades could instantly turn the conflict into a “hot war”.

In the developing standoff, both Beijing and Washington make no secret of their objectives: China wants the Americans to recognize its interests in the South China Sea and its dominant influence in Southeast Asia, not to hinder Taiwan’s integration with the PRC, and to abandon its strategy of containment and distortion of China’s image by picturing Beijing as the main threat to the independence of regional states. Beijing is also strongly against letting the U. S. build an alternative to the current security model in Asia, to be based on a network of bilateral military-political alliances of regional states with the U. S. and excluding China.⁴

The Americans naturally do not agree to these demands, and most probably never will, since fulfilling them would mean the end of American hegemony in Asia, and indeed in the world, with the de facto surrender of a vast region to China. Under the disguise of “China containment policy”, Washington is itself seeking sole control of the vast region, squeezing out China, and subordinating the policies of the other major Indo-Pacific countries – Japan, Australia, and India. The purpose of such a strategy is to protect national interests of the U. S. in the region to the fullest possible extent, which is crucial for the stability of the U. S. economy and America’s current global positioning.

⁴ *Мамонов М. «Возвращение» США в Азию. URL: <https://russiancouncil.ru/analytcs-and-comments/analytcs/vozvrashchenie-ssha-v-aziyu> (accessed: 14.05.2023).*

The Americans are working to weaken their main adversary as much as possible, to form a hostile bloc of neighbor states around it, and to energize the internal opposition. They hope to provoke the Chinese leadership into taking risky steps as part of a military confrontation and, ultimately, to achieve its defeat and the abandonment of its global claims and the transfer of power in China to political forces aligned with American global dominance.

The prerequisites for the current large-scale confrontation between the two strongest states in the world have been emerging gradually, with the growth of China's economic, military, and political power. The Americans have tried to ignore these developments for quite a while, as their military and political interest in the East and South-East Asia has weakened after the end of the global confrontation with the USSR. The prevailing view in American ruling circles was that their position in the region was stable and the situation was under control. This belief was sustained since Beijing's ruling circles have remained in international relations generally under Washington's close supervision as part of the so-called 'engage policy' of partnership between the U. S. and China, and China's leadership has never objected to Taiwan's presence in the new international economic organization called Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) established at the initiative of the U. S. in 1989, or to the U. S. taking the lead in it. When some ASEAN leaders complained in Washington about increasing Chinese pressure and conflicts in the South China Sea, they were told to solve their problems with China on their own, without asking assistance from the U. S. With regard to the events on the Mischief Reef near the Philippine island of Palawan, where Chinese 'military fishermen' unexpectedly landed in 1995, the Americans did not interfere and provided no real help either to the Philippines or to the ASEAN as a whole, who opposed the Chinese expansionist efforts.¹ Even the events of 2001, when a US reconnaissance aircraft collided in midair with a Chinese fighter jet 160 kilometres away from the Chinese naval base in the Paracel Islands and had to land on Hainan Island, had no serious impact on the bilateral relations. The U. S. government satisfied the requirement of the Chinese to issue a statement concerning the incident, and "the language of this document was deliberately ambiguous and allowed both countries to 'save face' while defusing a potentially volatile situation between the militarily strong states."²

However, as China's power grew and the country projected itself across the region, the U. S.-China relations began to change significantly. Somewhat of a Rubicon is 2010, when certain events opened a new page in the relationship between the two countries: Beijing has officially announced that it has ended military relations with Washington, the U. S. leading company Google has reported that it was subjected to a cyber-attack organized by China, and a prominent Chinese dissident and ruling regime opponent Liu Xiaobo received the Nobel Peace Prize while in prison.

In addition, the U. S. President Barack Obama has organized several demonstrably anti-Chinese actions that year: a meeting with the Dalai Lama, despite strong protests from the Chinese side, and a statement that political

reforms in the PRC were lagging behind the economic reforms.³ With this statement, Obama was emphasizing that a free and prosperous economy can only develop within the framework of an American kind of a democracy, not within the framework of an authoritarian communist regime.

Thus, the U. S. proclaimed itself a defender of civil liberties in China and supported the 2010 awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the convicted dissident Liu Xiaobo, who liked to repeat, "China needs at least 300 years of colonialism to become like Hong Kong."⁴ Washington hoped to be able to use this staunch Westerner and opponent of the Communist Party power, who was internationally known and recognized as an unjustly convicted human rights activist and a selfless fighter against the regime, to actively influence the policies of the Chinese authorities and even the stability and sustainability of China's political system. The American technology aimed at supporting a group of individuals in China who would fight for civil rights and democracy, and who would be untouchable to the local authorities, even while drawing up an indictment against their own country on one occasion or another on a continuous basis.

In Beijing, the Liu Xiaobo case caused great irritation, and most importantly, growing distrust of the Americans as Chinese leadership started to reasonably suspect that their opponent was preparing a so-called 'democratic transformation' of China's political system, that is, the elimination of the Communist Party, which has repeatedly been talked about in Washington.

Military pressure became another leverage against China. In early 2011, the Obama administration announced that the US Navy's presence in the seas adjacent to China would be significantly increased. Washington said that America was returning to East and Southeast Asia and strengthening its naval grouping in the Pacific. This new approach found its most ample reflection in U. S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's October 2011 article, "U. S. Policy in the Pacific", in *Foreign Affairs* journal. She later outlined it in an address to the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit.⁵

The text caused a huge resonance in Asia and beyond, because it suggested that relations with China are taking a new shape for the U. S. and that the previously poorly concealed confrontation is moving into an open phase. So, the U. S. Secretary of State proclaimed the advent of a "Pacific American Century" and said the U. S. was responsible for protecting the rights and freedoms in Asia. Having attended the East Asia Summit (EAS) for the first time, in November 2011, Barack Obama declared that the United States is now "the guarantor of security in the Asia-Pacific region" (APR).⁶ This was an open challenge to China, meaning that the U. S. was finally parting with the "engage policy" of cooperation with the PRC as a junior partner, and moving to a "hedge policy" of containing China as no longer a "difficult" partner but an enemy. The stiffening attitude toward the PRC became even more pronounced when the

³ История американо-китайских отношений. URL: <https://tass.ru/info/4159288> (accessed: 14.05.2023).

⁴ Косырев Д. Попытка изменить родину. URL: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/3359751> (accessed: 14.05.2023).

⁵ Clinton H. R. America's Pacific Century. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2011/10/11/americas-pacific-century> (accessed: 14.05.2023).

⁶ Calmes J. Obama and Asian Leaders Confront China's Premier. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/20/world/asia/wen-jiabao-chinese-leader-shows-flexibility-after-meeting-obama.html> (accessed: 14.05.2023).

¹ Королев А. С., Анасова А. М. АСЕАН как зона столкновения интересов США и Китая. URL: <https://asaf-today.ru/s032150750010445-1-1> (accessed: 14.05.2023).

² Инцидент на острове Хайнань. URL: https://ru.wikibrief.org/wiki/Hainan_Island_incident (accessed: 14.05.2023).

U. S. charged several Chinese military officers with economic espionage in May 2014 and, in August, accused China of having its fighter jets dangerously close to a US reconnaissance aircraft over the South China Sea.

All these events marked the beginning of the U. S.-Chinese “hybrid war”, which, quite in line with the classical theory, is developing very unevenly, in ups and downs, under the influence of various kinds of negotiations and discussions constantly ongoing between the two sides in order to limit it and somehow try to stop it on the basis of the existing status quo. But this has not been achieved; a “hybrid war” is something that is intrinsically non-stop, although it sometimes takes a subdued form, giving the impression of a positive change.

The reason for such negative developments for Asia and the world in general, when the contradictions between the two countries as well as their military confrontation are not being resolved but only deepen, can be explained by the fact that the desire of the strongest states to establish their leadership in the world and in the IPR, to strengthen their own security and prosperity, is an objective reality and it will not disappear either today or in the foreseeable future, and will determine the course of history. This is how the world works: the state that has the greatest aggregate power, with predominant political influence, a strong army, economic strength, and a stable financial, scientific, educational, informational, and cultural component, is always a contender for the role of world leader and hegemon. Becoming a superpower, such a state seeks to dictate its rules of the game to the entire world at all times, and in this way to secure its advantage. Therefore, the situation around the growing U. S.-Chinese conflict cannot fundamentally change, even despite the best intentions of the unchanging presidents of China and the changing U. S. presidents.

Another important constituent of today’s global agenda is the superpowers’ struggle for superiority in the Asian and world politics. Other countries are also drawn into the conflict between superpowers, as they depend on them in one way or another, but also affect the general course of their confrontation, having global interests and building a system of relationships over vast territories.

This is what we can observe when the ruling elites of most APR-IPR countries are trying their best to predict the future and be on the winning side. Growing political tensions are associated with an atmosphere of increasing mistrust and suspicion, and a constant search for the most reliable partners for the “big game” of survival and domination. This changes the configuration of customary regional ties and alliances, threatening the unity of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), whose cohesion is being severely challenged by opposing superpowers. This raises the important question of whether the community of small and medium-sized countries is capable of influencing and adjusting the course of the game, being forced to engage in a process of transformation of their foreign and often domestic policies under the influence of the struggle between superpowers. Can they remain free to choose their allies and not to side with one of the rivals? What is their role and influence in the global confrontation?

Clearly, most of these countries do not want to play the role of a dummy; their ruling elites understand that if they let go of the control, an absolute chaos with an extremely negative outcome may ensue. Therefore, the specifics of

today’s transformation in the APR-IPR is that all countries participating in this process seek to influence it in one way or another, thus forming a complex and very unstable network of international ties and dependencies, dialogues and conflicts that are sometimes very difficult to discern.

At the same time, this precarious situation of political tension, disguised and open struggle of geopolitical rivals bears certain opportunities for small and medium-sized states, which are placed at front line of this struggle. On the one hand, the threat of external interference, and on the other hand, global attention to the country and the region are associated with significant financial resources and boost the rate of economic growth and modernization of local communities. Besides, the competing superpowers are forced to make substantial investments in the economies of Asian states, to transfer technology, train students, and form elites that would be loyal to them. Therefore, it would be wrong to view the growing tensions and security threats to the APR-IPR states as an outright negative phenomenon that forces them to spend significant resources on defense and taints their future with growing uncertainty. There is also a flip side to this phenomenon, when up to certain limits the conflict of the superpowers fills the region not only with struggle, but also with energy; the rivalry brings about new opportunities, the competition clearly spurs local elites and makes them look for solutions and not fear the inevitable changes.

There are many politicians in Southeast Asia who see the upside of the U. S.-China confrontation and are trying to play both cards at the same time. There are such telling examples as the Philippines, which alternately turn their back on the U. S. or China; of Vietnam, which successfully balances between China and the U. S.; of Malaysia, which either rejects or takes Chinese money.

The paradox is that in the Pacific and Indian Ocean regions there are trends at work that are destructive and dangerous, and other trends that create opportunity and aim at modernizing and integrating Asian economies into global world markets. Russia’s political practice should take into account that aggravation of the U. S.-Chinese struggle is not perceived unequivocally negatively by many in the ASEAN.

The process of transformation of the political space in the APR-IPR is complicated by the fact that it takes place in conditions when the trust of most countries in international law as the only source of impartial attitude to the participants of conflicts for making decisions based on international law is clearly undermined. The fact is that the so-called ‘rules-based order’ – that is, a mechanism for resolving specific conflicts in which key provisions are always changing based on the U. S. interests – is rightly viewed by many policymakers in Asia as an illegitimate pseudo-legal system that serves the U. S. agenda and only adds to the uncertainty of the global and regional security architecture.

Another principle that the Americans are keen to instill in modern international relations is the principle of ‘canceled history,’ when their representatives say that international conflicts should be resolved only through modern law which they themselves establish while ignoring any grounds for using historical facts and information to find a just solution.

The impasse of this approach is illustrated, for example, by the decision of the Court of Arbitration in The Hague re-

garding the islands of the South China Sea, which ignored all the historical information provided by China that Chinese dynasties controlled these islands in ancient and medieval times. Naturally, China has expressed complete disagreement with the legitimacy of this decision. Incidentally, the weighty evidence provided by Vietnam that the islands were also used by the Vietnamese authorities was ignored as well.

As a result, the court's decision was so disputable and biased that even the Philippine authorities, despite the seemingly positive outcome in their favor, refrained from any attempts to implement the decision in practice. Apparently, Rodrigo Duterte, then President of the Philippines, was well aware that the purpose of the Americans, who pressured the court in The Hague in every way possible, was to divorce his country from China, to reignite the territorial conflict and to profit from this confrontation.

Yet another principle increasingly introduced in the international relations is 'peace by force,' when instead of seeking a compromise, a military victory of one of the sides of the conflict (which acts in the interests of the United States) is presented as its valid solution. Now this principle is being tested in Ukraine, but soon it may well be used in the Asia-Pacific region as well. Its preferential use is quite understandable – in a situation where other factors of national power – economy, information and 'soft power' – are no longer sufficient to maintain American dominance in the APR, the military factor as the 'last argument of kings' comes to the fore.

To complete the picture, one must say that the aforementioned new "principles" of world politics are closely related to the phenomenon of 'post-truth,' which plays a key role in today's information flows. The main feature of 'post-truth' politics is the repetition of distorted information, even though it has been refuted or was knowingly false. 'Post-truth' is "circumstances in which objective facts are less significant in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotions and personal beliefs."¹ The architects of 'post-truth,' for the most part, are the Western media, which create a different reality for Asian societies by constantly manipulating public sentiment in the interests of the United States and the collective West.

Another feature of modern global politics is that nuclear deterrence, which worked so well during the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis and later in the 1970s and 1980s, is now almost non-existent. A generation of politicians that has come to power in the West have not known the horrors of war and, for some reason, exclude the possibility of nuclear war from their calculations; they are ef-

fectively waging a virtually undeclared war against Russia, risking to cross all "red lines". On their part, they are ready to use nuclear weapons; for instance, the now former British Prime Minister Liz Truss, who said in one of her speeches that she was prepared to press the button to launch a nuclear weapon. "I consider this an important duty of the Prime Minister. I'm ready to do that," she said.² Another peculiarity of the situation with nuclear deterrence is that propagandists and politicians of Western states are trying quite skillfully, through information and 'soft power', to shape the situation in which the leadership of Russia or China would abandon any thought of using the nuclear power. It is a very cunning political technique to convince one's opponent that, even if to save itself, it should not resort to nuclear weapons. So far, there is a sense that in the West, many politicians, journalists, and even scientists seriously believe that everything will work out for them. Therefore, they do not notice the Russian warnings about the West crossing all "red lines" in the conflict in Ukraine, and in Asia – in the danger of aggravation of the situation around Taiwan and the South China Sea.

It is clear that the purpose of introducing all these 'innovations' into international relations is, firstly, to destroy the world order based on international law to build in its place another order that reflects and protects Western and, above all, American interests. Another goal is to impose American views of particular international conflicts on the ruling elites and political activists of most countries, to make them universal, and to prove that only American approaches are the only correct ones and that international policy can function only on their basis.

Based on all these 'innovations', which form a completely new political reality, the Americans and their allies are trying to draw to their side the Asian states that refused to join Western sanctions after the start of the Special Military Operation. The U. S. seeks to use the 'post-truth' mechanism in India, Vietnam, Indonesia, and in the APR-IPR region in general, distorting Russia's policies and actions in every way. Not only Russia's, however; also North Korea's, Myanmar's, and in the Middle East, Syria's – all those countries that oppose American dictate and are considered enemies in Washington.

The problem is that the application of all these innovations by the U. S. and the collective West completely rules out dialogue and increases trends toward conflict and war. They now form the basis of a global political landscape that is uncertain, conflicted, unjust, and extremely dangerous for most states.

¹ Карась Л. Феномен постправды: почему мы верим в то, во что хотим верить. URL: <https://theoryandpractice.ru/posts/19283-fenomen-postpravdy-pochemu-my-verim-v-to-vo-chto-khotim-verit> (accessed: 14.05.2023).

² Миронова А. Кто из западных политиков заявил о готовности применить ядерное оружие против России. URL: <https://fedpress.ru/news/77/policy/3101268> (accessed: 14.05.2023).

O. Roqueplo¹

D. S. LIKHACHOV'S THOUGHT AND THE FRENCH ELITE CULTURAL CRISIS OF THE 21st CENTURY. INTRODUCTION TO HOMO EURAMERICANUS PROBLEM

The nation should not forget about the reasons why it can value itself.

Albert Camus

The great legacy of the literary critic and thinker D. S. Likhachov still remains little known in France. Only one doctoral dissertation, although very important, was dedicated to him: "D. S. Likhachov. Historical poetics of Russian literature of the 10–20th centuries."² Likhachov, of course, is read and commented on by experts in ancient Russian literature (P. Gonno, A. Lavrov, V. Vodov, J.-P. Arrignon, M.-K. Schaub), which allowed me to discover him for myself. But Likhachov's fame did not go beyond the narrow circle of specialists on Russia.

Meanwhile, the relevance of Likhachov's ideas in modern France can hardly be overestimated. At the beginning of the 21st century, France faced an acute cultural crisis. Likhachov foresaw such crises when he spoke about the need for what he called ecology of culture. Moreover, the academician argued that the problem of conflicts and their resolution directly follows from the problem of cultural ignorance. The deterioration in relations between France (and other European countries) and Russia in 2014 and its aggravation in 2022 is the result of the process described by Likhachov.

This report mainly considers the problem of the French cultural crisis in relation of Likhachov's works and concepts, as well as its consequences for Franco-Russian relations and, in general, for France's relations with the world.

This crisis is tied to the appearance of a new human who I call Homo Euramericanus (or, according to R. Debray, 'Gallo-American'³), and who is no longer French, European, or North American, but represents a transatlantic ersatz culture that has lost its landmarks and even territory. This report will allow us to identify such Homo Euramericanus, to define him in some measure, without going beyond the introduction to the problem of such a significant scale.

The example of France is multifaceted. On the one hand, France and its culture are quite large in Europe, unlike, for example, the Scandinavian countries, and historically they are important landmarks for the whole of Europe and many other countries of the world. On the other hand, French cul-

ture officially seeks to stand against cultural globalization,⁴ which cannot be said about the Netherlands or the Central Europe states. French culture is also clearly and radically different from North America culture, while the common features of the USA, Scandinavia and the Netherlands (North German origin, Protestantism, and early liberalism) explain in some extent the powerful process of cultural integration that made English almost dominant in these countries of Northern Europe.⁵ Finally, unlike Germany, France did not have to go through the injury of a national collapse, so it can stay with open heart to the world and history. Thus, France, along with Italy and Spain (less authoritative countries), is the Roman Empire heiress and largely due to this has a strong, proud and living culture.

Moreover, France (which is logical) plays a special role in international cultural relations. UNESCO is headquartered in Paris, and France is among those countries that have made the greatest contribution to the preservation of world cultural heritage. This, in particular, is due to the cultural exclusion policy, which the writer and statesman Andre Malraux insisted on and which France has pursued since 1959. According to this concept, works of art, including dramaturgical, cinematographic and television ones, cannot be sold and bought like other goods, therefore the common market rules should not apply to them. The first international campaign for the preservation of cultural masterpieces began with Malraux's famous speech in UNESCO in 1960. The approach of the Russian scientist Dmitry Likhachov and his Declaration of Cultural Rights dated 2001 are largely in tune with the ideas of the Frenchman Malraux.

To investigate the cultural crisis in France means to study it in the country where it is least destructive, and to predict the consequences for the rest of the EU countries, adding that the Balkans seem to follow a different logic for their radical differences, similar to those of Russia itself.

Let's consider Homo Euramericanus problem by historical, anthropological and geopolitical aspects.

The cultural crisis of the French elites: from 1940 and May 1968 to vocism and new types of barbarism of the 2010s

French culture is undoubtedly one of the brightest in Europe. Our richest literary heritage has been created for several centuries, starting from the Middle Ages. In the 20th century, thanks to technological progress, other types of art also started to develop exponentially. So, by the early 1940s, France was experiencing the golden age of cinema, but at that time an acute moral crisis began in the country. This crisis was caused by the military defeat and the German oc-

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² *Lesourd F.* D. S. Likhatchev. Poétique historique de la littérature russe du Xe au XXe siècle. Lausanne : L'Age d'Homme, 1988.

³ *Debray R.* Comment nous sommes devenus "gallo-ricains" // *Conflits : Revue de Géopolitique*. URL: <https://www.revueconflits.com/americanisation-influence-culturelle-regis-debray/> (accessed: 16.03.2023).

⁴ See The J. Toubon Law dated August 4, 1994; documents on providing support to the international Francophonie.

⁵ Interview given to the author by Dutch Professor V. Mamadakh, June 5, 2018.

cupation. The consequence was the society splintering into three antagonistic groups:

- a large centrist (conservative and socialist) collaborationist bloc, which accepted defeat and stopped believing in the reasonableness of the French model of development, including cultural one;

- Gaullist nationalists (right and left) who did not accept defeat;

- Communists inspired by the USSR example, who fought against the Reich in the name of the French working class.

This splintering is of fundamental importance for understanding the French culture of the 20th century and its modern trends. The liberation of Paris in 1944 ensured the temporary superiority of the Gaullist and Communist Resistance forces, but in 1946 the centrists who had collaborated with the Reich during the war and did not believe in the success of the Paris Uprising, effectively returned to power. Because of the centrists' policy, a cultural crisis began, since they were still ready to become satellites of stronger powers. This crisis made possible a massive Anglo-Saxon cultural intervention. Since the late 1940s, this policy has led, for example, to the creation of the Graduate School of Social Sciences, the cradle of the 'American left', to counterbalance the influence of the National Center for Scientific Research, which was considered too pro-communist. It was during this period that Homo Euramericanus was born, this cultural hybrid without roots, which is neither European nor North American.

Regis Debray says that modern Frenchmen are Gallo-Americans. "There is something of Johnny Hallyday in each of us," President Macron says. But what is the Johnny Hallyday phenomenon if not the American dream? When he passed away, a million Frenchmen came to the Champs-Élysées to take part in the funeral procession, and Macron gave a speech in his honor. Holliday is a French-Belgian rock singer who throughout his career tried to copy Elvis Presley, very popular among the petty bourgeoisie and partially among the working class.

However, it is necessary to describe in more detail the appearance of Homo Euramericanus. English has become the language of globalization and increasingly widespread electronic technologies. This implies a certain acculturation of the whole world, especially elites and youth, through *globish* subculture. However, this is not enough for Homo Euramericanus emergence – it is still necessary to erase cultural and historical memory and abandon their heritage, as Yuri Lotman wrote.¹

Of course, this process in France is not all-around. Everywhere there are local scientists, people who are rooted in their culture and history. However, some categories of the country's population have already become real Homo Euramericanus. These are the political and economic elite, advertisers and journalists, some teachers and scientists, but in the first place – not very educated, representatives of the petty bourgeoisie aimed exclusively at consumption. It was they who were 'the people who wept for Holliday.' These four social groups are opposed by a huge and very diverse part of the French citizens who resist: scientists, clergy, cultural figures, defenders of cultural heritage, especially local ones, bearers of a truly cultural consciousness regardless of

¹ *Лотман Ю. М. Культура и информация // Лотман Ю. М. Статьи по типологии культуры. Тарту : Тартуский ун-т, 1970. С. 11.*

their social origin, as well as a very large proportion of the working class – successors of political culture of communist and Gaullist resistance.

At the same time, it should be remembered that outside of Europe, patriotism, nationalism, and the memory of colonial threats act as a defense against Homo Euramericanus, and in Turkey and Mexico, the gap in development compared to the United States also contributes to such a protection. Although individual cases can be observed all over the world, Homo Euramericanus phenomenon on the scale of the entire country's leadership can still be found only in the EU (although it is possible that this may also happen, for example, in South Korea, which will give rise to the formation of Homo Amerasiaticus). In some EU countries, this phenomenon is more widespread, in others less, but at the elite level it seems self-evident, including because nationalism was suppressed everywhere back in 1968, and there was no colonial threat capable of scaring and warning them.

Homo Euramericanus does not lose its language in France. The French language is strongly influenced by English, but is not in danger. However, French culture is seriously threatened.

D. S. Likhachov argued that literature is the primordial basis of culture, the moral and spiritual values of society, and that it can always serve to restore them: "literature... is an inexhaustible source of moral strength" and "moral self-purification."² He was right. But with the appearance of television and Internet, a new sociocultural factor seems to have changed the situation. As Regis Debray wrote in 2017, "we have moved from the graphosphere to the videosphere. So the videosphere is America. As soon as you turn on your computer, your language and thinking are formed under the influence of ideals, standards and words that came from across the Atlantic."³ In practice, this means that the 21st century made the image and the written word to compete, and that the 'picture' and video, more primitive and understandable to an uneducated audience, almost prevailed over the text. This is evidenced at least by the fact that PowerPoint presentations are attached to even serious scientific papers. The text becomes insufficient, which indicates a reversal and a decrease in the word role.

The United States influence is visible all over the world, and to a large extent the Americanization of France and other countries is simply an effect of globalization. But Homo Euramericanus clearly differs from other 'Americanized' people in the degree of cultural dependence. In his case, it is complete, and he consciously strives to become an American, abandoning his native culture. This was not possible in the 1950s or 1960s.

The color anti-cultural revolution occurring in France in May 1968 was largely the result of the influence of the German-Jewish philosopher Herbert Marcuse's views, the Frankfurt School representative, one of the CIA heads in Germany, who was responsible for the 'denazification' policy. It was in this context that he gradually became the founder of *The New Left* political direction. Its supporters believed that since all issues of material existence were resolved by capitalism, then moral obligations and prohibitions are no longer relevant, so it is possible to start im-

² *Лихачев Д. С. Русская культура в современном мире // Лихачев Д. С. Избранные труды по русской и мировой культуре. СПб. : СПбГУП, 2022. С. 65.*

³ *Debray R. Op. cit.*

plementing human sexual instincts by releasing them. He supported the free expression of left-wing ideas, pseudo-Maoism (having advocated Maoism in 1968¹) and minority rights because they represent the ‘party of tolerance,’ as well as a ban on the activities of right-wing (nationalist) forces because they are the ‘party of intolerance.’ Marcuse opposed any control and censorship, which, in his opinion, are sources of oppression.²

This is what the May 1968 movement is, supported by the situationists Guy Debord and Cohn-Bendit, as well as Trotskyists and pseudo-Maoists. This is the libertarian movement Rock and all that it represents: anti-patriotism, anti-hierarchy, anti-society and anti-culture; it condemns the theaters of Paris, Lyon, Avignon, because they are centers of classical culture, Rock and New Left rivals.

At the same time, the movement is not anti-capitalist, and its ideology is rather weak. The main slogan put forward by Cohn-Bendit is ‘prohibition is prohibited.’ But in essence, it was a movement aimed at the destruction of culture in the form in which it existed before 1968, since it did not provide for the renewal of social, moral and cultural values according to the ‘mock-deconstruction-destruction’ scenario.³ No student slogan in May 1968 was positive. It was a battle against the roots and foundations of order, whatever that order might be. Predictably, the desire for cultural devastation opened the door to the Americanization of society.

Thus, May 1968 became the cataclysm that literally disoriented the whole society and, first of all, the youth themselves. *Pencée 68* (The Thinking of 1968) reflects nihilism, which is clearly manifested in the moral and artistic crisis of the 1970s, when cinema shows emptiness. *Pencée 68* begins as ‘youthful barbarism’ and constant adolescence. It is logical that after May 1968, any actions against up to riots were allowed and possible. The degree of wandering generated by this revolution can be judged by the leader profiles. Thus, Cohn-Bendit lived in a world that was neither European nor American, and was torn between high bourgeoisie, Sartre salons, drugs, pedophilia, the extreme left terrorism of Hans-Joachim Klein and Pierre Goldman’s banditry.

All intellectuals, mainly of left-wing views, and ultimately almost the entire French elite, in fact, came from the same school – the Parisian Sciences Po, adopted *Pencée 68* that continues to dominate directly or indirectly the media and in the ruling elite minds. Since May 1968, everything that reminded of the authorities or the legacy of the past was ridiculed, especially the concept of national allegiances under the influence of Marcuse’s denazification. Meanwhile, *Pencée 68* received the support of influential theorists – J. Lacan, M. Foucault, J. Derrida, J. Deleuze (a group of ‘French theory’) and pedophiles⁴ who seek to protect exclusively ‘oppressed’ minorities, like Marcuse. They delegitimize the majority rule and deconstruct all social institutions: family, church, state, trade unions, and school...

Then they began to deconstruct all forms of identity – social, cultural, sexual, and biological. These philosophers

¹ Giroud F. L’Express va plus loin avec Herbert Marcuse // L’Express. 1968, 23 sept. URL: https://www.lexpress.fr/politique/1968-l-express-va-plus-loin-avec-herbert-marcuse_2013310.html (accessed: 16.03.2023).

² Marcuse H. *Eros & Civilization* (1955, 1966) ; *Idem*. *Tolerance repressive* (1964).

³ Zemmour E. *Le Suicide français*. P. : Éditions Albin Michel, 2014.

⁴ Pédophilie et inceste : comment le passé rattrape ceux qui ont défendu l’indéfendable // Le Parisien. URL: <https://www.leparisien.fr/culture-loisirs/pedophilie-et-inceste-qui-sont-ces-intellectuels-qui-ont-longtemps-defendu-l-indefendable-05-02-2021-8423257.php> (accessed: 16.03.2023).

changed the dominant way of thinking and public values of French society and still define them in public discussions.

Finally, since 1981, when supporters of *Pencée 68* came to power, a simplified scheme ‘patriotism = nationalism = fascism = absolute evil’ was imposed on all media, which, as it is supposed, should be opposed by the formula ‘cosmopolitanism = libertarian left = anti-fascist resistance = democracy = absolute good.’

Since then, all public debates have systematically revolved around this false polarization of the internal and external political life of France. Examples are easy to find among the many publications in the media. The debate on the fundamental issues of the 21st century is thus gradually narrowing down to a ‘single thought’ (*pensée unique*). Such a drastic impoverishment of the debate became possible only upon condition of the preliminary erasure of cultural and historical memory.

The bourgeois youth revolt in May 1968 led, among other things, to the deformation of education. Everyone who attended school after 1968 faced a general decline in the quality and volume of education. In outward appearance, it became more democratic and accessible, but in fact it gradually deteriorated. According to the estimates of Régis Debray, in 2015 the manager’s son made five times more mistakes in French than the worker’s son in 1930.⁵ The main consequence of this is the loss of centuries-old cultural and historical memory, only the memory of the period after 1945 remains. We will return to this in the second part of this report.

Having won the first victory, *Pencée 68* provoked a second wave of ideological and cultural invasion of France, starting in the 2010s, with gender theory on the one hand and vocism on the other. Here I will focus only on the second topic.

The vocism ideology⁶, like many others, is not a cultural phenomenon. Initially, it was intended to awake and liberate the Black Americans consciousness from Anglo-Saxon cultural domination. But it quickly turned into a weapon of mass cultural destruction: its purpose was to delegitimize, condemn and then erase cultural memory, which, according to vocists, restricts freedom, and replace it with another one specially invented for this purpose. This is how Likhachov defines the destruction of culture in his theory of cultural ecology.

North American vocism is imported into France by liberal libertarian organizations, in particular, by some communities of black residents in the Caribbean countries. It is increasingly challenging the foundations of French culture. Here is one example illustrating the extreme danger of vocism.⁷ In February 2023, a young activist vocalist accused Jean de La Fontaine that his fables were allegedly plagiarism of Aesop’s texts. The latter, allegedly, was a black African. The pretext is ridiculous – it is enough to read Aesop in Greek and La Fontaine in French. But the damage has been done: young people begin to doubt Lafontaine – one of the pillars of European literature and the founders of the classical French language. Vocists are trying to undermine La Fontaine’s authority, and then ‘cancel’ him. By erasing

⁵ Debray R. *Civilisation. Comment nous sommes devenus américains*. P. : Gallimard, 2017. Chapitre III.

⁶ Valentin P. *L’idéologie woke*. Vol. 1 : Anatomie du wokisme ; Vol. 2 : Face au wokisme. P. : Fondapol, 2021.

⁷ <https://www.tiktok.com/@guerriersilencieux/video/7204917759312956677> (accessed: 16.03.2023).

La Fontaine from the minds of thousands of young people,¹ vocalists create a situation where in the near future it will be possible to erase all classical French culture. The danger is enormous, especially when you consider that vocists receive not only money for seducing young people, but also direct power over them, since vocist Pape Ndiaye has been the Minister of National Education in Macron's government since 2022.

Likhachov wrote that the role of schools and universities is vital for maintaining culture.² This is where the power of vocism lies, with its pervasive political and social tentacles.

It should be emphasized that it is no coincidence that vocism is so destructive to such an extent: it was born in a community that at one time experienced a cultural collapse. The peculiarity of the black population of North America and the Caribbean countries is that they are descendants of slaves who were forced to abandon their language of culture, mixing them so that they cannot understand each other, and turn them into submissive slaves. It is this cultural devastation that has become a disease spreading across all continents.

Finally, the decisive year in the history of the cultural crisis in France was 2012, when it was decided to cancel finally the teaching of Ancient Greek and Latin in secondary schools. But this is the deepest foundation of French culture – fundamental works in science and art, literary classics; sacred texts, philosophical treatises were written in these languages, the French language was formed on the basis of Latin... This is undoubtedly the most acute crisis, because it lays axe to cultural roots. This is exactly what Likhachov pointed out when he said: "After the revolution, the prohibition of the Religious Education and teaching the Church Slavonic language was a colossal blow to the Russian language and, consequently, to the Russian conceptual world. Many expressions from psalms, services, Sacred Scripture (especially from the Old Testament), etc. have become incomprehensible. This enormous damage to Russian culture will still have to be studied and comprehended."³

Likhachov noted that when at least one essential element of a particular culture is disappeared or disintegrated, and then ultimately the whole culture is under threat.⁴

The Greeks and Romans considered barbarians those who did not speak their beautiful languages. Thus, the French people entered the era of barbarism in 2012, and they become victims of the war against their culture. Can it be considered an accident that same-sex marriages were legalized in the same year? Then in 1968, attacks on theaters occurred at the same time with the propaganda of unbridled sexuality and pedophilia. Morality, as Likhachov notes, is inseparable from culture.

Homo Euramericanus: a man by the Lethe River and a pedocrat

The diplomatic, ideological and even military confrontation between the countries of Western Europe (including France) and Russia, which began in 2014 and escalated in 2022, re-

minds us of the importance of Likhachov's thinking about peace. Today's Euro-Russian confrontation, of which we will mention only the Franco-Russian dimension here, is indeed a war of postmodern obscurantism. Likhachov wrote:

"And a lasting civil peace is possible only on the basis of culture. Many of our tragic conflicts largely stem from lack of culture, from intemperance in expressions, from inability to listen to an opponent, to convince him."⁵

Modern France has been implementing to some extent the idea of banning Russian art, literature, and classical music since 2022 as part of 'political sanctions' that invade even the cultural field, at the request of the Ukrainian⁶ and British⁷ governments, who claim that culture is the third front of the war, which they are leading against Russia, along with the military-political and economic fronts. This is, of course, outrageous, but it really is an obscurantism war, a crime against culture and ethnic hatred (which also directly or indirectly affects the majority of Ukrainians who share this culture). And, as Academician Likhachov perfectly understood, this obscurantism makes peace impossible and war inevitable. But this third front is natural, because, as the scientist recognized, culture is a matter of spiritual security of a particular people,⁸ in a total war, the enemy attacks cultural security too.

Likhachov insisted on the concept of 'lack of culture', and one can only agree with him. Geopolitical conflicts are inevitable, tensions arise often, but their resolution is always possible provided that cultural ties with the other party are preserved. These ties include not only diplomatic efforts, but also the knowledge of the other, the desire to understand him, if only to control or 'win'. The rupture of cultural and even scientific cooperation between the French and Russians – an unheard phenomenon during the Cold War – is extremely dangerous, since these two peoples represent the most important historical poles of culture in the European space.

This is not the source of the conflict itself, but the inability to control it, which was possible even in the conditions of tension during the Cold War. Today's French leaders no longer know Russia – neither its language, nor its history, nor its culture. In the 1990s, the Russian language gradually disappeared from schools and is not taught today, which has a decisive influence on the level of knowledge about Russia in French society, including in the academic environment. The same can be said about other foreign languages. Meanwhile, Likhachov argued that education is the basis of all human contacts with national and world culture.⁹

Russian history is also almost unknown in France, especially the history of relations between our countries. It is not

⁵ Лихачев Д. С. Великая культура примирительна по своей сути // Дни науки в Университете. Избранное. СПб. : СПбГУП, 2007. С. 55.

⁶ Oleksandr Tkachenko: "As Ukraine's culture minister, I'm asking you to boycott Tchaikovsky until this war is over" // The Guardian. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/dec/07/ukraine-culture-minister-boycott-tchaikovsky-war-russia-kremlin> (accessed: 16.03.2023).

⁷ Scott G. Cultural sanctions are third front in Ukrainian war – Dorries // Evening Standard. 2022. March 3. URL: <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/uk/vladimir-putin-russian-international-paralympic-committee-nadine-dorries-culture-secretary-b985751.html> (accessed: 16.03.2023) ; Sanctionner la Russie sans bannir sa culture // La République des livres. 2022. 2 août. URL: <https://larepubliquedeslivres.com/sanctionner-la-russie-sans-bannir-sa-culture/> (accessed: 16.03.2023).

⁸ Декларация прав культуры, § 14.

⁹ Декларация прав культуры, § 14г.

¹ <https://www.tiktok.com/@guerriersilencieux/video/7204917759312956677>.

² Декларация прав культуры, § 1б, § 14в, г.

³ Лихачев Д. С. Культура как целостная среда // Лихачев Д. С. Избранные труды по русской и мировой культуре. 4-е изд. СПб. : СПбГУП, 2022. С. 28.

⁴ Декларация прав культуры, § 14л.

present in the consciousness of generations born after 1950. This gap is very noticeable. Recall the debate between Jacques Chirac and Lionel Jospin in 2002, when Jospin effortlessly quoted Lermontov.¹ That said, Jospin was an anti-Soviet, a Trotskyist and a protester in May 1968, but he was born in 1937, so he got a good classical education. I should also mention Jean-Pierre Chevennan (born in 1939), who I supported myself in 2017–2019. A left-wing politician and statesman, but he was able to establish contact with Russia, including during a period of high tension after 2014, because he remembers from history both the alliance of Russia and France in 1894–1917, and the wars – Crimean, Napoleonic, Seven Years.’ He knows that Russia is a European country that is part of a common European (including French) memory. In 2014, he participated in a Franco-Russian event in memory of 1914.

But these leaders represent the outgoing generation. The generation of today’s leaders, regardless of their level of education, does not have this historical memory, because, as Yu. Lotman wrote, their memory has been erased and rewritten by the powers that want to destroy both French and Russian culture, and they have been doing it very skillfully since 1968. Nicolas Sarkozy (born in 1955), Francois Hollande (born in 1954), Emmanuel Macron (born in 1977) are united by the fact that they were decisively influenced by the events of 1968 that occurred either in their school years or long before them. Unlike people born before 1950 (who can be considered the last generation of long memory, since in 1968 the youngest of them was already 18 years old), the leaders who were born later belong to the generation of oblivion: they do not know and do not remember in cultural terms the world before 1945, which in their view is like ‘year 0’². Their speeches and addresses never go beyond this date. The result is obvious: since 1947, the USSR has been an adversary, and Russia has been an ‘eternal adversary,’ because there is no longer any memory of Stalingrad, the battle of Gumbinnen in September 1914 that saved Paris, the Congress of Vienna, Peter the Great and Catherine II.

Moreover, for these generations, the United States is almost the only winner in World War II and the only liberator of Europe. In 1945, the question: “Which country contributed the most to defeating Germany?” 55% of the French answered ‘the USSR’ and only 15% – ‘the USA’, and after seventy years of propaganda (especially through cinema) and the destruction of historical memory – exactly the opposite.³

Let me give you an example: neither Francois Hollande nor Emmanuel Macron in 2014–2018 ever mentioned the Franco-Russian Alliance in any of their speeches,⁴ although the celebration of the centenary of the end of the First World

War (1914–1918) in France lasted five years. Moreover, all speeches devoted to this history period, as a rule, contained a reference to the events of 1945, and Armistice Day on November 11, 1918 (the day of the signing of the Compiègne Truce, which ended hostilities in the First World War) is now Remembrance Day for the Fallen without any further clarification. The events of that period no longer matter.⁵ R. Debray gave a more precise explanation: “The farther the dead, the closer the distant (= USA).”⁶

Today, the ignorance by political, economic, media and cultural leaders of a new generation about the rather long common French-Russian past could lead to disastrous consequences. Modern leaders are in thrall to the ideology and ideas of the Cold War and their recent historical and cultural dependence on the United States and Great Britain. They are unable to imagine another world, which would allow them to make a comparison with the world in 1914, 1814 or 1714.

But let’s return to the events of May 1968. In the period from 1958 to 1968, Ch. de Gaulle tried to restore French power in the form in which it existed before 1914. He could do this because he kept the memory of that period, after all – culture is a direct source of power, as D. S. Likhachov said. After the overthrow of de Gaulle, the participants of the May 1968 events began to erase the memory of the time before 1945, when France was great, which did not allow a new de Gaulle to appear and start all over again with the same ambitions.

Young leaders do not remember the glorious time, so they believe that France should be content with the memory of the events of 1945, which they know. They can’t imagine anything else. In this case, the memory of the Franco-Russian Alliance goes beyond the relationship to Russia, since in 1914 this military-political alliance was one of the foundations of French power. The new leaders do not know their interlocutor, the ‘enemy’; they do not want to understand him, which prevents not only achieving peace, but also the promotion of the interests of their own countries, including economic and commercial ones.

The role of scientists, whose importance in culture was emphasized by D. S. Likhachov, is particularly important in this case.⁷ The leaders of the countries do not listen to the opinion of real scientists and French experts on Russia (B. Drventski, P. Gonno, A. Lavrov, J. Sapir, A. Groppo, J.-P. Arrignon et al.), instead they are guided by the opinion of false experts, even such influential ones as M. Yelchani-nov, the researcher of creativity F. M. Dostoevsky. In 2015, in his book “Dans la tête de Vladimir Poutine”, he, acting a bit like a charlatan, wrote that there is an eternal Russian threat to Europe: pan-slavism in the 19th century, communism in the 20th, and Putin’s neo-pan-slavism (!) in the 21st.⁸ His book, despite the unconvincing nature of some

¹ <https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CA419269524&sid=googleScholar&v=2.1&it=r&linkaccess=abs&issn=03017257&p=AQNE&sw=w&userGroupName=anon%7E6dc369a0> (accessed: 16.03.2023).

² The only notable exception is Prime Minister D. de Villepin (born in 1953), who was in power at the end of Chirac’s term. But de Villepin is a professional diplomat-historian, which means a special case. It is no coincidence that the end of Chirac’s mandate is also the fall of Villepin, the only ‘young leader’ having a historical memory.

³ *Narochnickaja N.* Que reste-t-il de notre victoire? P. : Editions des Syrtes, 2008.

⁴ Déclaration de M. François Hollande, Président de la République, en hommage aux anciens combattants de la Première Guerre mondiale, à la nécropole nationale de Notre-Dame de Lorette le 11 novembre 2014 // Vie publique. URL: <https://www.vie-publique.fr/discours/192935-declaration-de-m-francois-hollande-president-de-la-republique-en-homm> (accessed: 16.03.2023).

⁵ Similar indifference of French leaders has already been observed during the celebration of the Napoleonic bicentennial (1998–2021). While the population and mayors organize very popular events, Parisian leaders forget or refuse to celebrate even the Battle of Austerlitz in 2005 (when the prime minister Villepin is on a business trip), some way under the influence of black-Caribbean ideologues (Claude Ribb). This causes indignation of only two deputies, one of whom is a Corsican. See: *Boudon J.-O.* Les commémorations de Napoléon. URL: <https://www.revueconflits.com/jacques-olivier-boudon-commemorations-napoleon-sartene/> (accessed: 16.03.2023).

⁶ *Debray R.* Civilisation. Comment nous sommes devenus américains. P. 80.

⁷ Декларация прав культуры и ее международное значение.

⁸ *Eltschaninoff V.* Dans la tête de Vladimir Poutine. Arles : Actes Sud, 2014. This book, unfortunately, is the only ‘about Russia’ that French government advisers read when I worked with them in 2017–2019.

conclusions, was translated into all the languages of NATO countries and hastily republished in March 2022. Such pseudo-scientific works are dangerous for culture and all mankind. Let us recall in this connection Auguste Comte's formula: "From science comes foresight, from foresight action." If we have imperfect "scientific combinations," then "[E]verything yet done is inadequate to the object."

Therefore, Russia is perceived by young leaders who have no memory as a foreign, barbaric, new country, as if it has never been neighboring Europe and no important issue has been discussed with it for the last 300 years. This is where a lack of culture as a cornerstone in the foundation of peace and war manifests itself.

French leaders in 2022 have gone too far in their desire to 'cancel' Russian culture and Russian cultural symbols. A reasonable question arose: what can they hope for in negotiations with Russia if they do not know this country? Isn't that why, already in February 2022, NATO strategists, who are simultaneously waging a cultural and media war against Russia, wrote that there would be no peace with the Russian Federation until its (unlikely) defeat?

This problem is far from French-Russian, it is also French-Arab, French-African, French-Vietnamese, French-Brazilian and even French-Polish, French-Hungarian, etc. This is especially true of those countries that do not compete with France and do not feel hostility towards the French.

Thus, since 2007, we have witnessed many French diplomatic crises (sometimes acute) that have no political basis, the cause of which lies in culture. History and culture were almost completely removed from French leaders' view. Such incompetence of ignorant leaders is regularly condemned by many diplomats and the military, which assess the grave consequences of this decision.¹

Here's an example. On July 26, 2007, Nicolas Sarkozy delivered a speech to Africans at the French-speaking University of Dakar, one of the best in Africa, and he, in particular, stated: "The tragedy of Africa is that the African has not fully gone down in history... There is no place for adventure or the idea of progress in the African imaginary world. In an African universe where nature controls everything, a human escapes the torments of history that modern human suffers from; the African remains unchanged amid a constant order where everything seems to be written in advance."

This speech was composed by the brilliant logographer Henri Guaino, but it was booed by the Africans² and Jacques Chirac (born 1932) laughed at it: "The African has gone down in history; moreover, he is the first to go down!" How did such speech become possible in a State that acts as a political and cultural landmark for half of the African States and which preserves on its territory the best part

of the cultural heritage of these countries (masterpieces of art, recorded oral texts, literature, cinema, African studies, etc.)? Also how did it become possible that five years later the new President Francois Hollande (born in 1954) repeated essentially the same ideas (showing the same profound ignorance)?³ And how did it become possible that in 2017 Emmanuel Macron (born in 1977) turned not even to a little-known history, but this time to the only events known to his generation (we are talking about N. Mandela)? All this can be compared with the words and actions of Jacques Chirac, who skillfully completed his last presidential term with the opening of the Museum bearing his name on the Branly Embankment (or the Museum of Art and Civilizations of Africa, Asia, Oceania and the Americas (non-European civilizations)). The restoration of the French-African Museum allowed Chirac to build bridges and create a basis for dialogue with Africa.

The answer to the question of how this became possible is related to the erasure of historical and cultural memory: Sarkozy, Hollande, Macron and French advisers have no memory of the Franco-African relations of the 19th–20th centuries, it is replaced by a narrow Euro-American memory that 'does not know' what Africa is and how strong the French, French-speaking component is in it (see African onomastics), it is both Francophile and Franco-phobic, a real 'daughter of France' in grief and joy.

The generation of French leaders born after 1950 does not know that nowhere in the world is the public more receptive to French discourse than in French-speaking Africa. The modern French elite no longer knows that the President of the Central African Republic Bokassa took part in the liberation of France and that for two years French Equatorial Africa was the only territory of Free France (1940–1942) with an independent French army (the 2nd armored Division of General F. Leclerc de Otklock), whose epic journey across Africa led to the liberation of France in August 1944, combining the entire Franco-African history in one event. This epic is central because it answers a vital question about French memory: did France liberate itself by its African army or was it liberated by the Anglo-Saxons? And therefore, should she live independently or depending on the 'liberators'?

In his speech, Hollande expressed a desire to visit the House of Slaves (Maison des Esclaves) on the Senegalese island of Goree – a museum and memorial to the victims of the Atlantic slave trade. But he does not know that it was the inhabitants of this island, who sold slaves captured in African interior to Europeans!

The lack of culture makes the French leaders powerless even before their African spiritual and cultural brothers. Not surprisingly, after fifteen years of cultural and historical incompetence, French leaders have lost their influence in Africa, both in the Central African Republic and in Mali, Burkina Faso, perhaps even in Nigeria. I would like to note that it is not so much French power that is collapsing, as French incompetence and cultural ignorance that make Africans turn to other partners, more intelligent and cultured. Such weakness of the French leaders in the short term may lead to disaster, because the Democratic Republic

¹ *Malbrunot G.* Le déclassement français. Élysée, Quai d'Orsay, DGSE: les secrets d'une guerre d'influence stratégique. P.: Michel Lafon, 2022; *Idem.* Le déclassement de la diplomatie française // *Conflits*: Revue de Géopolitique. URL: <https://www.revueconflits.com/georges-malbrunot-declassement-francais/> (accessed: 16.03.2023); *Scheer F., Dufourcq B., Hennekinne L.* Le Quai, outil vital d'une diplomatie efficace // *Le Monde*. 2010. 24 août. URL: https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2010/08/24/le-quai-outil-vital-d-une-diplomatie-efficace-par-francois-scheer-bertrand-dufourcq-et-loic-hennekinne_1402148_3232.html (accessed: 16.03.2023).

² See: *Mbembe A.* L'Afrique de Nicolas Sarkozy // *Africultures*. 2007. 31 juil. URL: <https://africultures.com/lafrique-de-nicolas-sarkozy-6784/> (accessed: 16.03.2023); *Idem.* France-Afrique: ces sottises qui divisent // *Africultures*. 2007. 8 août. URL: <http://africultures.com/france-afrique-ces-sottises-qui-divisent-6819/> (accessed: 16.03.2023).

³ France – Afrique: le texte du discours de Dakar prononcé par François Hollande // *Jeune Afrique*. 2012. 15 oct. URL: <https://www.jeuneafrique.com/173903/politique/france-afrique-le-texte-du-discours-de-dakar-prononce-par-fran-ois-hollande/> (accessed: 16.03.2023).

lic of the Congo has now become the first French-speaking country in the world, and only French-speaking Africa still seems to be a large zone of influence for France and French-speaking culture.

Thus, France is becoming provincial and more isolated than it has ever been for millennia. France no longer understands Africa, because French leaders have lost an essential part of the classical French culture that connected them with African countries. Today, for edification, it is Africa that preserves the classic French onomastics of the 1900s, while Homo Euramericanus already uses Euro-American lexemes.

D. S. Likhachov argued that culture is a source of strength: “Russia is a great country. Great not for its territories, not for military glory, not even for industry and raw materials, but above all for its thousand-year-old culture, which gave the world immortal works of literature, architecture, music, and fine art.”¹ Lack of culture, in turn, is a source of strengthlessness.

I need to say a few words about the people who embody French culture abroad – diplomats. In fact, the French cultural crisis of leaders was followed by the crisis of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Quai d’Orsay) and diplomacy. Since 2007, when Bernard Kouchner, a participant in the May 1968 events, took the post of Foreign Minister, diplomats have lost all ability to influence French diplomacy, which was henceforth determined by the president and a narrow circle of people chosen by him.²

This marginalizing of diplomats gave rise to ignorance, lack of restraint and rigidity of diplomatic policy after 2007 (see examples in Libya and Syria). In 2022, this policy was brought to its logical conclusion by the diplomatic corps abolition. This is lack of culture triumph. Thus, 2007 should be considered the year of a break point: generational, cultural and personnel. It is appropriate here to quote the words of Academician Likhachov that “cultural differences of peoples and the inability to cultural understanding and mutually enriching dialogue of cultures became one of the causes of interethnic and international conflicts of the 20th century.”³

Lack of culture, memory and knowledge is, according to the scholar Bashlar, an epistemological obstacle that impedes the progress and the search for problem solving.

Therefore, today the young members of the French political elite, theoretically educated but actually ignorant, who drank water from the Lethe river, returned to a clean slate, like teenagers who discover new things without knowing anything.

Since 1968, we have seen the establishment of neocracy (or even pedocracy) – a regime where those who were born yesterday, a kind of eternally young teenagers who do not know history and culture, rule. Is it possible to measure the danger of this trend, which affects almost the entire society?

Here we can mention Auguste Comte, who is the author of the concept of three states: theological (when a human perceives the world as he imagines it, the ‘childhood’ of humanity), metaphysical (when he considers it as it should be, the ‘adolescence’ of humanity) and positive (when a person perceives it as such, what he is, and the ‘maturity’ of hu-

manity). The rulers’ ignorance of scientific theories shows that we are obviously not in a ‘positive’ state, but have regressed to a neocratic ‘metaphysical’ or even pedocratic ‘theological’ state.

This is an extreme form of inability to understand the other (= autism), to listen to his arguments, whatever they may be. Such a state is not far from savagery, which is a distinctive feature of the backward and uneducated ‘childhood’ of humanity. Diplomacy becomes impossible in this case, and people may find themselves in on the battlefield only to kill each other. When a culture dies, a human also soon dies – this is the law that D. S. Likhachov deduced from his ecology of culture.

“If nature is indispensable to human biological life, then the cultural environment is equally indispensable to his spiritual, moral life, for his ‘spiritual settled lifestyle,’ for his attachment to native places, moral self-discipline and sociality. <...> Non-compliance with the laws of biological ecology can kill a human in biological terms; non-compliance with the laws of cultural ecology can kill a human in moral terms. And there is no gap between them, just as there is no clearly defined boundary between nature and culture.”⁴

Europe in 2022–2023 clearly demonstrates this tragic trend: it is moving towards the abyss due to the lack of culture.

Homo Euramericanus geopoliticus:

The EU is like a hegemonic empire without culture and therefore destructive

According to D. S. Likhachov, “if people inhabiting some geographical territory do not have their own integral cultural and historical past, traditional cultural life, their cultural shrines, then they (or their rulers) inevitably have a temptation to justify their state integrity with all kinds of totalitarian concepts, which are all the harsher and more inhumane, the less the state integrity is determined by cultural criteria.”⁵

This characteristic, prophetically formulated by Likhachov, exactly corresponds to the EU portrait that we have observed since 2020. The real Europe obviously has a rich and ancient culture (including Greek, Roman, Christian and Indo-European). As Friedrich Nietzsche wrote, “Europe exists only in a number of very old books,” in such treasures as *The Iliad*, *The Odyssey*, *The Aeneid*, the works of Plato, *The Gospel*, in the general legendary heritage collected by Perrault, Lafontaine, Grimm, Andersen, Rybnikov, Afanasyev, etc.

Despite ephemeral attempts to unite most of Europe (the Frankish Empire, the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, the Papal theocracy of the 13–14th centuries, the Austro-Spanish, and then the Austro-Hungarian-German-Italian Habsburg monarchy, the Bourbon family pact), each such entity had a cultural past, traditional landmarks and spiritual shrines. Attempts to create a united Europe were based on national traditions, but above all on the Roman Empire, the true basis for two parts of Europe: Latin Catholic and Greek Orthodox. Following the thought of Academician Likhachov, it can be argued that the power

¹ Лихачев Д. С. Великая культура примирительна по своей сути // Дни науки в Университете. Избранное. СПб. : СПбГУП, 2007. С. 10.

² Malbrunot G. Le déclassement français ; *Idem*. Le déclassement de la diplomatie française ; Scheer F., Dufourcq B., Hennekinne L. Op. cit.

³ Декларация прав культуры, преамбула.

⁴ Лихачев Д. С. Экология культуры // Лихачев Д. С. Избранные труды по русской и мировой культуре. 4-е изд. СПб. : СПбГУП, 2022. С. 486–487.

⁵ Лихачев Д. С. Многомерное и целостное видение культуры // *Ibid*. С. 22.

and cultural antiquity, and hence the legitimacy of these imperial structures, ensured both the level of violence limited by culture level and the uselessness of violence as a source of power.

The Napoleonic Empire is a pan-European construction, much more rigid than its predecessors, for the reasons indicated by D. S. Likhachov: this empire did not have a stable cultural foundation and did not know what it really was (the French, Franco-Italian, Neo-Carolingian, neo-Roman Empire or an ideological empire embodying the ideals of the French Revolution and Enlightenment).

After a period of stability under Bismarck (*Klein-deutsche Lösung*, the little German way of German unification) the Second Reich in 1891 entered a cultural crisis, which gradually led to pan-Germanism (*Großdeutsche Lösung*, the Great German way of German unification). Since 1915, the Second Reich completely lost German cultural landmarks and became a conquering empire that absorbed Austria-Hungary, annexed Poland, the Baltic States, made Romania, Ukraine, Finland satellites and no longer had borders. Therefore, the level of violence here was higher than in the French Empire.

The Third Reich had a particularly high level of violence for the same reason. Since 1941, it no longer had a cultural basis; it was no longer the Great Germany, because it moved towards the distant East, which it wanted to annex. At that moment it was a pan-Germanic, that is, ideological, military empire that did not know where its cultural center was located: is it still Berlin and Prussia, or Aryan Scandinavia, or the mythical Gothic Ukrainian-Polish empire of the ancient king Germanarikh, or a neo-pagan empire? No cultural tradition allowed it to become stable, and this explains its destructive and self-destructive influence.

Finally, the last of the pan-European constructions is the European Union. After a period of formation, as part of interstate cooperation (*European Economic Community* in 1957–1993), it became a new hegemonic and expansionist union, but less hard. However, first of all, it should be said that the European Union is not based on any element of culture.

The following evidences can be given. Symbols that are culture vectors are irrelevant in the case of the EU. The flag of Europe with twelve stars is the only used and recognized symbol that officially does not refer to anything other than the idea of abstract and indeterminate unity (at that any religious reference is rejected). The symbol ‘€’ is just the designation of the Eurodollar. As for the euro banknotes, they depict architectural models that are not in reality. These symbols, unrelated to reality, are model ones.

The EU has never claimed to belong to the Roman Empire, nor to its cultural or historical heritage. It is surprising that in ancient times the name Europa belonged to a nymph (according to legend, Zeus appeared to Europe, playing on the seashore, in the shape of a white bull and ran away with her). Then for 18–19th centuries, Europe was depicted as a crowned nymph with a sword and a globe (according to the iconographic tradition established by Ch. Ripa), associating with the throne, crown, temple, book, artistic and scientific instruments, that is, with the instruments of culture.

EU ideologues explain: “Antiquated, extremely hermetic today, extremely Christian, imperial or even imperialist, extremely armed and therefore militant allegory seems to have been intentionally left without images and doomed to

oblivion.”¹ They might add that it is also ‘extremely European, cultural and truthful.

Such perceptions for the European Union are a real denial of culture. The further the EU develops, the fewer cultural landmarks it has. It was the Europeanist Francois Hollande who prohibited the teaching of Ancient Greek and Latin in a school in 2012. However, is there anything more European than these languages, which united all the peoples of Europe for 2.5 thousand years?

But that’s not all. I have met several times with Philippe Perchoc, an extremely socially and politically influential ideologue in the European Union, now a member of the European Parliament, who is considered the main leader of the Eurocentric movement in France, primarily among the Parisian elite. My discussion with him in 2010 was devoted to the EU symbols and cultural and historical landmarks. Perchoc expressed the thought that the EU is an innovative project that is self-sufficient and therefore has no cultural and historical landmarks. According to him, the European Union has no past, it exists only in the present and the future. The EU is based on ideology (liberalism, human rights, federalism, the ideology of peace, that is, not pacifism, but Atlanticism) and international treaties that are drawn up and applied by lawyers who rely on a narrowly professional technocratic lexicon. This ideology, according to its chief ideologue, should be regularly replenished with the ideas and political aspirations of the elites of the new countries joining the EU, since the elites are still under the charm of (futuristic one for them) the project, but not under its application: “The EU behaves like a screwed-up teenager who does not know what to do with his changing body.”² However, it is the search for new ideas and the desire to get them from countries, which could join the EU, that will ensure its growth and help to realize its role in the world.

Hence the constant and dangerous expansionism that allows the EU to measure forces with others (Russia, Turkey, the Arab world, African countries) to reassert its ideology through victory: electoral, military, mixed (= color revolution). As the European media has repeatedly noted and as is often repeated in Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova and other countries, “democracy has won, so the EU and the West have won.” This is the meaning of the existence and legitimacy of the EU. Such expansionism cannot be called peaceful, and when it is not a winner (for example, in Turkey, Belarus, Serbia, Russia, Ukraine), then another country is immediately labeled as an enemy,³ even if this is not true.

Moreover, the image of the EU ‘teenager’ confirms the idea of neocracy that was mentioned earlier, and can help to understand Homo Euramericanus’ unhealthy passion for gender theory and LGBT. This indicates a general cultural regression of French leaders to adolescence (and even childhood) and involution.

¹ Gosselet S.-K. Représentation de l’Europe // Encyclopédie d’histoire numérique de l’Europe. URL: <https://ehne.fr/fr/encyclopedie/thematiques/les-arts-en-europe/representation-de-l-europe/representation-de-l-europe> (accessed: 16.03.2023).

² Perchoc P. L’utopie est à nos portes // Voxeurop. 2010. 28 déc. URL: <https://voxeurop.eu/fr/lutopie-est-a-nos-portes/> (accessed: 16.03.2023).

³ Patten C. Russia’s hell-hole enclave. There is a centre of organised crime in the middle of Europe // The Guardian. 2001. Apr. 7 ; Roqueplo O. La Russie et son miroir d’Extrême-Occident : l’identité géopolitique de la Russie ultra-périphérique sous le prisme de l’Oblast’ de Kaliningrad. Étude géographique et géopolitique. Histoire. Université Sorbonne, Paris Cité, 2018. Chapitre IV.

Following D. S. Likhachov's logic, we can conclude that the European Union is potentially worse and more dangerous than the Third Reich, because it even has no cultural fantasy.

In 2021, the book by the historian G.-H. Soutou "Europa! Les projets européens de l'Allemagne nazie et de l'Italie fasciste" was published, where he describes a hidden side of the EU history.¹ In particular, the author says that for the first time the European Union idea was embodied during the Third Reich and that it was not only a German project, but the Italian fascists, who were then a real driving force, took an active part in it. The reason for this lies again in the connection between culture, legitimacy and violence, identified by Academician Likhachov. Like the Second Reich, the united Italy had blurred cultural foundations, so the ideas of Italian fascism alternated between the creation of the Italian nation and the new Roman Empire. It was the second concept, as Soutou shows that formed the basis of the European Union first version of the 1940s.

However, the first European Union included a large number of Western European Roman Catholics, centrists and socialists who acted independently. It was they who imposed on everyone the idea of a specifically European (anti-Soviet and anti-Anglo-Saxon) education, whereas the Third Reich was initially much smaller (Nordic) and at the same time much larger (worldwide) than the Pan-European Union.

It should also be noted the continuity of ideas (as well as people) of the political structure of 1942 and the EU of 1992, which is demonstrated by the archetypal example of Francois Mitterrand (born in 1916).² This story has been forgotten and erased from the memory of the generation of people who were born after 1950, but its potential development seems to repeat itself before our eyes.

Today, the EU chimera turned into a hydra with countless heads, seems to be gradually turning into an empire with totalitarian tendencies. The unelected European Commission at the head of this political entity, which since 2020 has become autonomous and independent from the EU member states and devoid of any cultural basis, began to turn into a dictatorial and militant technocracy: first by libertarian governance, then by the suppression of mass demonstrations against such policies and, finally, by militant attacks together with ultranationalist and culturally invertebrate Ukraine against Russia, still relying on its culture and deep history.

This pan-European empire, which has no cultural basis and is therefore unstable, calls NATO (with headquarters in Brussels) its defense system, although the Anglo-Saxon 'pillars' of this organization are not included in the EU. We are dealing with a culturally 'wandering' empire: neither European nor truly Anglo-Saxon, reminiscent of the three attempts of tough hegemony that preceded it.

In reality, the EU is just a geopolitical mirror of Homo Euramericanus, a human without culture, homeland, and

borders. It has no geographical reference point. Who in the EU can consider Brussels a real capital and center? Brussels is a city divided in two parts between the Walloon and Flemish districts. The USA, the city of New York and the state of California, not to mention London, are more of a cultural center for EU leaders than any other place in the European Union. Thus, the EU becomes Euroamerica, which is in danger of joining the dominant cultural pole.

In general, the European Union is an entity that avoids the cultural dimension. Therefore, it returns to the form of ultra-archaic political construction, potentially close to barbarism for of its anti-cultural basis and anti-historical neocratic elites. This is not Europe, but anti-Europe, because there is no Europe other than culture, history and memory. The ideology of the Europeanists is liberal-libertarian technodemocracy. They have a policy of Europeanization of their members. In other words, they condemn everything that does not match this ideology, that is, European values. But who will believe that the ideology, which conceived in the 1970s, has anything to do with Europe, its three thousand years of history and culture?

In fact, every true scientist and cultured person in Europe is a true European. It is such people who are lacking today; they are being pushed aside and replaced by Homo Euramericanus. Nicolas Sarkozy said in 2007 that "the African has not fully gone down in history," but it seems that the elites of France and the EU, that is, Homo Euramericanus, have left it forever.

Conclusion

D. S. Likhachov believed that in the 21st century the main threat to culture comes from mass culture. He was not mistaken, but today we see another, deeper and initially less noticeable threat, which is the result of a frightening anti-cultural revolution.

Likhachov's ideas allow us to understand correctly the problem of Homo Euramericanus that has become fundamental one. The latter is not just a cultural hybrid, but a real new human, whose peculiarity is that he has lost his memory, forgot his history, and therefore an essential part of his culture and can no longer understand the world where he lives. Hence his complete dependence on foreigners.

Academician Likhachov believed that culture cannot exist for a long time if any part of it is missing. All of Likhachov's fears about the loss of culture not only have come to pass, but were also have been implemented by the nihilistic, barbaric and now openly militant 'new human' who has been in power in France since 2007. The fact that he was able to enter the midst of French leaders who were traditionally committed to the defense of high culture, who were guided by Malraux's recommendations, is an ominous sign for all European culture, thoughts and actions.

Europe today is divided on the war issue, this is mainly because its western part, however paradoxical it seems, is no longer European, in cultural terms it is already Euro-American one and is waiting for its political and economic annexation by the Anglo-Saxon world, which is a logical consequence. Indeed, as D. S. Likhachov rightly believed, the only real basis of society is not the economy, but culture.

¹ Soutou H.-G. Europa! Les projets européens de l'Allemagne nazie et de l'Italie fasciste. P.: Tallandier, 2021.

² Mitterrand was a right-wing French Catholic lawyer and a high-ranking civil servant who faithfully served the Vichy regime during the Franco-Nazi cooperation, then became an anti-communist socialist, supported May 1968, surrounded himself with Pénécée 68 participants and supporters when he became president in 1981, and resolutely devoted himself to building the EU by signing the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. His seemingly contradictory career is quite consistent in terms of Europeanism.

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M. Sanaei¹

THE NEXT WORLD ORDER: THE NECESSITY OF CULTURAL MULTILATERALISM

Reviewing the changes in the liberal world order, the features of power and the civilizational paradigm of the contemporary era, this report anticipates the possibility of the change in the current Liberal international order under the leadership of the U. S. By examining the aspects of power in the global arena and the divergence of the civilizational paradigm, it seems that the world will face increasing international tensions and disputes in the near future. Under such circumstances, a peaceful transition to the new world order, would be a long shot. Using the constructivist school, this report tries to provide a solution for a peaceful transition to the future world order, and considers cultural multilateralism as one of the requirements to this end. By respecting other cultures, cultural multilateralism negates cultural unilateralism and provides the basis for reducing identity tensions and improving relations and cooperation in the world.

Signs of change in the current world order

1. Demise of Liberal International Order

After the end of the Second World War, the United States established the world order and its main governance institutions based on the liberal international order, and after the end of the Cold War due to the beginning of America's unipolar era, the liberal order became the world order. But now there are signs of the demise of the liberal world order, which can be considered as the signs of the transition of the world order.

Nationalism substitutes internationalism

As one of the foundations of the liberal international order, free trade among the countries of the world has a significant importance, both in the Western discourse and in the economics discipline. Despite the benefits of global trade in the theoretical field and its promotion in the liberal international order, during the last two decades, there have been signs of increasing nationalism in the world economy.² The initial signals of shift from internationalist economy to nationalist economy were observed in the financial crisis of 2008. To

reduce the destructive effects of the financial crisis on their economies, the countries of the world moved towards nationalism, and economic self-reliance.³ This process continued during following years and some of the most considerable evidences were conducted by the western governments.

Experts consider the American trade war against China to be a part of the process known as Decoupling between the two countries, which means reducing the economic interdependence of the two.⁴ Also, Britain's withdrawal from the European Union was another example of weakening internationalism by Western countries.⁵

This trend became more obvious after the emergence of Covid-19 pandemic. The widespread quarantine engulfed the global economy in stagnation and unemployment, the spillover effects of these dynamics resulted in the decrease of global trade.⁶ At the same time, international organizations could not assist to put an end to the crisis.⁷ For managing the Corona crisis, Societies could not rely on international community. All these factors led to strengthening of nationalism in the global economy.⁸ Due to the increasing geopolitical tensions during recent years, it seems that the process of expanding nationalism and weakening internationalism will continue in the future.

Erosion of international organizations and emergence of parallel international frameworks

Today, organizations in charge of world order play a lesser role in international relations. The United States, the guardian of the liberal world order, weakened the institutions responsible for world governance and withdrew from some international frameworks and agreements, During Trump's presidency.⁹ One of the main manifestations for the reduc-

³ Colantone I., Stanig P. The surge of economic nationalism in Western Europe // *Journal of economic perspectives*. 2019. Vol. 33, № 4. P. 128–151.

⁴ Johnson K., Gramer R. The great decoupling // *Foreign Policy*. 2020. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/05/14/china-us-pandemic-economy-tensions-trump-coronavirus-covid-new-cold-war-economics-the-great-decoupling> (accessed: 25.05.2023).

⁵ Ihalainen P., Sahala A. Evolving Conceptualisations of Internationalism in the UK Parliament: Collocation Analyses from the League to Brexit // *Digital Histories: Emergent Approaches within the New Digital History*. Helsinki : Helsinki Univ. Press, 2020. P. 199–219.

⁶ Aktar M. A., Alam M. M., Al-Amin A. Q. Global economic crisis, energy use, CO2 emissions, and policy roadmap amid COVID-19 // *Sustainable Production and Consumption*. 2021. № 26. P. 770–781.

⁷ Gostin L. O., Moon S., Meier B. M. Reimagining global health governance in the age of COVID-19 // *American Public Health Association*. 2020. Vol. 110. P. 1615–1619.

⁸ Bieber F. Global nationalism in times of the COVID-19 pandemic // *Nationalities Papers*. 2022. № 50 (1). P. 13–25.

⁹ Copelovitch M., Pevehouse J. C. International organizations in a new era of populist nationalism // *The Review of International Organizations*. 2019. № 14. P. 169–186.

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² Murray P. Nationalist or Internationalist? Socialists and European Unity // *Visions of European Unity*. Routledge, 2019. P. 159–182.

tion in the power of the international organizations, is the expansion of bilateral or multilateral relations in the frameworks outside the institutions responsible for the world order in the last decade.

2. American decline and the ambiguity of the balance of global power

The transformation of the world order is not only happening due to the erosion of the liberal international order, but also regarding the American decline as the guardian of the world order and the only surviving superpower of the Cold War, could lead to great consequences in the future of world order in various dimensions.

Military Power

The military conflicts of the past two decades beside America's failure in the West Asian wars, and Russia's problems in the Ukraine war, have been interpreted by some experts as the collapse of the previous military hierarchy among nations which could be regarded as a change in the paradigm of military power.¹ On the other hand, the spread of new technologies, especially cyber technologies in the world, has produced a new generation of weapons that can disturb the strategic balance.² All these factors make the future of military dynamics more ambiguous, hence complicating the prediction of military conflicts.

Economic power and dimensions related to it

The reduction of the U. S. role in the world economy and the increasing economic power of the emerging markets, especially China, can be extended to monetary and then financial areas and affect other aspects of the world order. One of these issues is the supremacy of the dollar as the world's key currency as the foundation of the world's monetary system and the most important currency of the international financial system. The increasing role of China in the global economy and international trade has caused RMB to enter the special drawing right.³ Also, the emergence of new financial markets such as Shanghai oil market, and China's financial innovations can be the beginning of reducing the prominent role of American and Western financial markets in the world economy.⁴ Although there is still no certain prospect for the end of the American economic superiority or its monetary and financial components,⁵ the discourse of American decline has entered the monetary and financial disciplines, and there are predictions about the multipolarity or bipolarity of the future world economy.

Technology

The beginning of the age of artificial intelligence has changed the position of countries in the field of technology and has disrupted the past hierarchies of knowledge be-

tween nations. Although the U. S. still owns the best universities, best research institutes and scientific centers of the world, rival nations are heavily investing in new technologies. Russia's ability in cyber hacking and China's increasing ability in AI and other emerging technologies are a source of concern for the West.⁶

Divergence of civilizational paradigm of the current era

1. Decline of the West as a hegemon of civilization

Erosion of liberal democracies

For many years, liberal democracies claimed to be the most advanced political systems, which were able to maintain social order along with individual and civil liberties, while at the same time providing an environment for peaceful and stable changes. But during the last decade, Western political systems faced many social unrests and political tensions, which indicated the emergence of wide-ranging crises.

Increasing social conflicts, the spread of populism, political bipolarity in western societies, are symptom of problems encountering liberal democracies such as containing social energies and political demands of the masses, and as a result, the erosion of the social contract.⁷

Unresolved issues in political economy

Globalization and the increase in international trade have not led to the expansion of prosperity and economic opportunities for all sectors of the Western economy, during the past years. American workers and employees continue to live by the standards of past decades, while many lose their jobs as globalization transfers jobs to the lower-wage countries. On the other hand, globalization has reduced costs and increased revenues for the owners and managers of large companies.⁸

Today, the American dream about opportunities for middle-class people in America and having a prosperous life is fading.⁹ Dissatisfaction caused by economic inequality and increasing class gap has led to increasing disputes over liberal democracies. Popularity of socialism, reviewing the role of the state in the economy, both in academic circles and in western populist streams during the third decade after the end of Cold War, is a sign of reexamining the possibility of reform of liberal democracies, and concern about the future of this system.¹⁰

Identity crisis in the West

Currently, the West, as the global cultural hegemon, is going through a period of very intense and social changes and controversial identity debates. Post-Modern ideas which during the 60s, were outside of the main frameworks of identity, gender and lifestyle, have become the official dis-

¹ Kortunov A. Restoration, reformation, or revolution? Blueprints for the world order after the Russia-Ukraine conflict // China International Strategy Review. 2022. № 4 (2). P. 183–208.

² Johnson J. Artificial intelligence & future warfare: implications for international security // Defense & Security Analysis. 2019. № 35 (2). P. 147–169.

³ Chen Y.-L., Xu K. The impact of RMB's SDR inclusion on price discovery in onshore-offshore markets // Journal of Banking & Finance. 2021. № 127. P. 106–124.

⁴ Liu Z. Z., Papa M. Can BRICS De-dollarize the Global Financial System? Cambridge Univ. Press, 2022.

⁵ Winecoff W. K. "The persistent myth of lost hegemony," revisited: structural power as a complex network phenomenon // European Journal of International Relations. 2020. № 26 (1 suppl.). P. 209–252.

⁶ Kissinger H. A., Schmidt E., Huttenlocher D. The age of AI and our human future. Hachette UK, 2021.

⁷ Galston W. A. The enduring vulnerability of liberal democracy // Journal of Democracy. 2020. № 31 (3). P. 8–24.

⁸ Wang Z., Sun Z. From globalization to regionalization: The United States, China, and the post-Covid-19 world economic order // Journal of Chinese Political Science. 2021. № 26. P. 69–87.

⁹ Mortimer J. T., Mont'Alvao A., Aronson P. Decline of "the American Dream"? Outlook toward the future across three generations of Midwest families // Social Forces. 2020. № 98 (4). P. 1403–1435.

¹⁰ Musto M. The Marx Revival: Key Concepts and New Critical Interpretations. Cambridge Univ. Press, 2020.

course of identity and life in the West, which has caused many changes in various fields such as law, science, culture, and politics, while its impacts on the changes in other cultures are also noticeable.¹ Today, identity politics in the domestic affairs of Western countries are becoming household streams. Women, homosexuals and different identities who consider themselves the oppressed class of the society want to assert their rights by changing the laws and try to advance their desired agendas by playing a greater role in the domestic politics.²

These dynamics are in contrast with the beliefs of other sections such as religious groups, conservatives or even those who believe in the white supremacy. The orthodox sections of society consider legalization and expansion of social changes a threat to their values and lifestyle.³ Upheavals of the recent years indicate that the reaction of the more traditional sectors to the efforts of the liberal stream for advancing social shifts has moved beyond academic debates, and became a subject of social unrest.

Today, the West is divided over the concept of identity, hence the West cannot be the only promoter of the identity paradigm in the world.⁴ The demise of the western discourse about identity will make the discourse of identity in the current world more divergent, and non-western interpretations or other discourses will have more opportunities for expansion.

2. Augmentation of unofficial players and the end of the monopoly of official institutions over the civilizational discourse

Previously, there were a few powerful institutions such as governments or religious institutions had the required facilities and resources for creating discourse. In every society. Discourses against the official stream did not find a window to emerge or be heard, except in the times of social riots. Today, the emergence of new technologies such as artificial intelligence and social networks has made it possible for every citizen to produce content and promote it, and power for promoting discourse in the contemporary world has eliminated the monopoly of official institutions.⁵ Dissidents of the mainstream can easily create their desired content and spread it on social networks. Therefore, citizens are exposed to discourses against the mainstream more than before.

Beyond the fact that different discourses are easily heard in the current world, what makes the contemporary civilizational paradigm more scattered and ambiguous is the power of social networks. Social networks that provide a platform for social networks that provide a platform for disseminating different opinions are considerable powerful actors in the field of discourse creation.⁶ Due to their policies, agenda, or even technical issues such as their algorithms, they can ban content, or make a message more

prominent.⁷ Conflicts between countries over social networks are a sign of their importance in the contemporary world and their role in international relations, and the rise of pervasive non-western networks like TikTok will add to the divergence of today's civilizational paradigm. Conflicts between states over social networks reveal the importance of social networks in the current world and their role in international relations. The rise of pervasive non-western networks such as TikTok will add to the complexities of today's civilizational paradigm.

3. Resurgence of ancient civilizations as new civilization models

In a world where the American power is in decline, the ancient non-western nations, especially those who are among the emerging economic powers, will be less willing to accompany the values of liberal democracy and free market, at the cost of weakening their cultural values. Some non-western countries, due to their strong identity, can promote their special civilization model in the world.⁸ Today due to the weakness of the western civilizational discourse and the relative reduction of American power, the great non-western civilizations have a great opportunity for presenting their contemporary discourse and promoting it.

Analyzing the current status of the world

Considering the erosion of the framework of liberal international order and the signs of divergence in the international economy, it seems the school of internationalism can explain the future global developments less than the era of the unipolar order under the leadership of the United States.⁹ The erosion of the current world order and uncertainty about the balance of power, from the perspective of the realism, would make the world more prone to spreading chaos and increasing tension between actors. Under these circumstances, finding a way for a peaceful transition to the future world order is a very serious issue which contains various dimensions.

Utilizing constructivist framework, this report examines the cultural dimension of peaceful transition and suggests a solution for it. Constructivism, which got academic attention in international relations at the end of the Cold War, unlike other theories that usually consider international relations as a function of material affairs, considers human factors such as identity and culture to be the main cause of changes in international relations.¹⁰ This school was also able to provide a theoretical framework for explaining the unrest after the end of the Cold War, which was articulated by Huntington with the clash of civilizations.¹¹

In Huntington's view, ideology was replaced by identity in the post-Cold War, and due to the vacuum of power after the collapse of the communist camp, the adjacence of different identities along with the increase in interactions in the age of globalization, led to multiple conflicts. Huntington believed, the increasing contact between Western civi-

¹ Gitlin T. The rise of "identity politics": An examination and a critique // Higher education under fire. Routledge, 2020. P. 308–325.

² Zajda J. L., Majhanovich S. S. Globalisation, cultural identity, and nation-building: The changing paradigms. Springer, 2021.

³ Gallagher C. A. White racial formation: Into the twenty-first century // Race and ethnic conflict. Routledge, 2019. P. 24–29.

⁴ Macdonald S. Identity complexes in Western Europe: social anthropological perspectives // Inside European Identities. Routledge, 2020. P. 1–26.

⁵ Kissinger H. A., Schmidt E., Huttenlocher D. Op. cit.

⁶ Fake news, social media and marketing: A systematic review / G. Di Domenico, J. Sit, A. Ishizaka, D. Nunan // Journal of Business Research. 2021. № 124. P. 329–341.

⁷ Kissinger H. A., Schmidt E., Huttenlocher D. Op. cit.

⁸ Nathan A. J., Zhang B. A shared future for mankind: Rhetoric and reality in Chinese foreign policy under Xi Jinping // Journal of Contemporary China. 2022. № 31 (133). P. 57–71.

⁹ Mearsheimer J. J. Bound to fail: The rise and fall of the liberal international order // International security. 2019. № 43 (4). P. 7–50.

¹⁰ Jung H. The evolution of social constructivism in political science: past to present // SAGE Open. 2019. № 9 (1), 2158244019832703.

¹¹ Haynes J. From Huntington to Trump: Thirty years of the clash of civilizations. Rowman & Littlefield, 2019.

lization with Islamic and Chinese civilizations would be the constant cause of conflict, because these two civilizations, in his analysis, were so different from Western civilization that they could not adapt to the Western values. Thus, he predicted that the expansion of Western civilization in the unipolar world and its encounter with these civilizations will eventually lead to conflict and war.¹

Through the framework of the clash of civilizations, current world status is the opposite of the situation after the end of the Cold War. According to Huntington's theory, at that time, the United States as the victor of the battle of ideologies, promoted western values and civilizational discourse. Eventually, the expansion of Western values and its confrontation with Islamic and Chinese civilizations caused more conflicts. But in the contemporary world, the decline of the West and the erosion of its civilizational discourse will stop the expansion of Western civilizational values in the world. While the further divergence in the civilizational paradigm due to the augmentation of informal actors and the expansion of the ancient civilizations, makes the condition for amplification of identity and cultural tensions, American decline will increase armed conflicts. These factors will lead to more instability and unrest in the world, while the transition to a new world order in such conditions would become more difficult without war.

*Cultural multilateralism as a peaceful solution
for the transition to a new world order*

The decline of Western civilization in the world and the spread of other civilizational discourses, have provided the conditions for increasing identity and cultural tensions in the world. Regarding the importance of the factor of identity and culture in the current world and the divergence of the civilizational paradigm in the current era, one cannot expect the emergence of a new, superior discourse in the near future that can define the next civilizational paradigm.² Insisting on cultural unilateralism and believing in the superiority of one culture over others will escalate identity tensions. Therefore, the continuation of the cultural unilateralism of the West, will be one of the factors leading to increasing conflicts in the world.

Considering the divergence of the civilizational paradigm of the current era, cultural multilateralism can provide a solution for reducing identity tensions and a peaceful transition to the new world order. Cultural multilateralism in international relations emphasizes the difference between the values of different nations, but unlike the Western cultural unilateralism, which believes in the superiority of civilization based on material progress, it believes that the traditions, lifestyle and beliefs of all nations of the world are respectable,³ because they have been shaped over the millennia through trial and error of many factors. While the experiences of imposing certain civilizational values on the rest of the world have resulted in nothing but increasing conflicts,⁴ cultural multilateralism recommends, chang-

ing the mentality of the actors, by which humans can live in a more peaceful world.⁵

In the modern era, multilateralism has shown itself, both in the theoretical field and in the context of relations between countries, in various situations and in response to the needs of the global community. By the end of the Cold War, multilateralism in the political relations of non-Western countries such as Iran, Russia, China, Turkey, and India have become a strategy not only for maintaining national interests in a unipolar world but also sometimes even for confronting the unilateralism of the West.⁶ The multilateralist approach of non-western countries has had various results, one of which is non-western international structures such as BRICS, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the Belt-Road initiative.⁷ One of its examples in the field of theory is the dialogue among civilizations, which was presented in response to the clash of civilizations. The solution of this theory for peaceful globalization in the era of increasing communication was that the all nations should change their view about other civilizations and identities, and instead of struggling to impose their values on others, or eliminate other cultures, they should be more tolerant and try to learn from other civilizations.⁸ Cultural multilateralism has been one of the main agendas of the European Union. European policy makers believed without mutual respect for different identities and values in Europe, is the prerequisite of the monetary and legal mechanisms of the European Union.⁹

Conclusion

By reviewing the signs of change in the world order and the ambiguity of the balance of power, the increase of unrest and armed conflicts seems probable. Also, due to the divergence of the civilizational paradigm and the decline of the Western civilizational discourse, it is anticipated that identity and cultural tensions will rise. Considering these factors, the peaceful transition of the world to the future world order will be a difficult and challenging process. Regarding the strong effect of identity and culture on international relations, in such a context, cultural unilateralism can escalate identity and cultural differences and make civilizational conflicts more extensive. Cultural multilateralism provides a solution to reduce identity and civilizational tensions, in which accepting cultural and identity differences is a prerequisite for dialogue and cooperation among all countries, as well as a prelude to a peaceful transition from the current status and the emergence of the future world order. If cultural multilateralism is accepted by the big actors of international relations, we can hope that the next fundamental developments in international relations will be smooth and peaceful.

⁵ Mignolo W. D. De-colonial cosmopolitanism and dialogues among civilizations // Routledge handbook of cosmopolitanism studies. Routledge, 2012. P. 103–118.

⁶ Woods N. Multilateralism in the Twenty-First Century // Global Perspectives. 2023. № 4 (1) : 68310.

⁷ Winter T. Geocultural power: China's belt and road initiative // Geopolitics. 2021. № 26 (5). P. 1376–1399.

⁸ Mignolo W. D. Op. cit.

⁹ Carta C., Higgott R. Cultural Diplomacy in Europe between the Domestic and the International. URL: <https://brussels-school.be/publications/books/cultural-diplomacy-europe-between-domestic-and-international> (accessed: 25.05.2023).

¹ Haynes J. Op. cit.

² Lewis R. D. The cultural imperative: Global trends in the 21st century // Training, Language and Culture. 2019. № 3 (3). P. 8–20.

³ Brown C. Cultural diversity and international political theory: from the Requirement to 'Mutual Respect'? // Review of International Studies. 2000. № 26 (2). P. 199–213.

⁴ Benvenisti E. The US and the Use of Force: Double-edged Hegemony and the Management of Global Emergencies // European Journal of International Law. 2004. № 15 (4). P. 677–700 (doi.org/10.1093/ejil/15.4.677).

M. V. Shmakov¹

PROBLEMS RELATED TO GROWTH OF RUSSIANS' WELFARE IN CONDITIONS OF UPHEAVALS OF THE MODERN WORLD ECONOMY

For the last three years, humanity has been experiencing upheavals that cannot but affect the state of the world economy.

The key event of 2020–2021 was the coronavirus pandemic, no doubt about this. By the beginning of 2022, its effects were still clearly felt in a number of countries, including Russia. In the post-pandemic period recovery of supply chains took place at a restrained pace, and was completed only by the end of 2022.

In 2022, several major processes took place simultaneously in the global economy: global disbalance of commodity markets, adaptation to structural consequences of the pandemic, formation of strong inflation potential in more developed countries with simultaneous acceleration of inflation in less developed ones, as well as increase in uncertainty in forecasting future development.

In 2020–2021, restrictions associated with the coronavirus pandemic created many prerequisites for deferred inflation: significant demand support programs (mainly in developed countries), disruption of supply chains and increased logistics costs, changes in labor market preferences, and even “voluntary unemployment” observed in some countries, when people left work for self-isolation, for the purpose of obtaining appropriate benefits from their states. In the labor market, structural changes have manifested themselves in significant growth in the share of remote and combined-mode workers, active introduction of so-called flexible forms of employment and rapid expansion of the IT sector. Each of these phenomena had a great impact on dynamics of vacancies and wages.

In 2022, the potential of deferred inflation accumulated by developed countries due to massive quantitative mitigation programs began to manifest itself in full, and led to the new wave of structural changes in the world economy.

Additional acceleration of inflation in the global economy, primarily in the energy and food markets, was caused by the situation related to Ukraine and the sanctions policy directed against Russia.

As a result, 2022 was marked by record rates of inflation, which was especially noticeable in developed countries.

Most countries of the world responded to acceleration of price growth by raising key rates. Increase in rates in developed countries triggered the weakening of currencies of developing countries and outflow of capital from them; the problem of debt sustainability and sovereign credit risks has worsened. International experts noted that slowing growth, increased inflation and growing debt vulnerability undermine international community's efforts to eradicate poverty.

Economic shocks have seriously affected labor markets once more. For example, in the EU countries, in 2022, the minimum wage growth was significantly lower than the price growth. Meanwhile, there was also a paradoxical phenomenon when, against the background of deterioration of the general income situation, employees became more demanding of their workplaces, which resulted in the relatively large “turnover of personnel” in high-paid and attractive areas.

If earlier development was primarily supported by cheaper resources, now the situation has changed dramatically: automation and digitalization have become the core growth driver during the pandemic. Herewith, there are reasonable doubts about ability of inertial increase in labor productivity occurring due to the digitalization leap to overcome negative consequences of global cost growth.

As a result of the events described, in 2022, the global economy growth rate has become significantly lower than the expected one. For example, in its Report “World Economic Situation and Prospects for 2023”, the UN predicts significant slowdown in the global economy – from 3% in 2022 to 1.9% in 2023, which is one of the lowest growth rates over the past decades. The UN experts also note that the greatest slowdown in growth is characteristic of developed countries. The UN experts believe that global growth may increase slightly (to 2.7%) in 2024, but only if the expected weakening of restraining macroeconomic factors begins.² According to available forecasts, inflationary pressure will gradually decrease against the background of reduction in aggregate demand in the global economy. However, the short-term economic prospects remain very uncertain due to persistence of numerous economic, financial, geopolitical and environmental risks.³

Despite the most extensive in history sanctions imposed against Russia, our country's economy shrank less than initially expected – about 3.5% against originally estimated 10–15%. Operational actions to stabilize the financial sector helped prevent the banking sector collapse, and the subsequent weakening of regulation in this area, and create opportunities for growth recovery. Due to announced embargo of Russian energy carriers by the European Union and

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² ООН прогнозирует замедление экономики Европы и США // Дзен : [website]. URL: https://dzen.ru/a/Y_CtRabg9iMmv6Bj (accessed: 23.05.2023).

³ ООН ожидает замедления роста мировой экономики до 1,9% в 2023 году // Интерфакс : [website]. URL: <https://www.interfax.ru/business/883321> (accessed: 23.05.2023).

partial reorientation of foreign trade, sharp increase in export prices for energy resources ensured preservation of the Russian foreign trade balance throughout 2022. Moreover, it was very important for stabilizing Russia's economy to implement the plan of stabilizing the economy under sanctions, including measures for import substitution and recovery of disrupted supply chains due to involvement of new suppliers, organization of so-called parallel imports.

However, despite a lot of anti-crisis and anti-sanctions measures, labor in Russia is chronically low-paid. Trade unions have repeatedly pointed out this fact to the Russian Government. Nevertheless, none of strategic or program documents of the Russian Federation, the federal project does not set target indicators for increasing the level of wages.

Here are some examples.

The national goal "Decent, effective labor and successful entrepreneurship", it is provided for to "ensure the rate of sustainable growth of the population's incomes and pension provision not lower than inflation," and not steady growth in wages.

"The Consolidated Strategy for Development of the Manufacturing Industry of the Russian Federation till 2024 and for the period up to 2035," approved by the Government of the Russian Federation in 2020, states that the wages of workers employed in industry are close to the average for the economy, but significantly differ depending on the branch of industry and the production location. The task has been set to ensure steady growth in real incomes of citizens and two-fold reduction in the level of poverty, due to increase in labor productivity and employment in industry, i. e. due to more intensive labor.

For a long time, the Government has not set targets and clear indicators in the field of wages, limiting itself to raising the minimum wage, and pinning hopes on the fact that the labor market itself will adjust the labor cost.

So, in 2008, the Russian Government approved "The Concept of Long-Term Socioeconomic Development of the Russian Federation till 2020". The Concept provided for "high standards of human welfare" and ensuring the income and quality of life of Russians by 2020 at the level of developed economies.

Herewith, "the generalizing indicator of the standard of living" was used – gross domestic product (GDP) per capita at purchasing power parity. According to the Concept, it was supposed to increase from 13.9 thousand US dollars in 2007 (42% of the average level in OECD countries) to more than 30 thousand US dollars in 2020 (70%).

Not the level of the population's income, but GDP per capita was supposed to indicate the standard of living.

Nevertheless, this target indicator of the Concept remained unachieved. Thus, according to the World Bank, in 2019, GDP per capita decreased in Russia to 11.5 thousand US dollars, or 29% of the OECD average.

Even at the first stage (until 2012), the Concept provided for the minimum wage to reach the level of the subsistence minimum.

At the second stage (until 2020), it was planned to establish the minimum wage at the level of the recovery consumer budget exceeding the subsistence minimum of the able-bodied population by 2–2.2 times.

In the Concept, high rates of economic growth, and above all creation of effective workplaces and wage growth

were called as factors in combating poverty and improving the population's welfare.

According to the ILO, in 2019, in Russia, the average monthly wage at purchasing power parity was less than 1,700 US dollars. This is almost twice lower than the average for OECD countries, and three times lower than the maximum value (in Belgium).

For 12 years, while the concept was being implemented, the model of public administration in Russia has undergone many changes. For example, digital technologies were actively introduced and public services in digital format were rapidly developing. The project approach to formation of strategic development documents was introduced, but no efforts were made to establish the relationship between them. The most important factor – the labor man – has not been considered in the current strategic development documents. The one without whom it is impossible to ensure "increase in employment and labor productivity." Growth in well-being of Russian citizens as a whole is considered as an indirect consequence of investments in the economy, modernization of production, improvement of institutional conditions and other factors.

Over the past 10 years, real wages have grown by only 22%, while the most significant increase in real wages occurred when the head of state paid attention to wage issues. That is, during direct regulation of this field, for example, in framework of the "May Edicts" or with increase in the minimum wage.

According to Russian trade unions, it is the lack of a systematic approach in the field of remuneration that is the main reason for unsatisfactory implementation of socio-economic development strategies.

Low-paid labor leads to long-term negative consequences that not only affect the standard and quality of life of the population, but also jeopardize achievement of the goals of restoring economic growth. For example, low wages and, as a consequence, restrictions on consumption of high-quality food, access to medical services, lead to incomplete recovery of the workforce. To support the birth rate, it is necessary to improve the quality of life of workers and their families.

Wages are the main source of income for the majority of citizens around the world and in our country. In Russia, there are more than 67 million employees. This is more than 93% of the employed.

It is the active state policy in the field of remuneration that can ensure real significant reduction in poverty.

The main instrument for regulating socioeconomic processes are wage systems. The Government has all the necessary powers to establish them both in the budgetary and extra-budgetary sectors.¹

The holistic and unified system of remuneration, which covered all sectors of the economy, was developed and implemented in the USSR.

The unified wage system ensured economic relationship between production, labor resources and consumption.

Distribution of natural and labor resources was carried out in accordance with the adopted plans. The number of jobs and the need for employees of certain professions and skill levels were calculated. At the enterprise level, develop-

¹ See: *Середкина И. Лекарство от бедности // Солидарность. 2023. 19 апр. URL: <https://www.solidarnost.org/articles/lekarstvo-ot-bednosti.html> (accessed: 23.05.2023).*

ment of the labor payment and incentive systems was carried out on the basis of scientific labor organization.¹

Wages provided the sufficient level of consumption for reproducing the labor force. Despite the unity of principles, the remuneration system was flexible and allowed solving the tasks of economic development: to stimulate labor productivity; to expand the professional mobility of the workforce; to fix the workforce.

The unified tariff system consisted of qualification reference books, classifiers, a single tariff scale, tariff categories, tariff coefficients, wage rates differentiated depending on employees' qualifications and the work complexity. Most of its elements are still preserved in the personnel management system today.

The work by profession or position was differentiated by tariff categories: the more difficult the work and the higher level of necessary qualifications of the employee, the higher category.

The employee was set a salary or salary rate in accordance with the qualification assigned to him and the tariff category by profession or position.

The amount of salary or wage rate was fixed and was determined on the base of the tariff scale, which in the USSR was the same for all republics, territories, regions and autonomous districts.

The procedure for determining the tariff rate or salary of an employee was as transparent and understandable as possible.

The unified tariff scale ensured compliance with basic principles in the field of wages, such as equal pay for work of equal value.

In the period from the 1990s to 2008, this system was gradually "dismantled" under the pretext of transition to the market economy. However, a more perfect system of remuneration was not proposed. The lack of unambiguous state policy in the field of wages resulted in the lowest level of wages to be demonstrated the public sector, including the budget one. This has led to the shortage of personnel in strategic sectors, the military-industrial complex, science and education, healthcare and social protection, culture and sports.

The FNPR considers it necessary to establish uniform principles of wage systems, both in the public and private sectors of the economy, which would ensure competitive wages and the influx of qualified personnel; proposes to consolidate the basic principles of wage systems:

- the amount of remuneration for work cannot be lower than the minimum wage, which should ensure the decent standard of living and at least simple reproduction of the labor force;
- the amount of wages should depend on the employee's qualification and the work complexity;
- the tariff rate and salary should be established on the principle of equal pay for work of equal value;
- work in conditions deviating from normal ones (climatic conditions, working conditions) should be paid in the amount sufficient for recovering the employee's, in excess of the tariff rate or salary;
- incentive and promotional payments should not be used for increasing wages to the minimum wage or target indicators.

¹ Косаковская Е. Тарифы, стандарты и квалификации // Солидарность. 2016. 6 окт. URL: <https://www.solidarnost.org/articles/lekarstvo-ot-bednosti.html> (accessed: 23.05.2023).

These uniform principles can be established in framework of "The Concept of Improving Wage Systems" approved by the regulatory legal act of the Government of Russia.

Despite expected skepticism towards the idea of establishing uniform approaches to remuneration in context of contradiction to the principles of the market economy, it is worth noting that:

- the state can and should regulate what it fully finances at its own expense;
- state regulation of wages will stimulate competition, human development and the private sector development.

Increase in the level of wages of low-paid workers depends on the minimum wage amount.

Due to the difficult situation in the past 2022, the minimum wage was raised twice, in total by almost 20%. Since the beginning of this year, the minimum wage has been indexed by 6.3%, and from January 1, 2024, the minimum wage will increase by 18.5% and amount to 19,242 rubles.

Despite positive changes in the policy of establishing the minimum wage, it is still significantly underestimated, and the methodology for calculating it is justified by nothing.

In 2021, the minimum wage began to be established in relation to the median salary. However, the chosen ratio – 42% – is significantly lower than the ratio of the minimum wage and median wages in most developed and developing countries. The FNPR proposed to gradually increase this ratio, which eventually happened, but only on the instructions of the President of Russia. The key disadvantage of this methodology of establishing the minimum wage was the lack of a "protective norm" that might ensure that its purchasing power does not decrease.

As the result, the Russian Government was forced to suspend establishment of the minimum wage in relation to the median wage until 2025. Currently, according to the Pension Fund, the minimum wage is 46% of the median salary.

Trade unions are convinced that the minimum wage should be raised to the minimum consumer budget that meets the basic material and spiritual needs of the worker.

The FNPR has updated the methodology for calculating the minimum consumer budget (MCB). The MCB developed in 2011 by trade unions with participation of scientific community was taken as a basis. In the consumer basket, the amount of food consumption was brought into line with recommendations given by the Ministry of Health, tourism costs were optimized, and the number and timing of wear for a number of goods were changed.

The value of the trade union BCH for Q2 of 2022 amounted to about 48.5 thousand rubles. This is the normal minimum wage, which should be sought not only for the purpose of reducing poverty, but also for ensuring economic growth.

For many years, underestimation of the minimum wage was justified by the lack of budget funds to increase wages for public sector employees. However, this situation only leads to increase in budget expenditures. Employees receiving extremely low wages create a burden on the budget system by receiving social benefits and compensation for utility costs.

Through the level of remuneration in public and municipal organizations, the state, as an employer, influences the cost of labor in the economy by market methods.

Modern systems of remuneration of public sector employees solve only one task – to remain within the same amount of budget allocations after next increase in the minimum wage. The same principles are used for solving the problem of increasing the salary level of certain categories of public sector employees listed in the Edict of the President of the Russian Federation No. 597 dated May 7, 2012 “On Measures on Implementation of State Social Policy”.

Unjustifiably high interregional differentiation in public sector employees’ remuneration for work of equal intensity and quality preserves disproportions in development of Russian regions.

For determining target indicators for increasing the average salary of certain categories of public sector employees, the method of calculating the “average income from work” is used at present. This approach has led to significant lag in the growth rates of public sector wages from the off-budget sector, and this gap only increases.

Imperfection of wage systems in the public sector creates conditions for unjustified wage inequality under the same workload, which demotivates employees, increases risks of corruption and inefficient use of budget funds.

Not all categories of public sector employees are subject to presidential edicts on wage increases. The FNPR increasingly receives appeals about the lack of financial means to pay salaries to employees, even in the amount of the minimum wage in the institutions of the Roshydrometcenter system.

To solve these problems, the systematic state regulation of wages is required.

In 2020, the Government, together with trade unions, began to develop requirements for remuneration systems for public sector employees. The trade union of health care

workers managed to agree with the relevant ministry on establishment of minimum salaries not lower than the minimum wage. Calculations were made on all parameters of the remuneration system for medical workers. Testing of the new systems was planned for 2022.

However, the Government has postponed work on putting in order the remuneration systems for health care workers until 2025.

The situation with development of requirements for remuneration systems for education and culture workers is even more uncertain.

In these branches, the decision on conducting the pilot project on new wage systems has not yet been made.

And although the Ministry of Education, together with the branch trade union, developed unified approaches to remuneration systems for teaching staff, this work has not progressed beyond virtual calculations.¹

As the conclusion, it is necessary to list once again actions necessary, in the opinion of Russian trade unions, to be taken for creating the systematic approach in the field of remuneration:

- adoption of fundamental unified principles of remuneration for formation of the unified system of remuneration;
- establishment of the unified wage system based on the proposed principles in the public sector and promotion of development of such a system in the extra-budgetary sector;
- revision of the methodology for establishing the minimum wage, for the purpose of systematically increasing the minimum wage to the minimum consumer budget.

Implementation of these actions will make it possible to form the state policy providing a solution to the fundamental problem that hinders growth of the Russian economy – the problem of improving the population’s welfare.

A. G. Shumilin²

ON THE INCREASING ROLE OF INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMY AND STATE

The world is looking for a new socioeconomic formation. The neoliberal economy demonstrated its low efficiency in the pandemic environment, first of all, when product delivery chains, global division and specialization of labor

¹ See also: О текущем моменте и задачах профсоюзов : доклад председателя ФНПР М. В. Шмакова на Генеральном совете ФНПР 16 ноября 2022 года. URL: <https://fnpr.ru/upload/iblock/0dd/lgx4jqfntdoy1ac56ciffbuo21p7gw/Doklad-Predsdatelya-FNPR-SHmakova-M.V.-Generalnomu-Sovetu-FNPR-16.11.22.pdf> (accessed: 23.05.2023).

² Academician-Secretary of the Department of Physics, Mathematics, and Computer Science of the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus (Minsk), Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor. Chief adviser to the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Belarus staff (2008–2010), Chair of the Department of State Construction at the Academy of Management under the President of the Republic of Belarus (2010–2012), Director of the Belarusian Innovation Fund (2012–2013), Chairman of the State Committee on Science and Technologies of the Republic of Belarus (2013–2021). Chairman of the CIS Interstate Council for Cooperation in Science, Technology, and Innovation (2015–2021). Member of the Presidium of the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus. Member of the Supervisory Council of the Belarusian Republican Foundation for Basic Research. Author of over 250 academic publications, including “Formation of the State System of Innovative Development of National Economy”, “The National Innovative System of the Republic of Belarus”, “The Condition and Prospects of Technological Development for Economy of the Republic of Belarus”, “Innovations as the Basic Strategic

were disrupted. Today, if a country has natural resources, it does not guarantee its high standard of living and dynamic rates of development. A vivid example is African countries that have enough natural resources but at the same time a low standard of living. While such countries as Japan, South Korea, Israel have no natural resources of their own but can boast powerful economies and high rates of development.

The sanction wars demonstrated that switching off international payment systems and the limitation of access to global finances surely cause damage to a country but it is incomparable with the damage from the limitation of access to technologies. Because of that one can confidently say that technologies and intelligence capable to generate them rule the world today. And this trend will only strengthen. Today, it is no problem to launch production of goods in the world, it is much more difficult to think up a new product or service that will be in demand on the market. A unique tech-

Resource for Economy’s Development”, etc. Awarded the Order of Friendship, medal “For Contribution to the Creation of the Eurasian Economic Union” II degree, etc.

nology is very highly priced but it becomes much cheaper as soon as it becomes possible to copy it. Technologies are developing so rapidly that humankind is not always capable to perceive possible consequence of their large-scale application.

The formation of the new “Knowledge economy”, economy based on knowledge, is currently taking place in the world as one of the courses of the new socioeconomic formation. Recently, such ideas as “generalist” – creator (M. Rubinstein, A. Fistenberg) and “homo creativus” – creative man (D. Foster) appeared in the economic theory. The term “visionaries”, i. e. people who can not only “see new requirements, project the future” but also satisfy new requirements for a wide range of consumers who accept them, changing the quality of life, is starting to circulate. According to the results of the research conducted by the World Bank, the demand for the transmitted skills of the highest order such as logic, critical thinking, complex solution of problems and ability to discourse is growing.¹

As a result, the theory of building “Creative economy” is already being formed in the world. It is impossible without intellectualization of all processes, both technological and social. And the outrunning technological and innovative development of any economy or state is impossible without them.

The intellectual capital is becoming the most important resource of the socioeconomic systems’ development, the share of the intangible assets in the cost of organization (enterprise) is increasing. Intelligence becomes the basic resource in the development of high-tech industries,² providing increase of the world trade in high-tech goods as well as the intellectual products directly in the form of patents, trademarks, knowhow and other objects of industrial property, including the subject matter of copyright: programs, databases and recently amounts of information as well.

When forming his theory of innovative economy and entrepreneurship, Peter Drucker said already in the last century that this progress led to new knowledge, new information becoming the main resource. Proceeding from that, he named the forming society the information society.

The Noble Prize winner Zhores Alferov said that it was necessary to actively increase the number of high-tech intellectual working places providing production of science-based high-tech products but, most important, create the conditions for highly productive and creative labor. That enhances the quality of life, gives individuals an opportunity for self-realization.³

The intellectual leadership becomes the basis of competitiveness in the international field. The idea of intellectualization originates from the word “intelligence”, which means “comprehension, brainpower” if translated from Latin. Intelligence is inherent to humans and is manifested in their activities, because of that it can be considered

a production factor which includes individual’s knowledge, skills, capabilities and experience.⁴

The scientific and technical development, intellectual labor create conditions for the formation of technological platforms focused on activation of innovative processes which are becoming the most important tool providing competitiveness of produced goods as well as of the enterprise (organization).

Thus, the processes of labor intellectualization allow to deal with important social issues, enhance the quality of life, provide an opportunity for self-realization and creativity, self-development by way of participation in scientific research and innovative processes, creation and use of intellectual products.⁵

Digitalization is universal in the 21st century, it is everywhere and because of that one should take into account that the main elements on which efficient digital economy is based are information and knowledge. The main features of such economy are continuous development, changes, increase of flexibility, adaptability, sharing information and bringing operations into life in real time, self-training digital “smart” society.⁶ The world practice confirms that it is intellectual economy that becomes a power impulse for acceleration of technological development, increase of the scientific content and competitiveness of products, helps to develop innovative activities. The above said allows to come to the conclusion that it is necessary to create a socioeconomic model for the state development, in which an individual will become the main factor of economic growth.

The statistics shows that the share of the intangible assets in the cost of the companies – world leaders increases rapidly: from c 17% in 1975 up to 81% by 2010; and already in 2018 the cost of the intangible assets in world economy for the first time exceeded USD 50 trillion (according to Brand Finance), i. e. there is a fast-going process of intellectual economy’s formation, development of the market of intellectual property which is affecting technological and socioeconomic processes more and more.⁷ It should be mentioned that the intangible assets having no physical form are extremely valuable: according to the international agency Global Intangible Finance Tracker, the cost of the intangible assets in the world increased from USD 6 trillion up to USD 57 trillion from 1996 to 2022, and that amounted to 55% of the global GDP. Given that, the cost peak was reached in 2021 – USD 76 trillion, and the revenues for the use amounted to nearly USD 400 billion. For comparison: the tangible assets in 1996 amounted to 26.1% of the global GDP, and to 66.6% in 2021, i. e. the cost of the intangible assets in the world has come close to the cost of the tangible assets and will exceed them in future. Hence, one can come to the conclusion that the tangible resources affect the development of global economy less and less, and intelligence on the contrary is moving to the first place.

The transfer to the new intellectual economy implies the growth of, first of all, the intellectual component of the

¹ Word development report 2019. The changing nature of work. Washington, D. C. : World Bank, 2019.

² *Нехорошева Л. Н.* Формирование системы управления интеллектуальной собственностью как стратегическим ресурсом экономического развития и обеспечения национальной безопасности: перспективные направления, обучение специалистов новым компетенциям // Интеллектуальная собственность в современном мире: вызовы времени и перспективы развития : материалы Междунар. науч.-практ. конф. : в 2 ч. Минск, 2021. Ч. 2. С. 26–41.

³ Ibid.

⁴ *Стома Н. В.* Интеллектуализация производства как драйвер цифровой трансформации экономики Республики Беларусь // Интеллектуальная собственность в современном мире: вызовы времени и перспективы развития : материалы Междунар. науч.-практ. конф. : в 2 ч. Минск, 2021. Ч. 2. С. 172–178.

⁵ *Нехорошева Л. Н.* Op. cit.

⁶ *Стома Н. В.* Op. cit.

⁷ *Нехорошева Л. Н.* Op. cit.

country. There is such a concept in modern economics as the “intellectual capital”. It means potential (that may bring results in future) and already being capitalized (that have already materialized in monetary or other form) knowledge and opportunities expressed in the results of intellectual activities.¹

The scientific and technological achievements in the form of new knowledge, developments, technologies represent the main potential of the innovative model of the society’s development, production of competitive products, their promotion on traditional and new markets, provision of the qualitative growth of national economy.

The use of the leading scientific achievements in production of goods and provision of services is an important condition for development of enterprises and their strong competitive position. The increase of products’ competitiveness depends to a considerable extent on the use of respective intellectual resources. The intellectual property (IP) from this point of view is seen as one of the most important resources together with financial, personnel and material resources. To put it differently, it becomes one of the components of the scientific potential of the country.

The most significant indicator of the scientific and technical, and innovative development of the country is the GDP scientific content and research intensity (the share of expenses for R&D in relation to GDP). The research shows that in case of this indicator being less than 0.4%, science can only perform the sociocultural function, and a more significant impact of R&D on the socioeconomic development of the country is witnessed in case of the GDP scientific content and research intensity exceeding 1%.

Let’s mention for comparison that expenses of the leading EU countries for research and development (R&D) amount to 2–3% of GDP, 2.7% in the United States, 2.19% in China and increase up to 4.5–5% of GDP in such countries as South Korea and Israel. At the same time, if we examine the dynamics for 2010–2018, there is an annual increase of this indicator by 0.1–0.2% in case of most countries (e. g., Norway, Poland, Germany, Greece), and there is a decrease by 0.05–0.12% on the contrary in some countries (Canada, Australia, Ireland). This indicator in the Republic of Belarus either decreases or increases within 0.01–0.08% as in case of Spain, Latvia, France.² The dynamics of the GDP growth and R&D expenses in the Republic of Belarus is presented in Figure 1.

As one can see in this Figure, there is a clear-cut correlation: the more the increase of investments in science, the more the GDP growth in the country, i. e. it is impossible to deceive the laws of economy, if you want to have results, you have to invest in resources.

The global potential of IP as well as global trading in its objects are concentrated in a rather limited circle of developed countries. Thus, the share of OECD amounts to over 90% in the world trade in the results of intellectual activities, and the share of the rest more than 150 countries amounts to about 10%, with more than 100 of them practically not taking part in the international exchange of licenses, consequently they do not use the most valuable creative

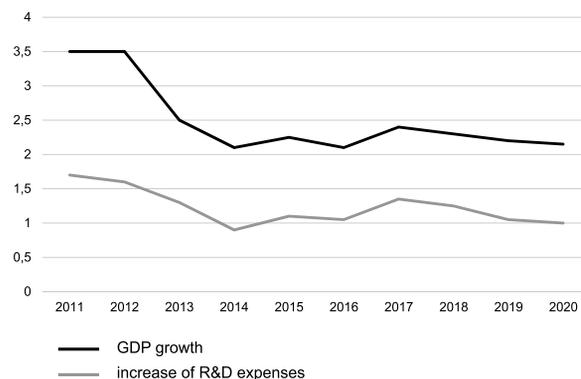


Figure 1. Dynamics of the GDP growth and R&D expenses in the Republic of Belarus in 2011–2020

achievements to enhance their standard of living and for solution of socioeconomic tasks.³

Innovative products amount to about 33–35% of the annual production of organizations in developed countries at the expense of a different attitude to legal registration of their rights and considerably higher level of management of enterprise’s assets basing on the principles of careful registration and account, evaluation, protection and implementation of the IP objects in production or other activities. Thus, for example, the cost of the fixed capital of such companies as Microsoft, IBM amounts on the average to about 14% of their market value, consequently, the rest 86% are determined as the cost of knowledge accumulated by the companies, including the cost of the intellectual property. As for the science-based and high-tech industries, intangible assets, IP amount to 50–70% of all their assets. The cost of the IP objects in research institutions and design bureaus is three times higher than the cost of their other assets.

According to the new report by Brand Finance, the leading consulting company specializing in evaluating brands, the cost of the Amazon brand in the beginning of 2023 amounted to USD 299.3 billion, Apple was the second with the cost of USD 297.5 billion, Google was ranked the third with the cost of USD 281.4 billion, Microsoft the fourth – USD 191.6 billion. And the cost of the Tesla brand increased by 44% during the year and amounted to USD 66.2 billion. According to Brand Finance, in 2022, Apple Inc. became the world leader in the amount of intangible assets, their cost amounts to USD 2.297 trillion, and the cost of Microsoft Corp. intangible assets is evaluated as USD 1.586 trillion.⁴

This information allows to confidently come to the conclusion that the cost of the intangible assets in the above mentioned companies exceeded the cost of the tangible assets by the order of magnitude and long ago, and the basic price of these companies is the cost of developments, technologies, business models, patents and knowhow, i. e. their intellectual component.

³ Оморов П. О., Оморов Н. П. Интеллектуальная собственность в области науки и техники и перспективы развития инновационной деятельности в Кыргызской Республике в условиях «экономики знаний» // Известия Нац. акад. наук Кыргызской Республики. 2013. № 4. С. 39–46.

⁴ Brand Finance опубликовала рейтинг самых дорогих брендов мира // Коммерсантъ. URL: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/5182157?ysclid=1ha4wk1mhl119297611> (accessed: 30.04.2023).

¹ Коржак А. В. Анализ интеллектуального капитала Республики Беларусь // Вестник Витебского гос. технол. ун-та. 2022. № 1 (42). С. 170–180.

² Коржак А. В. Оп. cit.

One of the indicators of efficiency of the intangible assets' use is export of services in the field of payments for the use of rights to the objects of intellectual property.

The biggest in the world exporter of intellectual property is the United States where the revenues for the use of the objects of intellectual property in 2021 amounted to USD 124.614 billion, as one can see in Figure 2, the Swiss revenues amounted to USD 30.709 billion, while the Russian Federation got USD 1.435 billion, i. e. 20 times less than Switzerland.

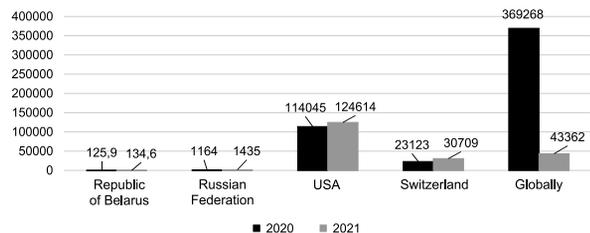


Figure 2. Indicator of payments for the use of intellectual property (USD, mln)

If we compare this data with the sizes of economies, the picture somewhat changes as one can see in Figure 3. Switzerland takes the first place, and Belarus and Russia, alas, even fall short of the average global indicator.

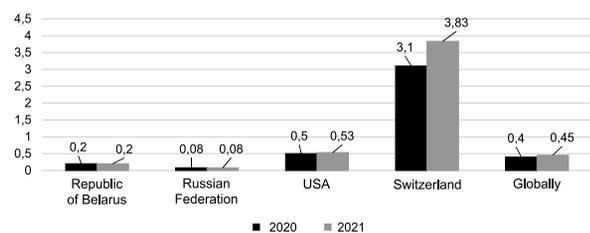


Figure 3. Percentage of payments for the use of intellectual property in relation to GDP

Starting from 2012, the amount of export from the Republic of Belarus in the field of payments for the use of IP has been annually demonstrating growth by 30 percent on the average (according to the Belstat – the National Statistical Committee of the Republic of Belarus – data) as presented in Table 1, and exceeded USD 134 mln in 2021. We have goods to trade, our developments are in demand on the international market of intellectual property, though we have a lot of growing up to do to reach the US level.

Table 1

Indicators of export in the field of services for the use of intellectual property in the Republic of Belarus, 2017–2021 (USD, mln)

2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
32.3	65.7	100.4	125.0	134.6

As one can see from Table 2, the state of affairs in the computer services is much better. Considerable material assets are not expected in this sector originally, and all products are actually the results of intellectual activities. The export in this field exceeded USD 3 billion in 2021, compare it with the food export of the Republic of Belarus during the same period, which amounted to USD 7 billion.

Table 2

Indicators of export in the field of computer services in the Republic of Belarus, 2017–2021 (USD, mln)

2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
1,203.1	1,585.6	2,118.8	2,524.6	3,019.9

Taking into account the IP big economic effect, the state takes various measures to preserve, support and increase its intellectual potential, including by creating the effective infrastructure and mechanisms.

The Republic of Belarus is a country that has chosen the intellectual way of development as the strategic focus in its regulatory documents. Thus, The Science and Technologies: 2018–2040 Strategy sets forth the key features of the new intellectual economy, the main areas of focus of the state policy in science and innovative activities, the tools for stimulating scientific and technological development of national economy for the period up to 2040 as well as expected results from the Strategy's¹ bringing into life, which will allow the country to attain the world level in competitiveness in a number of focal areas basing on the development of the IT-technologies, intellectualization and digital industrialization.²

And here the role of intelligence and intellectual property is especially big, the new world and new economy are built on intellectual developments and technologies. And if in the past Nathan Rothschild said, “Who owns the information, he owns the world,” and we respectively built the information society, this saying could sound today as follows: who owns the technologies, he owns the world. And it means that the transfer to the new intellectual economy is a fairly real basis for building a new socioeconomic formation.

¹ Стратегия «Наука и технологии: 2018–2040» / НАН Беларуси. URL: https://nasb.gov.by/congress2/strategy_2018-2040.pdf (accessed: 30.04.2023).

² Годовой отчет Национального центра интеллектуальной собственности за 2022 г. Минск : Нац. центр интеллектуальной собственности, 2023.

J. Stokseth¹

THE NEW WORLD ORDER FROM A CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE

And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.

Genesis 1.26–28

Without God – no human values?

In order to discuss the term “human values”, one has to have a definition or a common agreement of what the term “human” means.

The term “human values”, often used in the West, can be seen as a non-religious, disguised re-writing of the term “Christian human values”, as an attempt to include people of other religious or ideological beliefs into “a common ground”. Despite all our differences, we are all humans?

Christianity has been the common value system for almost thousand years in our part of the world. However, in the current process of altering a state or culture from a Christian to a secular one, “human values” are considered to be of higher quality and of having a more universal touch than the former “Christian values”.

In the Christian faith there is a definite, historical starting point: God’s creation of the world and his creation of man and woman within this framework. This is, so to speak, the Old World Order, in contrast to the New World Order; God as the definer of what is ethically and morally right or wrong, humans as the divine, created subjects leading a life within this framework, and finally the animals, birds, insects and plants as the objects used in this process. Nature is for man to take advantage of. “Mother nature” – is a poetic, but distractive term for most religious people.

To put it bluntly: Christians believe that humans come from God, atheists believe humans come from the sea. This difference in opinions will probably be an obstacle to an agreement about what human values are.

Without God – there is no such thing as a human being – only beings

The short, but decisive quotation from Genesis 1, lays out a foundation for the basics for an easily understood value system.

This value system began to emerge in the West during the reign of the Roman Emperor Constantine the Great (AD 306–337), when he replaced the old religion of the empire with the Christian faith.²

This transition was probably the most decisive factor in the history of women’s liberation and emancipation.

¹ High School teacher in Kongsberg (Norway), translator. Participant of international conferences and educational programmes as part of the Russian-Norwegian cooperation in the field of humanities, author of number of publications on political philosophy, environmental issues, and climate change.

² Commitment to Christianity of Constantine I. URL: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Constantine-I-Roman-emperor/Commitment-to-Christianity> (accessed: 17.05.2023).

Until this time polygamy was common, but Christianity introduces equality between the genders, one man should have only one woman, and they had equal God-given value, even if their function and status differed. It was also stated that slaves had human values, as God had created every man and woman in his image.

In an atheistic world order, every being represents only different stages in the development of different species. This means that there is not necessarily any principially difference in value between an animal and a human being – since they are both arbitrary beings and result of an arbitrary evolution.

The axioms for a value system, according to the Christian faith

1) Humans are unique and equal – they are below God, but above animals and plants.

2) Humans are created as two genders: man and women – with specific tasks “to be fruitful and multiply”.

These two axioms and other Christian principles have been the foundation for the West for centuries. The modern West is now struggling with these basic principles in its quest for a new foundation and a New World Order, and there are some written examples of this attempt to legitimize this New World Order:

1) The Universal Declaration of Human Rights with its 30 articles, where the last one states: “Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.”³

2) The UN’s 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted by all United Nations Member States in 2015, with 17 goals and 169 targets. Who, except politicians and bureaucrats are able to know, remember and take advantage of this framework?

3) The World Economic Forum’s Manifesto: (WEF) “The Forum engages the foremost political, business, cultural and other leaders of society to shape global, regional and industry agendas.”⁴ From where do they take their mandate?

Common for these three examples is that they are based on an atheistic world order – and will therefore struggle to be accepted as binding within a Christian, Jewish, Mus-

³ Universal Declaration of Human Rights. URL: <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights> (accessed: 17.05.2023).

⁴ The Davos Manifesto. URL: <https://www.weforum.org/the-davos-manifesto> (accessed: 17.05.2023).

lim, Hindu and Buddhist beliefs. The obvious reason is that every religion considers their own sacred texts, prophets and tradition superior to a secular state's laws and guidelines. When there is a conflict between the two – the religious laws will take precedence in the eyes of the believers. Whereas a secular state has the opposite view – its laws are considered to be above the religious laws, thus implying that the secular state is the guarantee for the different religions' equality and religious freedom. The secular, atheist belief is that these two points of views can merge. However, the American Declaration of Independence states that "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal" – and in this respect we can observe reminiscences of the Old Divine World Order here and there.

The existence of Universal Human Values – is not a universal belief

For people with a religious belief – there is nothing "universal" with the UN Charter of Universal Human Rights – since it does not have the authority outside itself. The only universal aspect is found when the Charter coincide with values found within the particular religion itself. Then it has authority meaning, not because it is in the Charter, but because it is found in his or her religion.

The West does not define precisely what their value system is based upon, other than their own written documents based on thorough discussions and work, but with no basis in any religion.

Clearly, the West's history the last millennium is based on Christianity, but this Christian belief has to a great extent eroded. The laws of the West is based on atheism – and the hope and belief is that the rest of the Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, Jewish and Hindu world will eventually drift away – towards atheism and pragmatism – if religious people are "enlightened" by science and mass media. The current, western mass media, influenced by the views of the advocates for a New World Order, is one of the strongest means to influence the masses.

If we look into the crystal bowl, we may see that the notion of "human" will be challenged if, or rather when, we face the morally and ethically problems with cloned humans, or when we see a merge of humans and machines into transhumans, or if we enter into an industrial production of fetuses, making traditionally family life redundant. Will these new forms of post-humans – still be considered "humans" in the judicially sense of the words? Will these human-like robots have to comply with the judicially framework of the state? Is this a road we are willing to take? Is the pressure towards acceptance of transgenders only

a warm-up for the acceptance of transhumans and cyborgs? Time will show.

The West is a shrinking entity and is becoming less relevant?

What the Collective West does not seem to fully take into account – is that it comprises only about 17% of the world's population, steadily shrinking – and that the rest of the world, to a great extent, has a religious value-system that will not easily be replaced with a new system – although religions also eventually see changes.

The New Ethics of the West seems to have no limits or moral boundaries other than "what is scientifically possible." Gender, family, right or wrong, the value of a human being, sacred rituals or sacred texts are mere old, historically views and phenomena, and the new guideline is what is politically and economically viable.

With the emerge of a multipolar world and with a shrinking population and economy the atheistic West seems to face a future with less relevance.

Nations and cultures with different religions – will probably have an easier task of understanding each other, than a secular nation or culture will have in understanding different religious cultures. The reason is that different religions often have a common understanding that there is something in other people's religious beliefs that are sacred. There is something called good and evil, and there is an authority higher than mankind that are binding to the followers of the particular belief. A possible strategy for the atheistic advocates of the New World Order is to divide and conquer. Division, strife and clashes between religious groups has a long history, and it might be tempting for globalists to encourage the use of these mechanisms as a means to strengthen their own position?

In the End

From this follows that the idea with different, sovereign states that organize their legal framework in accordance with their religion, culture and customs is probably a better idea than letting an outside body like UN or EU, blend everything together with no borders, no genders and no religions – and hope for the best.

Chaos and diversity – is probably a world order only politicians and the economic elite will be able to benefit from. So maybe a multipolar world with sovereign states governed according to their own religious beliefs is what will come out of these turbulent times? The traditionally Western Democracy has maybe reached the end of the road.

A. V. Yakovenko¹

THE NEW THREATS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE. BEYOND THE HORIZON OF THE FUTURE

Nowadays, the high level of polarization and turbulence is characteristic of the international climate. It has become the consequence of the United States' attempts to restore the unipolar world order via the confrontation against Russia and China simultaneously. Notwithstanding the apparent lack of Washington's long-term strategy as to such "a war on two fronts", the American leaders go on raising the stakes, first of all in supporting the Ukraine that has been turned into the environment for anti-Russian politics. The Summit for Democracy that took place in the end of March 2023 demonstrated the United States' focus on the renaissance of the bloc thinking and ideological confrontation. That exactly is predefining the Washington's course towards the "strategic defeat" of Russia via its internal destabilization and disintegration and preparation for the military confrontation with the People's Republic of China.

Contrary to this Washington's attitude, there are serious changes taking place on the geopolitical map of the world: the Collective West countries are ending to play the driver's role in the global economic growth. The establishment of the polycentric world order, embodying the cultural and civilization variety of the world, is painful for the West used to consider itself the center of human civilization starting at least from the colonial era, and profitably using its hegemony. It is evident now that many countries of the Global South are not ready to put up with their neocolonial robbery and want to act on the international scene in their own interests and not the Western ones.

Respectively, we are having the state of affairs when the West with the United States at the head is trying to keep its world supremacy at any cost, and not only the economic and political factors dominate in this issue but the world view ones as well. This state of affairs combined with the rapid technological progress creates new global threats for mankind. They accumulate and aggravate the already present international challenges which the international community has still not been able to solve at the available multilateral venues, including the United Nations where the West determines the lowest common denominator. Non-traditional or new threats to security acquire the systemic character. Sanctions, embargos, refugees are becoming common prac-

tice. They aggravate socioeconomic and political problems, in particular, instability in the global energy sector, insufficiency of water and energy resources, global food security, etc., threatening the foundations of the states' and nations' vital activities.

The role of the force factor in international relations strengthens. Russia's independent foreign and domestic policy gives rise to the United States' and their allies' opposition. The plans to move the NATO military infrastructure closer to the borders of the Russian Federation are still the issue of pressing concern for the West. The Collective West "balances on the verge" between hybrid actions and an open armed conflict with Russia. The danger of a nuclear war has enhanced considerably.

One of the most dangerous threats of the modern times is the *uncontrolled armed race*. Practically all agreements for control over the strategic armaments that united Russia and the United States, are no longer in force. Having to deal with the policy of containment on the part of the United States, China has been seriously building up its nuclear potential. All kinds of common armaments and armies in all regions of the world are being updated, and they are often based on artificial intelligence. The threshold countries strive to oppose the United States and their allies by nuclear weapons. The readiness of the NATO member states to *send weapons to the Ukraine* turns into getting new kinds of weapons from the United States instead of the delivered ones as well as production of new kinds of armaments that will be called to enhance the military threat to all other countries including Russia.

The United States' yearning for *expansion of the NATO military bloc's area of responsibility up to the global scales as well as for setting up new military blocs* (AUKUS) in the Global South regions with the purpose of "containing" China and Russia introduces further destabilization into the international climate, facilitating its chaotization. Aggravation of contradictions on the global level is fraught with *origination of new and aggravation of the old armed conflicts* that may lead to extremely grave consequences: in the Middle East, Africa, North-East Asia, etc. In their turn, *the risks of international terrorism will increase*.

Recently, *the evident degradation of international institutions and international law* has been one of the main trends in global politics. In this field, the Western countries switched to the practice of direct banning of compromise decisions taking into account the vital activities of the states not referred to the Western group. This trend is manifested at various venues (OSCE, IAEA, WTO, sports organizations, etc.). The result is decrease of international relations' manageability and aggravation of conflicts.

At the same time, we are witnessing the aggravation of the confrontation referred to *the processes of breaking up the played-out global economic model with the United States at the head and attempts to transfer to a new economic model* basing on the principles of equality of the world centers of economic and political development. The system of international monetary and financial relations established after World War II that has been serving the West-

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ern globalization over the recent 40 years, is being deformed. The sanction pressure on Russia on the part of the United States, EU and other Western countries has caused the economic boomerang effect and helped their self-isolation from the non-Western countries making the majority of the international community. The introduction of the settlement of payments in national currencies between Russia and friendly countries, decrease of the US dollar and Euro influence on the global economy also assist the process of disintegration of the worn-out global trade and economic system as well as monetary and financial system that put brakes on the global development.

The risks of stagflation in the world economy are increasing, and that will lead to a wide-range economic recession (the World Bank's forecast). The usual methods of correction used to solve one issue will aggravate other economic problems. Global economy is transferring to the period of low investments, small growth and poor cooperation, and that threatens to undermine its stability and increases systemic risks.

There is a surge of *uncontrolled rivalry and competition of states referred to the structural rebuilding of economy*, first of all its transfer to a new technological foundation. The development of new technologies is becoming a venue for the struggle of sanctions and "export" of countries' influence. The new arms race may be accompanied by resources race, and that will aggravate tensions. The active confrontation in the digital sector will also become a new phenomenon in such a "Cold War": with the measures for providing national security, spying and cyber-attacks in this field. Threats related to providing data, digital systems and communications security have also aggravated against this background.

The impossibility to solve the issue of the global warming on the planet level turns it into a "multiplier of threats", aggravating the issues of migration, poverty or conflicts. The World Bank forecasts that 143 mln people (or about 2.8% of the population) in the Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and Latin America will have to change their place of residence by 2050 under the impact of unfavorable climatic changes.

The threats related to crimes in the information field are increasing. The most wide-spread kinds of them – cybercrimes – are becoming closely inter-related with political issues. According to experts, the losses of world economy because of swindling and fraud in the information field will amount to USD 11 trillion by 2025. In this connection, criminal cyber-attacks on some segments of economy of certain countries are becoming weapons. The total number of cyber-attacks on Russian organizations will increase at least by 50 percent in 2023. The hackers whose purpose is getting big ransoms, switch to attacking the activities of the companies and that leads to stopping of the most important technological processes and break-downs.

In the near future, the United States and their allies will assist the *further split of the world as to the factor of value*. The liberal model of the social order will be promoted as a kind of ideological criterion basing on which the Collective West is ready to cooperate with this or that country. It will also serve as a kind of ideological divide line dividing the Western world with its satellites siding with it from the Global Majority.

The Collective West activates the policy focused on obstructing *the strengthening of subjectivity of the regional*

players in Asia, Africa and Latin America with crisis phenomena as a background. As a result, the situation in these regions is being more and more pregnant with conflicts, it is highly volatile, dependent on domestic political changes and even such unpredictable factors as natural calamities or provocative actions by politicians, which increases threats, challenges and risks affecting the interests of Russia.

The American armed forces as well as military bases of a number of Western countries are still present in many regions of the world. The promotion of regional defense system projects has been renewed by the United States and NATO under the aegis of the bloc. The nuclear weapons issue remains especially acute for the regions. The discussion of non-proliferation issues is activated not without taking into account the growth of the military force component in the contemporary international relations.

As for the political and diplomatic field against the background of the Ukrainian crisis, the United States activated the diplomatic work in the Global Majority countries for the isolation of Russia, pulling regional actors into the sanction pressure on Russia and China. In the economic field, the West threatens countries by secondary sanctions and that is capable to have a negative impact on their trade and economic relations with Russia. There are new challenges and obstacles related to increase of transportation expenses, financial transactions.

The fact that the Global Majority countries on the whole are not inclined to in-build in the America-centered arrangement of the global politics management is being of the *key importance for the Russian foreign policy* in the environment of the constantly evolving and growing global threats generated by the policy of the Collective West. They prefer to take a neutral position as to the thrust upon them agenda and develop the dialogue with Moscow and Beijing proceeding from the sovereign understanding of national and regional interests and issues.

In this connection, one can't fail to mention that the current state of affairs presumes *the prospect of origination of a number of Russia's opportunities for strengthening this country's position on the international scene*.

First, in the environment when the United States de facto refused from the constructive continuation of work at the global projects such as fighting against climate change, strengthening of control over the armaments (including in space and cyberspace), support of the food security, regulation of local conflicts, Russia gets the opportunity to realize its historically established unique mission to support the global balance of power against this background, closely cooperating with the Global South in solving the key for it tasks. The acting Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation for the first time determines Russia as "a distinctive civilization-state, Eurasian and Euro-Pacific power," and that serves as an important step in cultural and civilization self-determination in the order of historical continuity and restoration of the link of times, breaking-up with the tradition of Eurocentrism and establishment of a really multi-vector foreign policy.

Second, the state of affairs referring to the special military operation may assist the long-term consolidation of the Russian society allowing to boost the refocusing of the policy and economy of the country on the East, strengthening the value foundations of the Russian state. That will have a positive impact on its international positioning as well,

including the accelerated development of cooperation with partner states from BRICS and SCO.

In case of stabilization (at least partial) of the international climate and confirmation of the fundamental principles of international relations basing on polycentrism, justice, mutual respect and inseparability of security, development, new opportunities will be opened providing sustainable development of humankind.

At the same time, it is not easy to overcome the considerable challenges to international and national security of Russia related to the hybrid war carried on by the Collective West, this will require time and concentrated efforts. The course of the West to destroy the Russian statehood via escalation of the Ukrainian crisis emphasizes the degradation of the Western foreign policy thinking. In the environment when the United States and their allies, on the one hand, have to deal with numerous internal crises, and on the other hand, have to worry more and more about the inevitability of the loss of the dominating positions in many fields, the risk of ill-considered, adventurous decisions taken by the Collective West, capable to lead the world to World War III, increases.

In this situation, a high level of endurance and strategic vision are required from Russia. That will help to avoid the emotional reaction to Western provocations and use the taking place processes to stand up for the national interests of the Global Majority countries.

The strategic goal of Russia in this environment is strengthening of its status as a politically sovereign and economically independent state. This supposes, first of all, a complex provision of interests of the country's security, including adequate armed forces having a global range of action and preserving the ability to inflict an unacceptable damage to any potential enemy. The other key element is adequate socioeconomic structure in the country based on production of break-through technologies and overcoming the export-resource course of economy.

Russia's and the Eurasian Economic Union's (EAEU) turn "to the East" – to Asian countries is becoming the answer to the Western sanctions. The main priority in the environment of the sanction war is the development of the Russian and connected with it Eurasian market. The task in the establishing environment is deepening of the regional integration and creation of a renewed architecture of international economic relations with its help. In connection with that the Russia's initiative for the set-up of the Greater Eurasian Partnership (GEP) based on the mutually advantageous and mutually respectful cooperation as it was many times underlined by the President of Russia V. V. Putin, acquires special importance.

The Greater Eurasian Partnership is called for to become a guarantee of stability and prosperity over the whole continent of Eurasia taking into account the variety of the models of development, cultures and traditions of all nations. The idea of GEP is supported by the heads of states and governments in the EAEU, SCO, ASEAN countries and other organizations. The resources of regional organizations create strong opportunities in the today's international relations for the development of the political and economic interaction even in the environment of sanctions and trade limitations by a part of the global community.¹ The concept

¹ See: Кулинец Ю. В. Перспективы реализации российской инициативы Большой Евразии в новых условиях // Безопасность в Азиатско-Тихоокеанском регионе в контексте Индо-Тихоокеанской стратегии США : сб. ст. М., 2022. С. 139–153.

of the Greater Eurasian Partnership is acquiring legal, economic and social forms.

The EAEU countries can become the nucleus for the formation of the Greater Eurasian Partnership, with their domestic markets encompassing the economic space of Russia, Byelorussia, Armenia, Kazakhstan and Kirgizia and uniting 184 mln people. According to expert evaluations, the Eurasian Economic Union occupies the second place in the world after the European Union in the deepness of the economic integration. The ultimate goal of this strategy is the EAEU formation as one of the important centers of the modern world's development.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), the biggest in the world regional organization being the most important institution of international cooperation in the Eurasian space, acquires special importance within the framework of bringing the GEP concept into life. The SCO united a giant geographic space and more than a half of the population of the globe. The guarantee of the international and legal attractiveness of the SCO is its out-of-bloc status, openness, non-directedness against third countries or international organizations, equality and respect of sovereignty of all participants, refusal from interference into internal affairs, inadmissibility of political opposition and confrontational rivalry.²

The SCO states are also for getting rid of the US dollar dependence in trade relations, and they have approved "the roadmap" for the gradual increase of the national currencies' share in mutual settlements of payments.³ The structure of the world energy market has been actively changing against the background of the anti-Russian sanctions. The SCO mutually profitable cooperation in the energy sector has a big potential and large-scale prospects, because there are both energy deliverers and energy consumers, countries-exporters and countries-importers of energy resources in the SCO. The main tasks of this organization are formation of interconnection by transport for all its members as well as energy, food and environmental security, innovations, digital transformation and green economy. The guarantee of the SCO sustainability is the all-consuming strategic partnership of the two big and important global powers – Russia and China as well as participation of India, Pakistan and Iran in it.

Thus, a new world center ready to conduct an independent foreign policy and realize its economic interests is being formed in the Eurasian space. At the same time, one cannot fail to take into account the fact that achievement of this goal will run across considerable geopolitical and geo-economic difficulties both on the global and regional levels. The attitude of the Collective West in the face of the United States and the European Union to any integration projects in the Eurasian space without their participation is extremely negative. Nevertheless, the integration processes in the Eurasian space are becoming more dynamic as they are in accordance with the general trend of regionalization, formation of macroregions in global economy.⁴

² Заявление главы Узбекистана в преддверии саммита ШОС в Самарканде // УзИнформ : [information portal]. URL: <http://www.uzinform.com/ru/news/20220912/51532.html> (accessed: 25.05.2023).

³ «Конец диктата доллара». О чем договорились на саммите ШОС // РИА Новости : [website]. URL: <https://ria.ru/20220916/shos-1817406175.html> (accessed: 25.05.2023).

⁴ See: Лукьянович Н. В. Перспективы евразийской экономической интеграции в контексте роста глобальных вызовов и угроз // Проблемы национальной стратегии. 2021. № 1 (64). С. 78–96.

Plenary Session DIALOGUES AND CONFLICTS OF CULTURES IN THE CHANGING WORLD

May 25, 2023

A. P. Petrov Theatre and Concert Hall, SPbUHSS

CHAIRPERSONS:

- V. A. CHERESHNEV *Deputy President of the RAS, member of the Presidium of the RAS, Academician of the RAS, Chief Researcher of the Institute of Immunology and Physiology of the Ural Branch of the RAS (Ekaterinburg), Dr. Sc. (Medicine), Professor, Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS*
- O. ROQUEPLO *Professor of Sorbonne University (Paris, France), Dr. Sc. (History), Dr. Sc. (Political Sciences)*
- M. SANAEI *Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Russian Federation (2013–2019), Ph. D. in Political Sciences*
- M. V. SHMAKOV *Member of the State Council of the Russian Federation (Moscow), Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, Chairman of the Trustee Council of SPbUHSS, Professor Emeritus of SPbUHSS*
- A. S. ZAPESOTSKY *President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Corresponding Member of the RAS, Academician of the Russian Academy of Education, Dr. Sc. (Cultural Studies), Professor, Scientist Emeritus of the Russian Federation, Chairman of the Executive Committee of St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress*

SPEAKERS:

- I. I. BUZOVSKY *Deputy Minister of Information of the Republic of Belarus (Minsk), Ph. D. in Sociology*
- Ye. G. DRAPEKO *First Deputy Chairman of the Committee on Culture of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation (Moscow), Deputy to the State Duma of the Russian Federation, Ph. D. in Sociology, Honored Artist of the RSFSR*
- N. K. GARBOVSKY *Director of the Higher School of Translation and Interpreting (Faculty) at Lomonosov Moscow State University, Academician-Secretary of the Department of Education and Culture at the Russian Academy of Education, Dr. Sc. (Philology), Professor*
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- A. A. GUSEINOV *Director of the Institute of Philosophy of the RAS (Moscow), Academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor, Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS*
- M. S. GUSMAN *First Deputy Director General of the Russian News Agency TASS (Moscow), Dr. Sc. (Political Sciences), Professor, Honored Journalist of the Russian Federation, Honored Worker of Culture of the Russian Federation*
- A. D. KHLUTKOV *Director of the North-West Institute of Management of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (St. Petersburg), Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor*
- A. S. MAKSIMOV *Chairman of the Committee on Science and Higher Education of the Government of St. Petersburg, Ph. D. in Engineering*
- V. K. MAMONTOV *Chairman of the board of directors of the newspaper “Komsomolskaya Pravda” (Moscow), Director General of the radio station “Govorit Moskva”, director of the Foundation for the Support of Network Initiatives “Smart Internet”*
- M. V. ZAKHAROVA *Director of the Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia (Moscow), Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation, Ph. D. in History*

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Dear colleagues, we open the Plenary Session of the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference. I ask Olivier Roqueplo, Professor at Sorbonne University (France), Doctor of Historical Sciences, Doctor of Political Sciences, to come to the Presidium. Mr. Roqueplo has presented a very interesting and incredibly philosophical report at the Conference. Another member of the Presidium is Mehdi Sanaei, a longtime friend of our University. We know him since those years when he was our colleague in academic activities, and also as an outstanding diplomat who served for several years as Iran's Ambassador to the Russian Federation and worked to strengthen our ties with Iranian universities. Mr. Sanai is the author of a number of research papers that we have included in the scientific circulation of our University. I also invite Valery Aleksandrovich Chereshev, Honorary Doctor of our University, Deputy President of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Scientific Director of the Institute of Immunology and Physiology of the Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Medical Sciences, Professor, to take a place in the Presidium. The Honorary Doctor of Saint Petersburg University of Humanities and Social Sciences (SPbUHSS) is a personified symbol of our University's ideals; this is how we present these remarkable people to the students. And, finally, Mikhail Viktorovich Shmakov, a member of the State Council, Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions (FITU) of Russia. Notably, FITU of Russia is the largest public organization in our country, uniting 20 million members of trade unions. Mikhail Viktorovich is also Vice-President of the International Trade Union Confederation, Vice-President of the All-European Council of Trade Unions, Chairman of the Board of Trustees and Honorary Professor of our University.

By tradition, I would like to say a few words on behalf of the Organizing Committee of the International Likhachov Scientific Conference, especially because today there are many new participants, including students, in this room. Our forum was initiated by the University in 1993 at the suggestion of Academician Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov. On May 19, 1993, he was elected the first Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS. As to our joint work with Dmitry Sergeevich, it began about six months before that date; in the course of this work, he made many proposals which we were happy to implement. It was his idea to hold Science Days at the University, and on May 24, 1993, on the Day of Slavic Written Language and Culture, the first conference took place. Let me remind you that the Old Slavonic alphabet was created by Cyril and Methodius, outstanding enlighteners, saints of the Orthodox and Catholic churches. We thought it would be right to lay the foundation for a new tradition of Science Days on this date. A year earlier, our University was consecrated by the Russian Orthodox Church. Therefore, since that date, May 24, we have been counting down the recent history of our University as a higher education institution. Established in 1926 by Russian trade unions from the workers' associations of Petersburg, for many years this educational institution was called the Higher Trade Union School of Culture.

After that, we continued to work together with Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov. One of the most important results of our joint work was "Declaration of Cultural Rights", which I have every reason to call a document of global historical

significance. After Dmitry Sergeevich passed away, Daniil Aleksandrovich Granin and I addressed Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin with a request to issue the Edict on perpetuating the memory of Academician Likhachov. The Edict was prepared and issued in three days, testifying high appreciation and special attitude of the President of Russia to Likhachov's personality and significance of his legacy. Thus, in 2001, when the Edict was issued, the Days of Science received a new status – International Likhachov Scientific Conference. Since then, the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Russian Academy of Education have joined in organizing and conducting the Conference, and over 10 years ago, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation began supporting the Conference. Together we have brought the Likhachov Conference to the present level. Currently, it is the largest forum of world-class humanitarian science.

Unfortunately, after the start of the special military operation in Ukraine, the opportunities for international scientific contacts decreased. In Western countries, scientists are under incredible pressure to stop any cooperation with Russia. Of course, our communication continues at the personal level, but foreign colleagues cannot freely declare it, and visiting Russia has become problematic for them. Today, scientists from about ten countries participate in our work. Many others could not come because of logistic problems, among them Hans Köchler, a professor from Vienna and a public figure, colleagues from Serbia and a number of other countries. However, they submitted their papers, which are posted at the "D. S. Likhachov Square" website among the 150 papers by scientists from Russia and foreign countries published there at the moment.

Today, despite everything, our participants are outstanding thinkers who are interested in issues of the dialogue of cultures. Alas, nowadays the dialogue of cultures is often drowned out by the sounds of gunshots. After all, when scientists are not allowed to work, guns come into play. But this time will pass, and in the course of our discussions we will consider how events will develop at the subsequent stages and, perhaps, formulate some forecasts. The panel discussion will be dedicated to prospects of the multipolarity structure which is, apparently, our future. And now, on behalf of the Organizing Committee, I congratulate all those present, thank you for participating in the Likhachov Scientific Conference, and wish you interesting and fruitful work.

Our forum opens with the speech by Mikhail Viktorovich Shmakov.

M. V. SHMAKOV: – Good afternoon, dear colleagues. I congratulate you on the opening of the 21st Likhachov Conference at the Saint Petersburg University of Humanities and Social Sciences. The Conference is dedicated to topical issues related to dialogues and conflicts of cultures, and the reality that has affected us personally today, in particular the difficulties with logistics mentioned by Aleksandr Sergeevich, because of which many invited scientists could not come to participate in our work, indicates that we are currently undergoing the stage of conflicts. The special military operation conducted by the Russian Federation exposes the essence of this stage, unlike the quieter periods when problems are hidden behind various euphemisms. Conflicts have become the main part of all interactions, on the platform of which every country, every per-

son, every scientific school stands, but thanks to the tolerance and respect to the interlocutor, they do not always escalate as much as today.

The attitude to this new situation has been formulated in the new concept adopted by our country, which states that Russia is a civilization country that does not adapt to any other civilizations, although it is interested in developing the cooperation with them. This is how Russia will defend its civilizational values. Unfortunately, in recent times, it is no longer possible to support any pan-European values, because, from my point of view, we have split up in the main position – in views concerning the human being, family, future of the family, country, and the humanity. And if the future develops as it is anticipated in today's philosophy and practice of the Western civilization, then we are not on the same track with the West. They say that our civilization is more conservative, but I would choose another word: it is more traditional. But this is our civilization and our value – in fact, the ultimate purpose of human existence. Let's not argue about who created the man, how humanity evolved, and other philosophical questions. Be that as it may, these values are primarily aimed at developing the human race, including its spiritual development. Material well-being is important, but we do not put it in the first place.

Today, in framework of the Conference, we will have an interesting, complex, frank and sharp dialogue. Without this internal and civilizational cleansing from alien layers, it may be difficult for us to move forward. Among other things, it exposes those growths that have formed in our country's history, politics, and economy. But, since our Conference is international, to my mind, we should not focus only on domestic problems. We are aware of them and know how to solve them. It is not always possible, but the main thing on this path is not to give up and continue doing what we consider necessary and significant. We still have a lot of important things to do inside the country; however, we also have to develop the dialogue between all cultures, working out arguments to protect values of our civilization. All previous Likhachov Conferences were inevitably dedicated to these problems, and the current one will not be an exception, albeit held in the new reality of international politics. Once again, I congratulate all participants on the opening of the 21st Likhachov Conference and wish them interesting creative discussions.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – The floor is given to Academician Valery Aleksandrovich Chereshevnev.

V. A. CHERESHNEV: – We often hear that science is integral part of culture, and it really is. In February, we will celebrate the 300th anniversary of the Russian Academy of Sciences. 300 years is a rather respectable age. Let me remind you that at the time our academy was established, three scientific academies had already been operating in Europe – in England, France and Germany. The Russian Academy of Sciences became the fourth one, and the American National Academy appeared much later – only in 1863. Mikhail Vasilyevich Lomonosov was certainly right when he wrote, “Science is clear cognition of the truth, enlightenment of the mind, pure amusement of life, praise of youth, support of old age, builder of cities, regiments, fortress of success in misfortune, ornament in happiness, faith-

ful and inseparable companion everywhere.” Lomonosov was a worthy successor of Peter the Great, who founded our academy on February 8, 1724 here, in Saint Petersburg. And now it has been decided to establish the Saint Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences and return to it the building on the Universitetskaya Embankment, which was once specially built for the Academy by architect Giacomo Quarenghi.

Americans are very proud that last year a woman, a truly outstanding scientist, geophysicist Marcia McNutt, was elected president of the US National Academy of Sciences for the second time. However, the Russian Academy of Sciences was headed by Ekaterina Romanovna Dashkova as early as in the 18th century, then Sofia Kovalevskaya, a mathematician, was a Corresponding Member of the Academy, and Praskovia Uvarova, a historian and archaeologist, was an academician. That is, in Russia, back in the 18–19th centuries, an understanding existed that women's contribution to science could be huge. It is no coincidence that Nikolai Ivanovich Pirogov, in his letter on the role of women in a society, argued that women's activities should not be limited to housekeeping, since they have the powerful potential that allows them to perform other, even more essential social functions. And various sciences should become the important journey for Russian women.

The Academy's prestige was very high, and not without reason. This was greatly facilitated by academicians' activities. So, during the Crimean War, Nikolai Ivanovich Pirogov performed about 10 thousand operations. His authority was so high that one day soldiers brought him the body of their murdered comrade and separately his head, torn off by a cannonball, and asked, “Sew it on, you can do everything.” This was, of course, impossible; however, this episode shows how strong was the faith in this wonderful physician, a great surgeon, a member of the Academy, four-times winner of the Demidov Prize. Though, on the other hand, by this occasion, one can judge the depressing level of the people's education.

In 1897, in Moscow, the International Medical Congress was held, and it was visited by Rudolf Virchow, an authoritative figure of German medicine, who taught famous Russian doctors, such as I. M. Sechenov, S. P. Botkin, I. P. Pavlov, V. V. Pashutin, and others. Virchow got acquainted with the state of Russian medicine and on the last day of the convention, addressing foreign guests, said, “You should learn from Russians.” And Aleksandr II, who ascended the throne after Nicholas I, appealed to doctors and teachers to improve medicine and education in Russia, bringing these areas to perfection they achieved in France and Germany, and promised to provide them with all possible assistance, including financial. Botkin and Sechenov, who were trained in Germany, returned to Russia. In 1861, in his speech to the government, Botkin noted that the Russian people are unusually energetic and active, and Sechenov, when reading a lecture to students of the Military Medical Academy about the doctor's profession, urged them to work with full dedication and always remember that their education is paid for by the money taken from Russian destitute peasants, to whom they are deeply indebted. Students, who mostly belonged to different social classes, understood this and were ready to work for the good of Russia.

Virchow was right in many ways. In 1904, the Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences Ivan Petro-

vich Pavlov became the first Nobel laureate in Russia, and three years later he was elected an academician.

Nikolai Ivanovich Pirogov was awarded the title of Honorary Citizen of the City of Moscow. When asked why he, so famous and respected, remained a physician in ordinary, he replied that the ranks were not important to him. He loved Russia very much, and the main thing he worked for was the honor of his Motherland.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Dear colleagues, Maria Vladimirovna Zakharova, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation, Director of the Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, will now address you.

M. V. ZAKHAROVA: – The topic of today’s discussion “Dialogues and Conflicts of Cultures” suggests various opinions. This does not mean that there can be only two of them, but one way or another we have two poles designated. On the one hand, there is a “positive” phenomenon, the dialogue of cultures, which is our common goal and hope that cultures can perform the constructive dialogue. On the other hand, there are conflicts of cultures that are certainly a negative thing. This is also a kind of a dialogue, but it is performed in a negative key.

In fact, in my opinion, the problem is elsewhere. It is not in opposing dialogue to conflict; in the end, both can be considered natural developments of various situations. Today we are witnessing a collision on a completely different level – one of culture and anti-culture, or lack of culture, which is a powerful destructive force.

Cultures have evolved over centuries. The humanity has already outlived many civilizations, their formation and decline, which took utterly diverse forms. Meanwhile, some civilizations disappeared irrevocably, new ones grew on the wreckage of the old ones. These processes took place in harmony with natural development of society and technology, because innovations emerge in every era. But nowadays, instead of actual development, we can see trivial, primitive PR campaigns.

Let’s take, for example, the global phenomenon of colonialism. The related problems are slave trade and racism which cause struggle between civilizations and cultures of the respective eras. This is a deep-rooted centuries-old story with its own tragedies, ups and downs. What is today’s understanding of this process, which obviously tends to re-surge? The campaign called #BLM – three letters with the hashtag sign. Sacred walking in the circle, writing posts, networking under the principle of either support or rejection, nobody knows. Just four characters.

Another topic is women’s role. We recall religious interpretations, try to substantiate political science concepts, study the feminism movement, approach the problem from the aspect of traditions – family and motherhood, from the point of view of law, etc. This global attempt to comprehend the problem over centuries is also the key to conflicts between cultures. But in the end, again, it all came down to #MeToo hashtag. Trivialization to the extreme.

And of course, the most obvious example is comprehension of life processes. The whole history of mankind is generally dedicated to this issue, the central thesis of which is logos and everything related to it – philosophy, science,

theology, sociology... What is the result of conceptual analysis of the world for hundreds of millions of people? It’s that fortune hunters who have learned to use modern communication tools tell hundreds of millions what the meaning of life is, without justifying their concepts. I have talked about this with public figures, scientists, and journalists. I liked one saying: on the journey of comprehending the philosophy of life, its goals and objectives for thousands of years, there have always been people whose opinions were relatable – spiritual leaders who inspired people. Today their replacement is mass media, which will inevitably become a conductor – not of culture, but of anti-culture. This does not mean that the choice is already predetermined. I am sure harmonization of processes is still possible. But, in my opinion, it is very important to look at what is happening today from this perspective: culture versus anti-culture.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – The floor is given to the outstanding Russian journalist, First Deputy Director General of TASS Mikhail Solomonovich Gusman, who created the amazing cycle of 400 interviews with leaders from all over the world.

M. S. GUSMAN: – First of all, I want to thank you, Aleksandr Sergeevich, and your colleagues for the invitation to take part in the International Likhachov Scientific Conference. The Conference has become a special institution in our Motherland: respected, interesting, increasingly attracting attention every year. For this, Aleksandr Sergeevich, I bow to you: at present, such meetings of intellectuals engaged in comprehending the modern world are extremely important.

Today, when I was presented with the book “Global Conflict and the Outlines of the New World Order”, published following the results of last year’s Conference, I thought that the title of this collection of works, presenting the reflections of outstanding scientists and professionals, is extremely fitting. Indeed, today we witness a global conflict in the world, and the best minds of mankind try to comprehend the outlines of the new world order.

Similar works (perhaps inferior in quality and depth of scientific comprehension) are currently being published all over the world. Numerous meetings are held for the purpose of comprehending the direction in which the world is moving. Major international institutions are concerned about this issue, first of all the United Nations, the reform of which is now being discussed more openly, e. g. by the UN Secretary-General A. Guterres.

Returning to the topic of interviews with world leaders, I’d like to note that out of nine UN Secretaries-General, I had the honor to interview the last six, including the current one. All of them, starting with J. Perez de Cuellar (who held the post of UN Secretary-General from 1982 to 1991), said that the UN needs to be reformed. But, unfortunately, the things aren’t moving. I believe that in the framework of the new world order, we cannot do without the reform of the United Nations, modern rethinking of this largest international organization and development of new approaches.

In the 1960s, the Non-Aligned Movement, the international organization uniting 120 states under the umbrella of non-participation in military blocs, was created. It does not have such an institutional structure as the UN has. Nev-

ertheless, great politicians stood at its origins: Gamal Abdel Nasser, Josip Broz Tito, Kwame Nkrumah, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, and others. The Non-Aligned Movement was an extremely important political organization that united the third world countries, but then its relevance declined. Today, in the new conditions, especially during the pandemic, significance of this Movement has increased again. More and more attention is paid to its activities, initiatives, ideas, and proposals.

Azerbaijan's chairmanship in the Non-Aligned Movement is coming to its end, and will pass to Uganda. I talked to Museveni, President of Uganda, about prospects of this organization. On behalf of the entire African continent, he said, in particular, that Uganda has great hopes for Africa's ability to create a more just world order, and called for attention to be paid to the countries that need it.

In August 2023, in South Africa, the BRICS Summit will be held. Today, this organization unites such countries as Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa. Another 16 countries want to join the BRICS in search of creating new formats and applying new approaches to creation of the world order. Now, in Moscow, the summit of the Eurasian Economic Union takes place, which also attracts attention of the entire world, although the union was established on the base of several CIS countries. What is being discussed in Moscow today, will be heard all over the world. The list of significant international organizations with Russia's participation can be continued, in particular, with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, etc.

The times we live in are difficult and alarming, as the world is shaken by tectonic changes. And we should not become mere observers, but contribute to making the world more just, open, and honest, so that tragic events do not occur in it, and its development moves toward well-being and happiness. That's what we want.

Meetings like the Likhachov Conference are a small, but very important brick in the foundation of the building that we must construct together.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – The floor is given to the wonderful actress who played in the movie “And the Dawns Are Quiet Here...”, the brilliant professor of our University, Yelena Grigorievna Drapeko.

Ye. G. DRAPEKO: – Today the topic of “Dialogues and Conflicts of Cultures in the Changing World”, which is raised by the current Likhachov Conference, is more important than ever. The question arises why the law on culture has not yet been adopted in the Russian Federation. We have discussed and removed four revisions of this law. Currently, the old law is in force, which was adopted in 1992, and is older than the Russian Constitution.

The law is a social contract, which does not exist in Russia yet. We are in a dialogue about the fact that the Russian Federation has its own traditional values, and about how the Russian culture coexists with other great cultures of the world. Basically, the law should reflect these aspects. Important state documents – the Fundamentals of the State Cultural Policy and the Strategy for Implementing the Policy – have been adopted in Russia; however, the question of what is traditional for Russian culture has not yet been answered. This question should rather be asked to philosophers: axiology is a branch of philosophy that should clarify

what is meant by these terms. Today we are witnessing the attempt to destroy traditional values that we must protect.

The modern world is entangled with oil and gas pipelines, shrouded in the financial, dollar-based Bretton Woods system. Everything is beginning to collapse, and we are watching where the fractures are. And to my amazement, these fractures exactly mirror the system of values – specifically, their hierarchy – since the values themselves are probably universal for all people.

In 2005, I read the wonderful book by Professor N. A. Benediktov of Nizhny Novgorod University titled “Russian Shrines. Essays on Russian Axiology”. Having analyzed the Western European and Russian value systems, the author came to the conclusion that Russians became unwieldy people, incomprehensible to Europeans, as early as in the pre-Christian era. Back then, our identity had formed.

Benediktov analyzed Russian heroic tales (bylinas) and epic poems, as well as the Western European “The Song of Roland”, “The Poem of My Cid”, and “The Song of the Nibelungs”. Comparing these value systems, he showed that we are different. We cannot imagine Ilya Muromets who goes to fight for a bag of gold. In Russian bylinas, there is no theme of enrichment. And in “The Song of My Cid”, the main character asks before his death to show him the bag, for which he gave his life. The Nibelungs died when they found the treasure. The Russian epic hero went out to fight for the offended, the miserable, the widows and for the Russian land. Nowadays, the Constitution of the Russian Federation states that the highest value is human life. In our system of values, our cultural code, there are concepts that are more precious than human life – these are such sanctuaries as the Motherland and honor. To die for the truth is honor for a Russian epic hero, but stupidity for an oriental person.

Therefore, the study of ourselves is extremely important today. This requires comprehending why we are like this, what separates and unites us with other cultural nations. Eight hundred years ago, Aleksandr Nevsky made the right choice between the West and the East, choosing the system of values. In particular, he said, “The Tatar-Mongols take money, though they leave us the right to our own faith and organization. And the Latins who come to our land, first of all, want to change our faith.” And choosing between money and faith, great Aleksandr Nevsky chose faith, that is, preservation of our identity.

To my mind, it would be useful for Russian scientists, philosophers, and culture experts to analyze value systems in different cultures, for the purpose of understanding why Russians are attracted to Iran, what we have in common with India rather than with Germany, etc.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – I would like to invite to the microphone the outstanding Russian scientist, Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS Abdu salam Abdulk erimovich Guseinov. The honorary doctor is a personified symbol that we offer to young people as a model. What can the life story of this person teach the young? Abdu salam Abdulk erimovich was born in a small Dagestan village where there was no electricity. His father was the outstanding Dagestani thinker and educator. After graduating from the Faculty of Philosophy of Moscow State University, A. A. Guseinov joined the Russian Academy of Sciences and became a world-famous scientist, Director of the Institute of Philosophy of the Rus-

sian Academy of Sciences. What conclusion can be drawn from his biography? Live like Abdusalam Abdulkherimovich and choose your own destiny, even if there are many difficulties on your way.

A. A. GUSEINOV: – This year the Likhachov Conference is titled “Dialogues and Conflicts of Cultures in the Changing World”. The emergence of this theme indicates that the world is not just changing, but changing catastrophically. It is not just about conflicts, but about confrontation, not about dialogue, but about struggle. The Conference focuses on representation of the modern era.

One of the era’s reflections in the public consciousness is the increased interest in ideology, the belief that some common ideology is needed, and the Constitution should be changed to allow to establish a state ideology, etc.

This is a big and complex topic, but I would like to consider it in a certain focus. What is the relation between philosophy and ideology, and what can the society expect from philosophy in terms of ideology? I will not dwell on general considerations, but will take as a basis a real experiment that our country has conducted, and outline its meaning. I mean “the philosophical steamer”, which has become a category of our culture. In 1922, by the decision of the Main Political Directorate, with participation and support of the Politburo, higher authorities and statesmen, a group of scientists and cultural figures were sent abroad.

This experiment lasted for 65 years. What was its meaning? Representatives of all philosophical schools, except for supporters of Marxist-Leninist philosophy that was elevated to the rank of state ideology, the only one enshrined in the Constitution, etc., was expelled. In 1988, the Politburo made a decision that meant withdrawal from the monopoly of Marxism and removal of the ban on these philosophers and their works. The course of history proved that the result of this experiment was negative, and it was decided to abandon the monopoly of Marxist philosophy, and later to renounce it altogether.

Whenever an ideology is elevated to the rank of the only correct one, nothing good will come of this, either for the ideology or for the philosophy; both will be destroyed. This may be considered the main learning from “the philosophical steamer”.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – The floor is given to the popular personality in the world of science and higher education in Saint Petersburg, Chairman of the Committee for Science and Higher Education of the Saint Petersburg Government Andrey Stanislavovich Maksimov.

A. S. MAKSIMOV: – Dear Aleksandr Sergeyeovich, I want to express my gratitude to you and the whole team for the opportunity to observe excellent organization of the forum for the 21st time, and, most importantly, listen to speeches of respected masters who will try to reveal the essence of serious problems.

Today we have gathered here to discuss conflicts arising at the crossroads of cultures. The discussion is based on historical knowledge. Knowing the history not only of our state, but also of the world, we will be able to draw the right conclusions.

In the 19th century, Anton Pavlovich Chekhov wrote, “There is no national science, as there is no national multi-

plication table; what is national, it is no longer science.” To my mind, this statement is worth reflecting upon.

Valery Aleksandrovich has set the discussion’s outline: the 300th anniversary of the Academy of Sciences is significant for Russia in general and for Saint Petersburg in particular, which is the cradle of science and professional education. Here on February 8, 1724, by the edict of Peter the Great, the Academy of Sciences, the University and the Academic Gymnasium were established. First, Valery Aleksandrovich stated the fact of the birth of an Academy of Sciences first in foreign countries, then in Russia. The historical fact is that in Russia, the Academy of Sciences and professional education appeared before the United States of America was founded.

Honorable Deputy Drapeko raised serious philosophical questions concerning Russian culture. It is the foundation on which our country is based.

In conclusion, I would like to quote the words of Golda Meir, the 4th Prime Minister of Israel, “If you want to build a country where her sons and daughters will return, if you want to build a country which they will leave only during the holiday season, if you want to build a country that will not have a sense of fear for the future, then take just two steps: 1) equate corruption to treason, and corrupt officials to traitors up to their 7th generation; 2) make 3 professions the most high-paid and respected: these are soldier, teacher and doctor. <...> And the most important thing is to work, work and work, because no one but you will protect you, no one will feed you except yourself. And only you need your country and no one else.” These words contain the motto for continuing the discussion.

I’d like to quote a poem by Fyodor Tyutchev,

You will not grasp her with your mind
Or cover with a common label,
For Russia is one of a kind –
Believe in her, if you are able...

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – I invite to the podium the remarkable Belarusian sociologist Igor Ivanovich Buzovsky. He is one of such patriots that any country is based on: our guest has been working to reinforce Belarus in various positions for many years.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – It is great honor for me to represent the scientific community of the Republic of Belarus at the Likhachov Conference, and to join the discussion of the current reality affecting our destinies, because confusion in concepts leads to confusion among people.

At the last Likhachov Conference, reasoning about values, we talked, *inter alia*, about the role of values in social development, economics, and geopolitics. As a result, we saw the embodiment of these ideas in specific regulatory documents of the Russian Federation, in particular in the Edict of the President of the Russian Federation № 809 “On Approval of Fundamentals of State Policy for Preservation and Strengthening of Traditional Russian Spiritual and Moral Values”.

This is an important document, but I have not actually seen any subsequent steps to be taken after its adoption as part of its implementation. Creation of new documents stimulates the development of the regulatory framework and society as a whole, in particular in the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus, since we move in the

same vein, but the key thing is that laws and edicts must be implemented. The reason for the current situation, perhaps, is not in the bad mechanism, but in misconceptions about ways of its possible implementation.

We can talk about negative consequences of the processes that we witness today, though it should be stated: for a long time, we have been struggling with meanings, ideas and concepts, but ultimately lost. Our loss was not due to the meanings and strategies we had chosen. It was because wrong tools had been selected. While we were fighting with meanings, the tools that prevail today in promoting ideas and meanings alien to ours had won.

Globality of ideas does not mean that they are bad. These ideas had won not with meanings, not with statement, not with beliefs, not with philosophy, not with sociology, not with humanitarian and cultural layers, but with tools. For a long time we have been ignoring concepts such as “social networks”, “the Internet”, and everything that penetrates not through consciousness and soul, but through a dripper that we have administered to ourselves, a tool that allows controlling us.

Until we realize that it is necessary to cooperate to work, first of all, on the tools, as well as ideas and meanings that have to be promoted, we will not obtain the result we are striving for. Being on a capillary feed of meanings that are alien to us, we will not be able to communicate to our society the thoughts and strategies that are important today.

Today, one of the key ideas is identifying the structures that could coordinate this process. Aleksandr Sergeevich, perhaps today, in the course of the discussion, it is necessary to assign platforms where the decisions taken in the field of politics and economics, which determine the society's development, can be assessed. The Likhachov Conference where like-minded people have been discussing topical issues during 21 forums may become such a platform. I sincerely hope that our forum will augment not only with ideas and thoughts, but also with particular results.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Igor Ivanovich, we will consider your proposal. The floor is given to the outstanding French philosopher, Professor of Sorbonne University Olivier Roqueplo.

O. ROQUEPLO: – Dear friends, colleagues, I will speak very briefly today. First, we must remember the words of great Dmitry Sergeevich. The infrastructure of society is not its economy, but culture. When culture is in danger, the whole society is in danger. Therefore, culture is worth appreciating: not only your own culture, but also your neighbors, and all other peoples. Unfortunately, for several decades, the new human species has been forming in Western Europe, which I call Homo Euramericanus. This is a man without memory, culture, or history. As a rule, (s)he represents the political and economic elite of the Western Europe. (S)he's very dangerous. First of all, for their own people. Now Homo Euramericanus has started his/her journey to the East, and has already appeared on your borders. Homo Euramericanus is everywhere in the European Union, it is the product of several years of americanization, as well as degradation of culture. This man has forgotten who (s)he is. (S)he does not respect the past, therefore, (s)he has no future. But the most important thing is that (s)he

does not allow others to have the future either. His/her appearance in Ukraine is not accidental. This Euro-American fights against all values of your society, our society, the European society. The Euro-American is a person of the European Union, an opponent of Europe. The European Union is a shadow of Europe, not Europe itself. Therefore, it is necessary to resist people like Homo Euramericanus, not only with weapons, although this is important, but also by cultural, social methods. And, in my opinion, in Russia you have people who are ready for this confrontation. Unfortunately, we have very few of them, and this explains why the number of people in the Western Europe who try to create the world that every one of us needs, is so small.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – I invite to the podium Mr. Mehdi Sanaei, Senior Adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

M. SANAEI: – I have already made a speech on “The Next World Order: the Need for Cultural Multilateralism”. The fact that the old world order has weakened is already unambiguous and, in my opinion, apparent for everyone. But what the new world order will be like and whether it will emerge in the near future is a big question. The mechanism based on liberalism has clearly weakened. Since the COVID-19 pandemic, the process of globalization has weakened even more significantly than before; now in various countries, people place a higher stake on nationalism and rely on local resources. It has already become politics; globalism is no longer a priority – enduring in tough times is what has become a priority. International organizations have weakened and do not perform their functions; this fact has also become clear. No one can deny that the West is losing hegemony not only in the field of economy, but also in the military sphere and partly in technology. And it is important that this is happening in the paradigm of civilization. There are different opinions about what the new world order will be like. Answer options: the new unipolar world, the restored old unipolar world, the new bipolar world, the multipolar world... My answer to this question is that we will not see any new world order in the near future; the current situation will be maintained in the coming years. Unfortunately, it may worsen, and there will be a lot of challenges. For preventing and counteracting them, it is crucial to abandon the context of realism and liberalism and start seeing the situation in terms of culture and civilizational multilateralism. There is no other way out. We will either observe growth in the number of conflicts in the world, or we should already recognize and accept that it is impossible to rule the world without cultural multilateralism. To my mind, for us and for the peoples of Eurasia, multicultural civilizational multilateralism should become a priority in the global sphere, and in matters of politics and economy we should pay more attention to regional cooperation and regional structures and platforms. Presently, this is an obvious trend: various regional platforms are being established, especially in the Middle East and South Asia. These platforms are very important, as are, in my opinion, the North-South International Economic Corridor to be established under recent agreement between Russian President Vladimir Putin and Iranian President Ebrahim Raisi, as well as the EurAsEC, the BRICS, and the Shanghai Organization. Improving efficiency of these platforms should be

come our regional priority, and as for the global one, it may be cultural and civilizational multilateralism.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – I invite to the dialogue the outstanding Russian scientist, Director of the Higher School of Translation at Lomonosov Moscow State University, Academician-Secretary of the Department of Education and Culture of the Russian Academy of Education, Doctor of Philology, Professor Nikolai Konstantinovich Garbovsky.

N. K. GARBOVSKY: – Thank you very much, Alexander Sergeevich, for the invitation to take part in the Likhachov Conference. It's a great honor for me. I would like to say that the topic we are discussing today – intercultural dialogue, intercultural conflict – is, in its essence, a beautiful metaphor behind which there is certain reality. And this reality is intercultural and, above all, interlanguage communication. This is what enables the dialogue, and what sometimes leads us to cross-cultural conflicts. First of all, I would like to speak about language, which is probably the greatest value of the humanity. What do we see today? Language can be a tool of suppression if some part of the society is forbidden to speak it, and a kind of a tool of assimilation to another culture, when people can disown their language, because it is inherently Cyrillic, for instance, and shift to the Latin alphabet, for the purpose of ultimately declaring that the Moldovan language does not exist, and the whole of Moldova speaks Romanian. These are facts of cross-cultural conflicts based on language.

Maria Vladimirovna articulated a very interesting idea today: intercultural dialogue, intercultural conflict is only one side of the coin, and the other one is anti-culture. Now let's see what language this anti-culture is built on: the language of globalization, the language of the global world. What is the future of the linguistic picture of the world? We need to think about this to understand how to carry out the so-called language training of our schoolchildren and students today and, of course, tomorrow. We know that now our schools and universities have practically abandoned the study of foreign languages, except for English. This language policy has been implemented for about 40 years. Although in the Soviet Union, in the first post-war years, children equally studied various foreign languages. And today the question arises: how will interactions of languages and cultures be arranged in the society we currently think about, and in relation of which some of our predictions are made? Will English retain its status as the language of the global world? History teaches us that in the 18–19th centuries there was a dominance of the French language, which later came to naught. We know that everywhere in the scientific world, and in Europe first of all, the Latin language prevailed, which also lost its significance at a certain period. And one can foresee that, probably, the lingua franca, the function of which is now performed by the English language, may also undergo significant changes due to the fact that today we are facing the phenomenon of so-called anti-culture, and this confrontation seems rather important to me. And is it possible to think in this language if we consider it the language of anti-culture? These are questions about culture and, above all, surely, about education.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – The floor is given to Vladimir Konstantinovich Mamontov, Chairman of the Board of Di-

rectors of the newspaper “Komsomolskaya Pravda”, General Director of the radio station “Govorit Moskva”.

V. K. MAMONTOV: – First of all, I would like to thank you for the invitation to take part in the discussion which develops in such an interesting way. The world changes very quickly and alarmingly, and we need such discussions to understand how to live on, what these events mean for Russia, and what practical steps should be taken with the understanding that we have lived a significant part of our lives in search for the dialogue. I want to remind you that not so long ago, we did not just try to establish a dialogue as an opportunity to talk to someone in Europe and so on. We suggested building a kind of common economic and perhaps even civilizational area from Lisbon to Vladivostok. Didn't we suggest that? Didn't we wish that with all our hearts? Moreover, we were going to sell, as one of my colleagues said, “our dear oil” and gas? Of course, we wanted, in a certain sense, to pick up some ideological and cultural banners from the aging Europe. And why not? Konstantin Bogomolov, a very interesting and peculiar person, at whose performances you do not always keep the peace of mind, now writes articles. Pay your attention to them, they are just about this: yes, we may be more Europeans in our proposals and views of the future than the inhabitants of the old Europe themselves. Maybe we could pick her up, like the bull did pick her in her young age, and pull her out into fresh civilizational winds? No, Europe does not want to join the dialogue.

During my life, I have taken part in many dialogues of different cultures, their participants speaking well, and telling each other something. And then it was time to answer for one's words, and that's what it all boiled down to. Well, what kind of a dialogue can we discuss now? Maria Vladimirovna said – between culture and anti-culture. I totally agree with her: it's one between hypocrisy and honesty. When the conversation became honest, it turned out that there was no dialogue. But the situation really didn't start yesterday. What was the point of Vladimir Putin's Munich speech? “Let's honestly talk about politics, in truth. Why are you always dragging new missiles to our borders?” “Iran is there, it radiates gigantic danger. Therefore, we will bring our missiles closer to your borders.” Our president said about this right there, in Munich, “Guys, where is the logic here? We can't help but react to this. We will live in truth, realistically assessing actual threats and not what you say about them.”

Let's recall the famous Minsk Agreements. Our Belarusian colleagues and we were overjoyed that Minsk had fulfilled some kind of a peacekeeping mission. Aleksandr Grigorievich Lukashenko who took part in this process was very proud and repeatedly spoke on this occasion. And what became of the Minsk Agreements? The same people who signed the Minsk Agreements, in a while, tell us quite calmly, looking us in the eye: “Well, we actually signed the Agreements to give Ukraine the opportunity to gather its strength.” Only not to Ukraine, I would say, but to those forces in Ukraine that are ruling it now.

If we communicate, we will do this earnestly and honestly. To tell the truth, I don't quite understand so far what kind of multipolarity we deal with. Now “the Atlantists” – let's call them so, – have been trying to carve out their piece of pie, and we want to squeeze this kind of multipolarity out

of them. I read such beautiful texts about pockets of resistance: these people do not want to live like that, and those ones can't stand it either. That's it; the red light is already on. All in all, I am for the pockets of resistance.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Aleksey Anatolievich Gromyko, Director of the Institute of Europe at the Russian Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Political Sciences.

Al. A. GROMYKO: – I thank you for inviting me to the Likhachov Conference once again, and I am happy to be in such great company again. I would like to outline what I am going to dwell on at the next session, and draw your attention to the following questions: what kind of a world do we live in and what kind of a world will it be in the coming years? What will the world of the 21st century be like in general? Some of those present, depending on their age, will live in this world for another 10–20 years, and some are likely to witness this century in its entirety. And it seems to me that now we live at the moment when new things can already be foreseen, predicted, forecast. We don't know much yet, but some trends have already emerged. Moreover, they emerged not in 2022 or 2023. For about 30 years, at first subtly, and then more and more obviously, the world had been moving towards the events that we have been witnessing for the last few years. Of course, the world increasingly becomes polycentric, but to say this means to say very little, because questions immediately arise: what kind of polycentrism is it? What is its model and internal structure? What is our country's place in it? It is clear that polycentrism is the framework, within which the struggle for the right to dictate rules and standards in politics, economics, the social field, and the system of values is now underway. It is clear that the process of de-globalization takes place. This does not mean that the global world will collapse – this is unlikely, but the new bipolarity, with China and the United States as its poles, has been discussed for several years. Many categories, and the new bipolarity among them, are taken from the Cold War history and an attempt to extend them to our time is being made. This is a really important theme. But I would be careful in talking about it. It may be right to call this new bipolarity “quasi-bipolarity” or “soft bipolarity”, because, despite the continuing strong position of the United States and the ongoing build-up of power by China, the world is unlikely to be split into two camps again. And the strategic decoupling between the United States and China, which was talked about so much under Trump (and under Biden, this policy has become even more violent in some ways), if it ever happens, will be sporadic. Unlike the USA and the USSR, the USA and China are so interrelated and interdependent that this new bipolarity in the future will be quite different from what it was in the past. On the whole, Eurocentrism started to be forgotten not in the 21st century, but as early as after 1945, when Western Europe became overshadowed by the two giant superpowers – the USSR and the USA. The European Union tried several times to declare itself as a possible new global centre of power, both in the 1990s and at the beginning of the 21st century. Remember, for example, 2003, when the United States and a number of other countries invaded Iraq. In some ways, it succeeded, because the EU's single market is currently one of the three largest economic entities on the planet, but within

the European Union, there have already been many contradictions, and their number is only increasing. The EU's political subjectivity is now lower than even at the beginning of the 21st century. The Western-centric world with its core in the United States is trying to grab or cling to those competitive advantages which it has: they are diminishing but still exist. However, I do not see how the 21st century can give Western-centrism any chance to be revived.

However, despite the fact that much restructuring or re-assembling are underway, and attempts are made to create political geometry of various kinds, which might determine who will fight for leadership in the next 20–30 years, in any world, be it the 21st, 20th or 15th century, and even in the times of Ancient Greece or the Roman Empire, there are the tyranny of history and the tyranny of geography. Those states that had already existed in the 20th and 21st centuries will remain where they are throughout the 21st century, if they do not disintegrate. Accordingly, they will need to take care of how to observe the most important rule of their national security: to make sure that this state survives, is not captured and is not plunged into chaos. For achieving this goal, these countries and centres of power will not only have to compete fiercely with each other, but also find some kind of *modus vivendi*.

The main document of international law – the UN Charter – begins with the words, “We the peoples of the united nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind...” I hope that in the 21st century, common sense will prevail, and Europe will not become the source of world war for the third time in history.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – I would like to give the floor to Andrey Dragomirovich Khlutkov, Director of the North-West Institute of Management of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Doctor of Economics.

A. D. KHLUTKOV: – The Likhachov Conference has always been an important event in the cultural and scientific life of Saint Petersburg and the entire Russia. The more difficult challenges our country faced, the more relevant was the agenda of our event, which became traditional thanks to Saint Petersburg University of Humanities and Social Sciences and its Rector, Aleksandr Sergeyevich Zapesotsky.

The year of 2023 has shown us that the nature of the multipolarity debate is changing. Proving today that the world is multipolar is as meaningless as claiming that the Earth is a geoid. In 2023, the idea of a unipolar world is as absurd as the idea of the flat Earth resting on three elephants and a giant turtle.

The problem is not in proving that the world is multipolar, but in understanding what Russia should do in the multipolar world, and what place it should take. Outside the narrow circle of professionals, the unique event – emergence of the new Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation – was not given due attention. This document declared for the first time that we are not only a state, but also a civilization. In his speech, Mikhail Viktorovich Shmakov briefly touched upon this issue which I see as fundamental in our today's discussion.

So, Clause 4 of this document reads, “More than a thousand years of experience of independent statehood,

the cultural heritage of the previous era, deep historical ties with traditional European culture and other cultures of Eurasia, the ability developed over many centuries to ensure harmonious coexistence of various peoples, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups on the common territory, determine the special position of Russia as an authentic state-civilization.”

Even S. Huntington, the author of the concept of the ethnocultural division of civilizations, recognized existence of the Slavic-Orthodox civilization with Russia as its core. However, the brilliant American scientist’s theoretical construct is not the state’s constituent foundation; however, the document adopted on March 31 this year is. This new approach is worth evaluating and commenting.

Here are its three main program theses. Firstly, the civilizational approach to Russia is justified, legitimate, necessary and based on the fact that Russia is not a nation-state, but a civilization. The criteria of exclusivity that are poorly applicable for a nation-state, are natural for a civilization. A civilization differs from a country in its complexity and self-sufficiency. A nation-state may adhere to another state or a block of states, this is a natural phenomenon. Any civilization, as a rule, is self-sufficient in economic, political and ideological terms.

Secondly. Were we a civilization as the USSR? As the Russian Empire? Are we a civilization now? We answer all these questions in the affirmative. We are a civilization because the church near Smolensk, the datsan in Kalmykia, the synagogue, the Tatar mosque and the Aleksander Nevsky Lavra in Saint Petersburg are originally ours, own, not imported.

And thirdly. The American expert on China, Lucian Pye, wrote, “China is a civilization, masquerading as a na-

tion state, obliged by its political and economic weakness at the end of the 19th century to adapt to European norms.” In 1991, we also went the Chinese way in this sense, but, due to aggressiveness of the West, all masks have now been thrown off, and today everyone knows everything. We know that the world is multipolar, and Russia is a civilization. The West knows that we know that it is our real opponent.

Why did this happen? Because our civilization, like the Chinese civilization and the Latin American one, is unique, but does not claim to be exceptional. This is its fundamental difference from the Euro-Atlantic one. And this is also the key to our victory and the reason for inevitable problems of our opponents.

At the end of my speech, I would like to emphasize that culture, science and education constitute the most important channel that leaves the chance for dialogue in almost any situation, in any conflict. We need to know this and be sure to use it.

I wish the participants of the Likhachov Conference new achievements, interesting discussions and constructive dialogues!

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – I will only reluctantly note: using the term “civilization”, the Russian discussion has embarked on the unscientific path, which, alas, will become obvious in the near future, since this topic has been very well elaborated in cultural studies. Unfortunately, the term “civilization” came to us through four Western European languages from more ancient languages and carries completely different meanings, sometimes diametrically opposite. But, of course, the discussion itself will be very interesting; of this I have no doubt.

Panel Discussion

WHAT KIND OF MULTIPOLARITY WE FORESEE

May 25, 2023

A. P. Petrov Theatre and Concert Hall, SPbUHSS

SPEAKERS:

- A. S. ZAPESOTSKY *President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Corresponding Member of the RAS, Academician of the Russian Academy of Education, Dr. Sc. (Cultural Studies), Professor, Scientist Emeritus of the Russian Federation, Chairman of the Executive Committee of St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress (moderator)*
- D. O. BABICH *Journalist and columnist for the news agency "RIA Novosti" (Moscow), Member of the Russian Union of Journalists*
- I. I. BUZOVSKY *Deputy Minister of Information of the Republic of Belarus (Minsk), Ph. D. in Sociology*
- A. I. DENISOV *First Deputy Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation (Moscow), First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (2006–2013), Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the People's Republic of China (2013–2022)*
- AI. A. GROMYKO *Director of the Institute of Europe of the RAS (Moscow), Corresponding Member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Political Studies), Professor of the RAS*
- G. METTAN *President of the United Chamber of Industry and Commerce "Switzerland – Russia and CIS States" (Geneva), Executive Director of the Swiss Press Club*
- G. V. NAUMOVA *writer, culturologist, President of the Miracles Association (Paris, France), Ph. D. in Philology*
- O. ROQUEPLO *Professor of Sorbonne University (Paris, France), Dr. Sc. (History), Dr. Sc. (Political Sciences)*
- M. SANAEI *Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Russian Federation (2013–2019), Ph. D. in Political Sciences*
- M. V. SHMAKOV *Member of the State Council of the Russian Federation (Moscow), Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, Chairman of the Trustee Council of SPbUHSS, Professor Emeritus of SPbUHSS*
- M. V. ZAKHAROVA *Director of the Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia (Moscow), Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation, Ph. D. in History*

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Dear friends, the time for the traditional part of the Likhachov Scientific Conference program is approaching: for many years, we have been holding panel discussions here. Now, I am sure, there will be a very interesting conversation of people who have agreed to discuss the specific theme "What Kind of Multipolarity We Foresee". Our event is being broadcast in the Internet by the information portal of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and the Russia Today Media Group, so we are going live, and our audience is from 8 to 15 thousand people.

I want to introduce our colleagues who will speak from this stage today. Dmitry Olegovich Babich, journalist, columnist of the RIA Novosti Agency, Member of the Union of Journalists of Russia. Dmitry Olegovich is at the cutting edge of information flows raging around Russia. For you to understand the scope of the information field in which publications in various mass media are being analyzed: Dmitry Olegovich fluently speaks five languages, and knows what the mass media of the Arab world, Latin America, and China write: all these constitute his particular interest. Dmitry

Olegovich often speaks to the students of our University, demonstrating his highest level of awareness every time.

Mehdi Sanaei, Senior Advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran. This country is an authentic ancient civilization that occupies a significant place in world culture and history and, of course, has its own vision of how to live this life, and knows what happens if one behaves right or wrong.

Igor Ivanovich Buzovsky, Deputy Minister of Information of the Republic of Belarus, one of the brightest statesmen of this friendly country.

Andrey Ivanovich Denisov, the outstanding sinologist, diplomat and friend of Saint Petersburg University of Humanities and Social Sciences, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of the Federation Committee for Foreign Affairs. From 2006 to 2013, Andrey Ivanovich was the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, and from 2013 to 2022 – the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to China. Andrey Ivanovich's knowledge about world politics is quite unique.

Maria Vladimirovna Zakharova, Director of the Information Policy Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia.

Mikhail Viktorovich Shmakov, Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, who also holds high positions in two major international associations of trade unions, Member of the State Council of our country.

Aleksey Anatolievich Gromyko, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Director of the RAS Institute of Europe.

The outstanding French philosopher and culture expert Olivier Roqueplo.

And finally, Guy Mettan, a Swiss politician, culture expert, who holds very serious positions in the world of journalism in Switzerland and in the council that oversees trade relations between Switzerland and Russia.

The task of the participants in today's discussion is to share their thoughts about what will happen. We have already discussed what was and what is in the first part of our Conference, but what will happen next? Everyone talks about multipolarity. In the modern world, Vladimir Putin was the first to raise this question in 2007 at the Munich Security Conference. In his speech, he said that the unipolar world will not be able to exist for long, it will be replaced by the multipolar world. The West did not believe, our president's words were taken skeptically, although his speech was noticed. Now it is often referred to, because all the talk about multipolarity has turned into discussions about what is really happening and where all this can lead to.

Perhaps only the West does not currently agree that the world is moving toward multipolarity. Everyone else understands that this is exactly the case. There are several obvious scenarios for further development of events. One of them is that the West will win, line up everyone again, and start intriguing. We know that, first and foremost, the British intelligence, the strongest in the Western world, is behind every real clash or conflict organized by the West today. So, relying on the USA's economic power, Britain will line up everyone, and together they will pull Brazil out of the BRICS, remove India from there; the BRICS will collapse, and everything will return to its usual ways again. And they will destroy Russia in one way or another. This is the American scenario for further development of events.

There is another option discussed by political experts. Many regional centres of power will be created: China, around which other countries will be grouped; the West, which already unites more than 40 states; Russia with a certain group of countries looking up to it. Now, though, they are not really looking up to us, but this is due to the transitional period, which will be followed by a sharp increase in Russia's influence. Basically, the West, China and Russia will become major centres of power, and perhaps someone else, there are many different forecasts.

Once I heard another version, articulated by Professor I. N. Panarin at our Likhachov Conference 12–15 years ago. The West will not become a centre of power at all, because the United States will collapse, and about 7 new countries will appear in its place. The notorious American melting pot, in which all nations are transformed into a single whole, and are cast into a uniform shape, will stop operating. The single language will disappear from the territory of the United States. Everything that held it together

will lose its meaning, and something similar to the collapse of the Soviet Union will finally happen to the United States. At that time, Professor Panarin's version seemed rather extravagant. Although before the collapse of the Soviet Union, it never occurred to anyone that such a thing might happen.

I spoke to my friends – rectors in the United States, and one of them told me, “Alex, you know, we have already introduced teaching in Chinese.” And that was not in San Francisco, where there is a huge Chinese diaspora, but in the state of Florida, extremely far from China, where for years they have traditionally taught in English, in Spanish, and suddenly they began to teach in Chinese. What can such things theoretically lead to, if not to the country's collapse? Different national communities appear. Instead of uniting the nation, there is disintegration. And what is happening with the language is one of the first signs of this process.

However, I am fully prepared that the people who gathered on this stage can present completely different scenarios to our attention. Therefore, I'd like to ask if our guests, honourable colleagues, can name any other scenarios that are being discussed, on top of those that I have listed. The first question to Mr. Guy Mettan is, will the multipolar world appear, and if yes, what poles will it have?

G. METTAN: – I am sure that the world will be multipolar in any case. It may have at least 5 or 6 poles: the United States as the weakening unipolar force, China, Russia, India, Africa and at least Brazil with Latin America.

I believe that multipolarity is not just a matter of GDP, geographical location or military power. All this, of course, is very important, but the main thing is the desire and will to create an independent pole in the multipolar world. Without will, without aspiration, the pole cannot be formed.

To build a multipolar world, independent sovereign poles with capabilities to represent a potential civilization and culture are required. I do not consider Europe as one of the potential poles, because it has renounced its sovereignty, and has become a vassal to the United States. In the meantime, Muslim countries undoubtedly have huge potential for creating a strong pole, because they have sovereignty, though the main thing is their desire and will to preserve the sovereignty, as well as their ability to offer the world their contribution to cultural and civilizational heritage. Although the Muslim world is multipolar in itself. There is Iran, which can claim to be the pole in the multipolar world, but there are also Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Indonesia... It is a standalone multipolar world within the global multipolar world.

Over the past year, Russia has destroyed unipolarity with the United States' dominance and currently follows the course of creating a multipolarity. This ability – the will expressed – inspired other possible poles of the multipolar world to gain courage and declare themselves at the world stage, and that was a big step, the results of which we can watch a year later.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Please, Mr. Olivier Roqueplo, your opinion.

O. ROQUEPLO: – To my mind, events currently happening in Europe are of great importance. The situation there is getting increasingly complicated day by day. The United States and Britain seem to be just trying to absorb

the European Union for the purpose of creating the Western superpower. Besides this project, which I call Euramerica, I see the prospect for Russia, which will become a great power for long, having developed very interesting and long-term relations with Iran, India, China, etc. China is already a giant, no doubt about this. By itself, it can affect the whole world. Then, the situation in Turkey needs to be examined very carefully. Of course, this country can become a great power as well. Iran may also become one of the poles. And Latin America has not yet fully shown itself in international relations. Regarding Africa, I can say nothing in respect of its future yet. There is also the great country of Japan. Will it become a part of the great Euramerica or an independent power? It's too early to conclude something about it, too.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Aleksey Anatolievich Gromyko, please.

Al. A. GROMYKO: – In my opinion, talking about centres of power in the 21st century, we must bear in mind that these centres, which claim to be leaders, should be large, with significant resources, professional diplomacy, special services, military power and, of course, strong economy. Therefore, first I would distinguish those centres of power that can exist on their own, because there will also be other centres of power trying to maneuver. I believe that in the coming years and for several future decades, China, Russia, the United States and India will enter the top five. I am sure that in five or seven years we will talk about India as often as we talk about China now. And, to my mind, new centres of power will also appear in the Asia-Pacific region. There are potentially strong growth points there: Indonesia, Vietnam. Africa undoubtedly will have a great future. Now, in Africa, we can watch almost the same thing that was happening in the last third of the 19th century: the struggle for people's minds and wallets.

But there are also centres of power, let's say, of the second row. They can still come forward or remain in the shadow of the leading centres of power of the 21st century. In continental Western Europe, there are countries with great history, whose genetic memory will not allow them to forget that in the past they were mighty empires. The United States will not be able to return to the philosophy of Western centrism based on recognition of European allies as equal to America. Despite everything that is happening, I still believe that the strategic decoupling between the United States and its European allies subtly continues. The United States tries to lay an increasing burden of functions on Europe. For the United States – and this is spelled out in all doctrinal documents of this country – the systemic enemy for the decade ahead is not any of the West European countries, but the state in East Asia – China. So, in relation to China, the United States is now systematically pursuing the policy reproducing the Cold War patterns that, as they believe, led to their victory over the USSR. However, in my opinion, there is very little chance that they will succeed the second time. Thus, I repeat: the future centres of power are Russia, China, the USA, India and possibly Europe, Turkey, Mexico, Brazil and Indonesia. And if you find the countries I've listed in the world rankings, according to such indicators as the share in global GDP at the current exchange rate, the share in GDP at purchasing power parity, the share in GDP per capita at the current ex-

change rate, etc., they will all be among the first 10–15. If we compare the current situation and one that happened 20 years ago, we can see that the countries that are not included in the traditional West and the traditional Non-West are moving up; the further, the faster. As to those who used to consider themselves ahead of everyone in the 20th century, they have either stagnated or recessed. And we will observe this situation this year. Just today I have read that, according to the data of the first quarter of 2023, Germany showed a reduction in its industrial production; that is, according to the laws of economic metrics, this country is formally already in recession.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – I would make one remark on the margins of Mr. Gromyko's speech. I am not an economist, but as I observe the situation regarding calculation of countries' economic power, their gross product, etc., I get the impression that the whole world has become a victim of a grandiose hoax, during which not very rich countries pose as very rich, and not very successful ones – as very successful. I had a chance to work on books for several years in collaboration with Academician O. T. Bogomolov, one of the largest and brightest experts in the world economy, and once he told me that French President Nicolas Sarkozy invited two Nobel laureates to help him figure out how to calculate GDP. He was completely dissatisfied with the method by which the gross product of France was calculated. And since then I have read many articles that claim incorrectness of this method. There are, though, other opinions. For example, Academician A. D. Nekipelov, our Honorary Doctor, states that everything is fine, we have very good methods.

But let's try to figure out how the gross product is calculated. For example, somewhere in Astrakhan, a watermelon is grown, then it gets to Saint Petersburg through the string of dealers, and is sold at the market or in a store. What part of the value of this watermelon relates to GDP? The first initial cost price? After what number of markups do we count it – three? Five? And let's see what happens with sex services in Thailand. If they are taken into account when calculating GDP, Thailand can dramatically turn into a world power with powerful economy. And what about services provided to each other by industrially developed countries of the West? They make up a huge part of the economy. Moreover, these countries don't seem to do anything else except for stealing money from another part of the world, which they then use to provide themselves with services. This is indeed thieves' economy! Every one of us has seen the tables on public debt in which there are only Western countries. That is, in terms of their gross product, they are ahead of the rest of the world, but at the same time they are also leaders in public debt. Number one is the United States, followed by another 25–30 countries. This seems to be really a huge global deception. The West assures us that it has some kind of a monopoly on efficient production. And we have been seeing for long that in China, production is much more efficient. The West claims that Russia has 1.8% of the world economy, but at the same time there is something very close to a collapse, but our overall situation is quite stable. I doubt that we have 1.8% of the world economy. I consider this share is a bit larger.

In short, countries can be ranked, but I have increasing doubts about the validity of these rankings. When one looks at the map, it's obvious who is bigger, but when it's about

economy, stability, sustainability, the situation is completely different.

Mikhail Viktorovich Shmakov has the floor.

M. V. SHMAKOV: – To begin with, I will respond to your remark, Aleksandr Sergeevich. I'd like to note that for different methods and purposes of analysis, you need to take various factors. Firstly, to my mind, there will certainly be multipolarity, development cannot stop at the stage of unipolar world. Secondly, if we do not dive into the depths of the past, but take only the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, we can see that even then the world was multipolar. There were various sovereign states with their own interests, which allied with each other. It is now generally recognized that after the Second World War, the world became bipolar. But, strictly speaking, bipolarity is not unipolarity, but multipolarity, because what does "multi-" mean? how much is it – two or ten? It depends. And, thirdly, in considering our issue, it is certainly relevant to use such criteria as the economy with all its indicators, territory, population, armed forces and the like. But I think such a factor as the philosophy of development should be considered as well.

The philosophy of development may be various. Actually, we may roughly distinguish two of its main types. There is labour philosophy of development that is professed by the state, civilization, a conglomerate of countries, from which follows what you talk about: when calculating GDP according to certain methods, services are wound up, but in fact they are taken into account, and generally a specific physical, natural product is produced in different areas. And there is consumption philosophy. The one that dominated under the name "globalization" in the unipolar world, and was presented as the most important philosophy, the most attractive one for citizens of all countries. But if you take a closer look at the consumption philosophy, it turns out to be modernized colonialism. In a state based on consumption philosophy, enjoying life is available only for those who are part of the so-called "golden billion"; everyone else should work for them. Once slaves were captured for this purpose, today it is done in softer ways, but the economic and practical meaning remains the same. States' development philosophy will greatly affect their attractiveness, so today predicting which countries or regions will become new centres of power, new grains of multipolarity, is like fortune-telling. I generally agree with Andrey Anatolievich, who named the countries that are most likely to develop into centres of power. But I want to emphasize once again: without taking into account the state's development philosophy, our forecast may be wrong.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Thank you, Mikhail Viktorovich. You have touched upon another very interesting problem that has to do with pricing. The richest country is not the one that produces more, but the one that regulates prices more confidently. If the West set prices that were beneficial to it, its contribution to the world economy turned out to be much greater than the contribution of the countries producing raw materials (oil, wood, etc.). And when the countries producing oil got together and offered to raise prices, it suddenly turned out that in Russia, under sanctions, the budget fills up much faster than before. It seems that we did not produce anything else, we even be-

gan to produce less oil and gas, but the economy suddenly became more successful. I still doubt that we have real ways to measure the country's economic power, and, in my opinion, there are huge political capabilities in the world, backed up by the military capabilities, for the West to speculate on its part of the world's production, and conditionally make everyone else poor, even though they may produce more essential things.

The floor is given to Maria Vladimirovna Zakharova.

M. V. ZAKHAROVA: – I would like, if possible, to respond to a couple of remarks in today's speeches. Concluding the plenary session, you, Aleksandr Sergeevich, said that science would have yet to clarify the term "civilization-state", because it is ambiguous, although it has already entrenched in our public discourse. But we live in the era when many words are used without reference to their original meaning. Don't you think that the fact that we have finally admitted to ourselves that we are a civilization-state is a response to the long-term misuse by the collective West of the term "democracy" in its own interests, without any reference to the essence of this word? After all, they privatized the word "democracy", perverting its essence, as they privatized the concepts "freedom", "human rights", edited something, invented something, combined it with historical meanings and presented it as their unique concept, declared themselves exceptional and began to try to dominate. This is the first thing.

Secondly, the meaning of the established concepts is really changing. I'll give you only one example to work with – the word "people". We are so used to it that we don't even think about its meaning. Yes, it didn't make much sense, but we still understood: there is a country, there are people, everything was clearly fit into geographical boundaries and certain historical metamorphoses. But what now? Is it possible to say that the people are determined by geography? Of course not. And by what, then? It is difficult to answer. And, by the way, all this is very closely related to the issues of the formation of centres of multipolarity. This is a very important topic not even for discussion, but for study, because it's a completely new political science concept that should now be introduced into circulation.

I will give you one example. The concept "terrorism" still doesn't have a single international legal qualification, although now even children in the street can define it (and, by the way, in any country of the world, because in this sense there has been no well-being anywhere for long). And there is still no international legal definition. No matter how much they tried to develop common understanding, no matter how much they brought their positions closer, there is still no definition of the concept. Why? For a variety of reasons. Therefore, there is a whole layer to be dealt with.

And thirdly. Aleksandr Sergeevich, in your speeches, you used the word "hoax" several times. I will draw your attention to the article by Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, published on July 18, 2022 in the *Izvestia* newspaper. Its title is "On hoaxing as the method of Western policy". True, there is more geopolitical sense in it, but there is also financial and economic background.

And the next point is GDP, how to count it. Excuse me, but how to calculate and generally determine inflation? We are used to seeing these indicators as "inflation figures", in a layman's terms. And what is it? How is it created? Why

does it occur? As a representative of the Foreign Ministry, I articulate a lot of materials and deal with press kits for different countries, and I can say that in the texts of this kind, the abbreviation “GDP” can be found on every page, because this is one of the basic indicators, along with trade turnover. Those who deal with political and foreign policy issues are used to this. But what about contents related to digital currencies, cryptocurrency in the blockchain? Can you imagine their scope? Many countries have never achieved such financial indicators in decades, and these are interstate flows, and they cannot even be called particularly criminal, because they do not yet have a legal basis for existence.

We live in the world, in which pre-existing definitions (that define us in the world and the world around us, so that we could communicate with each other, and it’s not only about dialogues, but also about understanding, building relationships) need to be inventoried, “reset”, because globally they don’t reflect what they have to, any more. Meaning of almost every concept has changed, compared to its earlier essence. I will give you as an example the term “bipolarity” that was used more than once during our discussion; in my opinion, this term reflects the interplay of meanings. For a modern young person, this word has a completely different meaning than what we put into it during the discussion, and is associated with bipolar personality disorder.

Besides, I would like to raise the issue of determining the amount of trade turnover between Russia and other countries. It is calculated on the basis of figures given as official data (information from banks, tax inspection, financial monitoring, etc.). But the general audience knows better the amount of trade turnover in the area that is not regulated by the state, and its opinion is becoming increasingly more weighty and decisive.

Today, the discussion mainly assessed the prospects of multipolarity and analyzed the new world centres as they are linked to geography. To my mind, this approach is wrong for several reasons.

The first reason is that the centres should be determined not only by geography. For example, such a centre as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation is formed not only on the geographical basis. Another example is the North Atlantic Alliance. Previously, it included the countries of the North Atlantic region, and today it includes the states of Eastern and Western Europe, countries of the former Warsaw Pact Organization. NATO is expanding not only to the east, but now the task is to level the semantic load of interaction with the Asia-Pacific region by proposing an Indo-Pacific Partnership instead, etc. That is, NATO claims to become a centre of attraction not only in terms of geography.

Though there are constructive examples in this regard. BRICS is also a centre, not geographical, but geopolitical. Therefore, it is not necessary to link such centres to geography. These are primarily semantic centres (political, financial, etc.). That is, emergence and development of new centres is a kind of a 3D history embodied not so much on the plane as in the 3D space. Here, a few words about artificial intelligence are rather appropriate: it will not be engaged in counting the number of machines, it is interested in solving more complex tasks, including construction of new geopolitical centres.

The second reason explaining why the geographical principle should not be taken into account when we as-

sess multipolarity. We need to consider the criteria not as a statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but as a starting point for discussion. The basic criterion of multipolarity is the capacity to perform sovereign domestic and foreign policy, that is, independence, the ability to manifest oneself as a centre with true sovereignty, and not imaginary one achieved through hoaxing. If the emerging centre will be dependent, it will be absorbed by other centres that will influence it. There are many examples to illustrate this idea.

The third reason is resourcing. This issue should not be schematized: if there are natural resources, it’s a centre, if not, it is not a centre. This is a neocolonial approach. Resources ensure socioeconomic stability, high-level self-sufficiency of the national economy and the humanitarian sphere.

The fourth reason is presence of the significant cultural potential on a planetary scale. It is not so much about developed exposition and exhibition activities, a large number of museums, gyms, etc., as about opportunities for the society’s and man’s realization. This reason is directly related to sovereignty. It is not the imposed introduced cultural model that is significant, but the one that has matured and is traditionally present in this territory, where people have the opportunity to implement it.

It is also important to be able to project your development philosophy and vision of international politics outside, today this ability is called “creating meanings”. This is the ability to promote meanings and ideas in a creative way. But the power of this creativity should not be transformed into imposition of culture, which happened to the West, which first demonstrated a brilliant example of civilizational development, but then began to impose its values on everyone else. It’s about the ability to offer something to the world without imposing. Any imposition, as history has shown, ends in self-destruction.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Maria Vladimirovna, thank you for your brilliant speech. I draw the attention of those present to the fact that Maria Vladimirovna strengthened our doubts about the methods of calculation, as well as named the criteria determining the centres of power. She suggested not to be limited by geography in terms of countries’ borders when talking about multipolarity, and noted that multipolarity can be built on other principles. That’s what I suggest us to focus on. Andrey Ivanovich Denisov, you have the floor.

A. I. DENISOV: – I would like to respond to what was said by colleagues. As a former senior economist who worked at the Trade Mission of the USSR in China, I want to defend the statistics, including indicators of gross domestic product. Statistics is a serious part of the economics, including numerous methods, correction coefficients, elasticity coefficients, etc. Though I agree with Maria Vladimirovna that it is necessary to evaluate not the numbers, but what is around them.

Now about the quality of forecasts, and about forecast in general as a manifestation of the scientific approach in foreseeing the future. At the time when Oleg Bogomolov headed the RAS Institute of International Economic and Political Studies, I was a postgraduate student (40–45 years ago). It was then that the idea to make the long-term fore-

cast of development of the Soviet Union (for 25–30 years) arose in the leadership circles and was announced from the rostrum. In the narrow expert community, Oleg Bogomolov said that all the talk about long-term forecasts is irresponsible chatter of comrades in charge. Therefore, our attitude to forecasting should be careful, especially now, in the era of off-scale turbulence. Sometimes forecasts are based on objective indicators, and sometimes this is just how it plays out.

Inventing the steam engine and creating steam locomotives, constructing railways and internal combustion engines turned the world upside down, causing a civilizational shock that lasted for many decades. Maria Vladimirovna spoke about artificial intelligence, but digitalization, information-communication technologies, the pandemic, climate, space, etc., can also be included in the list. So, tectonic upheavals currently take place in chemical science. We don't know what will happen, and this makes it difficult to look ahead.

30 years ago, the Cold War ended and the era of monopolarity began, which lasted another 30 years. Our country was the first to rise up against it. This happened in 2007, with the speech of President Vladimir Putin at the Munich Conference. Talking about hegemony, Vladimir Vladimirovich asked Senator John McCain, an American hawk, sitting in the front row, "Well, who will like it?" No one likes this, including the global majority, which has emerged now on the ruins of the collapsing monopolarity.

Vladimir Vladimirovich asked the next question 8 years later (in 2015) from the rostrum of the UN General Assembly. After listing all the crises (Iraq, Libya, Syria, Yugoslavia) into which the Western group of countries led by the United States plunged the humanity, he asked his question, "Do you at least understand now what you've done?"

I translated this question into English and kept asking it in conversation with partners, while it was possible, working abroad. And no one could answer it. All this is reminiscent of the situation when President Biden was asked about Hiroshima at the G7 summit in Japan, "Will you apologize or not?" He replied, "No, we will not apologize."

And a few more words about the transition from monopolarity to multipolarity. At present, multipolarity is nothing more than a trend, and a rather vague one. The path from monopolarity to multipolarity will take several decades, if there is no nuclear war, or perhaps the whole century. This is a complex and multidimensional process: there may be setbacks, as well as factors we cannot foresee from today. Currently, we are dealing with total imbalance of the global international system and weakness of global governance institutions. Some European international structures are degenerating (even the UN is to some extent affected by the crisis process), others have emerged and have been gaining strength. I mean the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the BRICS, which are on the rise, but they still have quite a long way to go to the top.

According to the British historian Toynbee's concept of human civilization development, there is the stage of creating prerequisites for take-off, followed by the plateau stage. We have not reached the plateau yet, and are at the beginning of the stage of creating prerequisites for take-off.

Aleksandr Dmitrichenko, our Foreign Ministry expert, once said that on the way to multipolarity, unfortunately,

we would have to go through the period of non-polarity, when many potential integration centres would be either no longer able to implement their efforts, or, on the contrary, wouldn't gain strength yet. Are the aforementioned China and India ready to perform this role?

I would suggest using the term "underpolarity" instead of non-polarity, as it is a more accurate description of the current situation. In the West, there are states referred to as middle powers. What we are witnessing now is a struggle for survival in the conditions of representative bourgeois democracy that has also degenerated. Those who come to power in the West now try to retain this power in some way, renouncing their election promises, which has become a general rule, and escalating tensions, for the purpose of abandoning democratic governance in the face of increased risks. For example, in Poland, they consider the draft law permitting to violate the right of private property, which is sacred to Western democracy. It is easier to impose power this way, when, under the pretext of avoiding risks, you can abandon things that really have to do with democracy.

And what about those who live here? After February 2022, we are increasingly aware that self-sufficiency and self-identification are the main thing for us. Maria Vladimirovna mentioned the term "civilization-state". Even at the end of the Soviet period and in the post-Soviet period, we were striving somewhere, we wanted to integrate into the pan-European house from the Atlantic to the Urals, from Vancouver to Vladivostok. But we faced the fact that others did not want it. Europe coalesced without us, despite us, and now also against us. What to do in this situation? To build our own space around ourselves. I agree that Russia is one of the possible poles of the multipolar world and, perhaps, the most reasonable one in terms of awareness of its place in the surrounding reality. But, unfortunately, we have to pay a high price for this awareness.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Andrey Ivanovich, I have one more question to you. We all know about China's achievements, but I would like to hear your opinion of China's real intentions in today's world.

A. I. DENISOV: – Someone who has lived in China or worked with Chinese colleagues is like the character from a popular song: you can check out of the California Hotel any time you like, but you can never leave. So is China: you will remain connected with this country forever.

The Chinese modernization of the last decades is the unique experience in the human history. Moreover, this modernization is conscious, and well-calculated. Of course, there are mistakes, but the Chinese study these mistakes, correct them and try not to repeat them. The country has reached a decent level of consumption: about 400 million people are included in the middle class. In China, they talk about a middle-class society, that is, not individual persons, but the whole nation, in general, has reached the level of normal civilized existence, having practically got rid of poverty. Over the past 25–30 years, the problem of poverty has been solved for 700 million people, including 100 million people under President Xi Jinping's leadership. The country's strategic development is scheduled until 2049, when the centenary of foundation of the People's Republic of China will be celebrated.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Thank you, Andrey Ivanovich. The floor is given to Igor Ivanovich Buzovsky.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – I agree with almost all the statements articulated earlier: we are on the same wave of mentality, however we live this part of life in the process, which should be alarming. Having asked the question whether or not multipolarity/unipolarity is meant to be, we mean the process once again, and I would like to ask about the goal. Until we understand the goal of the civilizational development and determine the line of travel, we will keep arguing about the mechanisms of this process. We will look for allies and tools for implementing those aspects which we situationally respond to.

Today, starting from personality psychology and ending with sociology of a more global society, one of such criteria is success, parameters of which, as well as the direction of our movement, should be shaped by culture.

In psychology, there is the concept of “personality recognition”, which implies an emotional, personal response. What are the criteria of success today? This is not mercy and kindness, but the opportunity to have a good car, apartment, etc. These are not postulated things, but implied, they are a kind of measure, a sign that a person was recognized and appreciated: (s)he was paid, due to which (s)he was able to acquire this or that material value. This is an integral part of the modern process, in which economy is also involved.

We’ve lost our positions in the spiritual-moral sphere, now it is not decisive for us. A man can be highly spiritual, highly moral, but this will only be an attachment to the fact that he is successful for other reasons. For young people, such men are part of our culture. I’d like to ask who influences young people today and how the influence is implemented (including at the expense of economy).

I share Maria Vladimirovna’s opinion that influence can be exerted through the media, PR and using appropriate tools. Today we have virtually no tools, despite the fact that they are one of the factors determining multipolarity or unipolarity. Absence of these tools implies the unipolar world, which will continue to broadcast values, culture foundations and priorities that exist today in the global format.

I would like to emphasize that at present I stand for our monopolarity, insisting that globalism should be on our side. But we lost. We need to understand why.

Today, the number of Internet users in the Republic of Belarus, at the age from 7 to 85 years old, is 85% of the population. All of them are influenced by a culture different from ours, because we do not prevail. As soon as we define strategies and goal-setting, we will understand that funds should be invested in development, and not only in production of goods. Economists believe that 75% of the product cost is PR. Today, for promotion, this is crucial. The Chinese can produce everything, from a paper clip to a spaceship. But their main task is promotion of thoughts, ideals, and culture.

Today, there is no division into countries in terms of which culture will dominate. Do we need a political map of the world at the moment? If we reflect on who influences the geopolitical processes currently taking place in various countries, the picture will be far from perfect. The influence is exercised by global corporations, the banking sector, liberal forces, etc.

I liked the idea of one of the speakers that geopolitical fractures that form today which we should comprehend are not in the economic plane. As soon as we understand this, we will have our future, the strategy, and then the unipolar world will arise, which will lead the society to development and creation.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Mr. Mehdi Sanaei, you have the floor.

M. SANA EI: – Answering the question of what the world will look like and what the world order will be, I want to say that the old world order does not meet modern needs and does not reflect the reality. The structures of the old world order do not work effectively enough. But whether the new world order will arise soon, and whether the new world order is even possible, is a question. So far, this is only a wish.

Today there are attempts to restore the monopolar world, although it should be said that it was never even created. In the 1990s and 2000s, attempts to create it were made. Many new centres would like to create the new world order based on multipolarity. It already exists to a certain extent, but is not officially recognized.

There are three components comprising the old world order: man, country and the world. The world and countries have changed significantly, as has the man, although out of the three components, the man has been least influenced.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the old world order will gradually dwindle, however it will continue existing, although it will be less effective. In the near future, the new world order will not appear, although rules of the game have changed. The old world order was based on the system of nation-states, and now the nation-states are a single player in international relations. However, players from the new centres are much stronger than the nation-states, so there are new rules of the game and new players. God only knows what the new world order will be like.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Dmitry Olegovich Babich, your turn, please.

D. O. BABICH: – I’d like to develop the ideas expressed by Maria Vladimirovna and Andrey Ivanovich.

Maria Vladimirovna said that the West had privatized the words “democracy” and “human rights”, and I would also add the word “Europe”. Now, when they say “Europe”, they mean those countries that constitute the EU. Aren’t Russia and Belarus Europe? Chinese tourists come to Vladivostok and Khabarovsk to see Europe.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – In one of his works, Academician Likhachov noted that the whole of Russia is Europe, from the western borders to Vladivostok.

D. O. BABICH: – If we go back to the origins of the word “Europe”, then it is defined simply: Europe is the Christian world. Blessed Augustine was related to Europe through his Christian faith, although he had never been to Europe, since he lived in North Africa.

Talking about civilizations, we should go a hundred years back, to 1923, the colonial era. The independent Ottoman Empire collapsed at that moment, China was in the

state of civil war, so they cannot be viewed as independent civilizations. Culture experts found out that there were three civilizations that were non-European, that is, independent of Europe: Russian, Japanese and Ethiopian. In particular, the Emperor of Ethiopia Haile Selassie, whom the current Rastafarians consider one of incarnations of the god Ja, headed the independent civilization that the Italians tried but failed to destroy in 1935–1936.

Max Weber's ideas, in my opinion, are the classic example of how a person with a Eurocentric mindset can be mistaken. At the time when he wrote his works (1905–1920), Protestant England and Germany were economic leaders, and Weber created a whole theory that Protestantism contributes to economic success. After the First World War, Catholic France and Italy sprang forward. How to explain it? Well, let's assume that Western Christianity creates good conditions. But then Japan begins to grow, then South Korea, followed by China. And then scientists guessed to turn to history and saw that the longest period of prosperity among European countries was demonstrated by Byzantium, more precisely, the Eastern Roman Empire, i. e. the Orthodox civilization. Amazing, isn't it?

There has always been multipolarity, only its centres of power have been changing all the time. Currently, as Maria Vladimirovna correctly noted, geographical location is no longer a necessary thing to be taken into account. Because, for example, due to modern financial instruments, such as swaps, even oil trading has become possible between any countries.

And which countries are most often chosen as economic partners? About five years ago, the Gallup poll on this topic was conducted in various countries. It turned out that the large number of countries in Africa and Latin America still wanted to trade with the United States and the European Union, India wanted to trade primarily with the European Union and the United Kingdom. However, in Africa, there are countries that prefer China to France and England, and in Latin America, there are more China-oriented countries than countries choosing the United States. The Central Asian countries (former republics of the Soviet Union) want to trade with both Russia and China. The following picture eventually comes into focus. Two economic blocs are emerging – Russian-Chinese and Western. The second one is likely to include India, whereas Pakistan is more China-oriented. But there may also be the third block – mighty ASEAN countries that cooperate with China, but are afraid of becoming too dependent on it. Just as Poland knows Russia, but does not want to be in the Russian orbit.

This situation begins resembling what happened in the 20th century, namely: a competition between socialism and capitalism, which resulted in the emergence of two well-known world systems, while the so-called non-aligned countries remained kind of between them. And now there are the Russian-Chinese areal, the Western areal and the third one of the ASEAN countries. In any case, this is what is obvious today. In a dozen years, the picture may be quite different.

In my opinion, at the Likhachov Conference, it is appropriate to admit that once, under Dmitry Sergeevich's influence, my worldview had changed. Academician Likhachov believed that Marxism is a pessimistic doctrine, because it asserts that everything is predefined and determined by economy.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Moreover, he believed that Marxism presupposes historical determinism of certain processes, which hardly depend on man. Speaking at an event in our University, he really called Marxism a pessimistic doctrine. In fact, there is no evidence that in the social sphere, there are objective laws working with fatal inevitability. The future that awaits us will be as we make it ourselves.

D. O. BABICH: – There was a time when I was very impressed with this idea of his. But recently I decided to re-read works by Marx and Engels. And I was surprised to find that they made a forecast for the very distant future, predicting problems that we are facing now. One of the problems is displacement of man from the work processes due to increasingly advanced technology. Many professions are disappearing before our eyes, including such a highly intelligent one as the profession of a translator. Unfortunately, ideas of these great philosophers were perceived primarily by Russia and China – agrarian countries that were very far from replacing man with machines at that time. But what struck me the most was the problem of alienation, which the classics wrote about. They should have seen what this problem looks like today, when more and more people work remotely.

In general, it is difficult to say what the coming multipolarity will look like, but it is safe to say, with 100% probability, that in some form it will emerge.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Let me remind you that at the Likhachov Conference, issues of the crisis of the West were first touched upon about 20 years ago. In particular, this question was considered by one of the most prominent Russian philosophers, Academician Stepin (unfortunately, he is already deceased). Having analyzed the causes and the essence of the crisis, he concluded that either the West would be able to overcome the crisis, or it would lose its former role in the world. For all these years I have also conducted research and published a number of scientific papers on this topic.

Today, causes of the crisis of the Western civilization are quite clear. The United States of America, the most highly developed country in the West, was the first to “hit the wall” when faced with exhaustion of the development potential of capitalism. For example, it is known that one of the most important development drivers is the market. Competition forcing to improve the quality of products, reduce their cost and improve technology, was described by Karl Marx, but there has been no classical capitalism for long. And what instead? The archaic model of state monopolies that operate without any competition, thereby limiting the opportunities of capitalism.

Another development driver is democracy. Canadian scientist Peter Dutkevich writes that in the West, democracy and the market collided in irreconcilable contradictions. Well, democracy is actually designed to prevent abuses and limit the unrestrained desire of business for profit, from which both society and the environment suffer. But in the end, the market has largely subdued democracy, and moral categories are discarded by business as useless in making a profit. Electoral mechanisms are controlled by financial and industrial groups, and democracy is essentially privatized by them.

Another powerful driver of capitalism, which has influenced its successful development for a long time, is freedom of speech. But today it is already in the past. Because the media, too, are all bought up by moneybags.

In Russia, however, from the very beginning of the existence of capitalism, it was no better: all the media went in hands of owners of financial and industrial groups. Here is a simple example. Students often ask the question, “We study at the University of Trade Unions (Russian name of the University of Humanities and Social Sciences – translator’s note), but we know nothing about trade unions. Is this a real organization?” I have told Mikhail Viktorovich about this question more than once. But how is this possible? Twenty million people are members of trade unions, participate in their activities, pay fees and, in turn, receive assistance when it is required. But there are no trade unions in the public consciousness! Why? Because almost all the mass media are taken over by large capital, and the trade unions have one newspaper – “Solidarnost”. Trade union members read this newspaper, and the rest of the country’s population obtains information from sources owned by the oligarchs. Freedom of speech disappears, it is privatized.

Finally, another important factor is the crisis of the elites, who are degenerating because they are reproduced not according to the principle of productivity, but according to some flawed algorithms. Just look at people running for the presidential election in the United States. The same faces familiar to voters for decades. No new persons, no fresh ideas. And in the Western Europe, they came up with an amazing mechanism. If a party discredits itself, as, for example, in Italy, it is replaced by another party, which is created in haste. In our country, in the 1990s, dozens of such fake parties were “copy-pasted”. Such a fake party proclaims populist slogans, hits the top of the ratings in a few months, and replaces the former party. Then it turns out that it did not declare its positions on key issues, and it did not have a proper election program. There are virtually no statesmen, politicians remain so far, but there is a problem with them as well. Olaf Scholz, Annalena Baerbock do not give the impression of strong leaders, and the Italian Georgia Meloni is generally a black horse.

Olivier Roqueplo wrote a brilliant report for our Conference, in which he gave the derogatory but accurate description of the modern Western elite. In this regard, I want to ask him a question. Mr. Roqueplo, in your opinion, which option of those that Academician Stepin considered is more likely to be implemented? Will the West be able to overcome the crisis that has befallen it, or will it be pushed into the background by other, more passionate representatives of the world community? Will the West become one of centres of further human development?

O. ROQUEPLO: – In my opinion, it depends primarily on the European political elites, but, unfortunately, the European Union is undergoing not even a crisis, but decomposition for almost 50 years. And the EU’s political elites are not exceptionally far-sighted. I happened to work with them, and my impression was very unpleasant. The

older generation still retains some wisdom, but the new leaders do not know their people or the world around them, neither they find it necessary to preserve historical memory. Therefore, to my mind, they are leading the European Union to a collapse. Whether this will mean the end of the Western European civilization or its revival, nobody knows. But I can say a few words about what will happen in France. In recent years, we have seen an interesting initiative – the yellow vests movement. These are a truly popular initiative, they have no leaders. They began in 2012, and have been repeated regularly ever since. The government took tough measures to disperse them, but I believe that the “yellow vests” give reason for hope, because various people participate in this movement, including ideological heirs of communist culture in the form in which it existed before the 1990s, as well as adherents of the philosophy of Gaullism.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Now Galina Valerievna Naumova, a historian, culture expert, public figure, has the floor. The key method of Ms. Naumova’s research is communication with the major modern thinkers: philosophers, cultural scientists, sociologists. She even had a chance to interview such a legend of our time as Claude Levi-Strauss.

G. V. NAUMOVA: – Indeed, over the last 30 years, I had a chance to visit various countries and meet many outstanding thinkers. Among them were Nobel laureates in literature – Nadine Gordimer from South Africa and Wole Soyinka from Nigeria; famous philosophers Regis Debray and Claude Levi-Strauss, and of course, Samuel Huntington, who I had many interesting conversations with.

What is happening with Europe today? Two countries, the locomotives of development in the recent past – Germany and France – are really in a deplorable state. Intense intellectual life remains in the past (this is especially noticeable in Paris), although Edgar Morin, at his age of 102, keeps analyzing the current discourse, writes about both Russia and Ukraine. But this is an isolated example, the last of the Mohicans. Regis Debray, whose research was regularly published on the pages of *Libération* and *Le Monde* until recently, has not published anything for quite a while. Still, the texts of globalists such as Bernard-Henri Levy continue to be published, but this has nothing to do with French national culture.

And yet, following Morin, who calls for reforming the mindset, I keep hoping. The main thing that we need today is to change the policy of war to the policy of peace, otherwise the humanity will simply not survive, will disappear from the face of the Earth. It is necessary to look for answers to numerous challenges we face – problems of the biosphere, the climate threat, the crisis of human identity. The biggest danger is dehumanization, consequences of which may be very severe.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – I thank all the participants for the discussion that we had today. We will move on in comprehending what is happening in the world.

Round Table

THE TRANSITION FROM UNIPOLARITY TO REAL MULTIPOLARITY: THE CHALLENGES OF THE NEW GEOPOLITICS

May 26, 2023

Conference Hall of the Radisson Royal Hotel

CHAIRPERSONS:

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SPEAKERS:

- D. O. BABICH *Journalist and columnist for the news agency "RIA Novosti" (Moscow), Member of the Russian Union of Journalists*
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A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Good afternoon, dear friends! Today, the moderator of our discussion is Igor Ivanovich Buzovsky, Deputy Minister of Information of the Republic of Belarus. He will perform this function brilliantly, no doubt about it. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that live broadcasting and audio recording of our discussion are being performed. I kindly ask you to speak very succinctly, energetically and concisely, so that our discussion does not turn into a set of monologues. This is very important, since the Likhachov Conference dedicated to the dialogue of cultures was originally conceived by Academician D. S. Likhachov and I as dialogues of scientists, people of science, culture, education, art, outstanding thinkers – generally, the best humanitarians not only of Russia, but also of the planet. We are lucky that our main activity is what we are really interested in, which we enjoy a lot. I sincerely wish you pleasant communication and success in our common work!

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – The issues of our round table discussion have been sufficiently elaborated at our previous meetings – the plenary sessions and the panel discussions – but we will try to make sure that today everyone has managed to express their thoughts not only to the participants of this round table, but also to those who is listening and watching us, because we are starting to receive feedback to the ideas articulated in the course of the plenary meetings. The floor is given to Maria Vladimirovna Zakharova, Director of the Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.

M. V. ZAKHAROVA: – It is important to understand that the current, obviously unstable situation in terms of international relations is the consequence of destructive actions of the West, committed in a frenzy, an intoxication induced by what they consider success in the Cold War. The ideology pursued by the regimes ruling in the West can be interpreted as ultra-liberalism or liberal dictatorship – I like the latter term more. The essence of the actions of the former pole in the bipolar system and their theoretical comprehension is that the collective West merely went wild, trying to determine the limits of what is permissible, but in fact, perhaps, just to crush everything that somehow restrained it. It should be noted that they've gotten away with many things. The first try was the Republic of Haiti. Then the decision on the intervention of the US troops, if you remember, was made with the UN Security Council's approval. Yugoslavia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Syria followed; there were nuances in each case, but the essence remained the same. A number of geopolitical catastrophes are a long and sad track record of Washington and NATO. Does this mean that in the future multipolarity, this pole will continue to cause destruction? No, it doesn't. And this needs to be understood. I am very well aware of the fact that for our supporters of the West, and for the West itself, this comprehension will not come immediately and will be very painful. But we still have to squeeze a slave out of ourselves.

Any system is seeking to balance itself. The well-known American economist Jeffrey Sachs, whose position on the Ukrainian crisis is at odds with one dominant in the West, wrote that the current global situation, the catalyst of which was Ukraine, is based on two American provocations. The first one is expansion of NATO and announcement of inclu-

sion of Ukraine and Georgia in this organization in 2008, the second one is establishing its own, not even pro-Western, but simply its own regime in the territory of Ukraine, which eventually lit the fuse.

Let's consider Ukraine as the most striking example of such political engineering. It was unnatural to try to embed this region that was part of Russia for centuries into the Western civilization; even more so, doing this in the accelerated, staged mode. We know perfectly well how civilizations develop, how they disappear or give rise to new civilizations. But all this should happen naturally, and not through crushing the traditional order, arrogantly demanding for the progress report on the plan implementation. We saw what ugly forms it can take. I will give just two examples: Poroshenko's statements about Ukrainian chivalry and the horrors that neo-Nazis from the banned organizations "Azov" and the Legion "Freedom of Russia" committed. But Washington went even further – it wanted to make Ukraine not just a flank of the West, but a real Anti-Russia.

History, including the recent times, contains enough similar examples – with peoples divided, with states disintegrated into parts, and with governments in exile, which the West loves so much. For instance, what is the Guaido project in Venezuela or the Tikhonovskaya project in Belarus? They are the same: forming an anti-state, anti-country, anti-society. In case of Ukraine, the project has been more ambitious, but its essence remained the same. Where is Guaido now? Nobody knows. He was expelled, and not even by his sponsors from Washington for whom it is normal to expel, exclude, get rid of those projects that did not play out (and those that did, too). Guaido was rejected even by his supporters within Venezuela. And what has Tikhonovskaya turned into? Exactly the same kind of a traveling salesperson, anathematized by both her country's people and those who initially placed the bet on her. It is clear that every similar project, as well as any sect that develops in opposition to traditional religions, will always have its own flock, up to a certain point.

But let's get back to Ukraine. All this has led to the serious tragedy which we are witnessing today. It is safe to say that a system responds to any external irritant either by crashing, if it is unstable, or by a reaction, if it is stable. The stress test that the world is currently undergoing consists partly from the legacy of the bipolar world order of the 20th century, partly from the United States' attempts to impose its hegemony on the world at the end of the 20th – the first quarter of the 21st century, partly from the emerging multipolar world order. And this clearly demonstrates the following: balance cannot be achieved if some centres of power seek to gain advantages at the expense of others. This is a very important feature of multipolarity. Yesterday we talked about features that centres of multipolarity can have. And this is an example of an anti-feature, that is, the feature that should not be characteristic of the emerging multipolar system, the one this system resists. And here we come to the main thing – to mechanisms of the future world order.

Currently it is obvious that mutually respectful communication among various poles is the basis of a stable, prosperous system of interstate relations. The modern world is both global and multipolar. Attempts to isolate Russia, surrounding it with a kind of a cordon, turn it into an outcast, as you can see, have failed either to reach the extent that was intended, or even to play out as a mechanism of influ-

ence. The states, in which about 85% of the world's population lives, do not perceive the collective West as an ideal of democracy, freedom, and well-being. They see its imperfections, and sometimes outright ugliness, more and more clearly.

And against this background, we continue to implement the independent, self-sufficient, multi-vector foreign policy, increasing the activity in various geographical areas. The Russian-Chinese strategic partnership keeps deepening, which is an important balancing factor in the global situation. Today, according to both the leaders of the two countries and experts, relations between Moscow and Beijing are the best in their history. Moreover, as you understand, this is not the end point, this is the highest indicator compared to the past, and the future is open. Relations within the particularly privileged strategic partnership with India steadily develop. Ties with Brazil and Iran, the UAE, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, and many other countries strengthen, as well. Holding the 2nd Russia-Africa Summit in July 2023 in Saint Petersburg is intended to contribute to the largest expansion of Russian-African relations. By the way, I cannot but note that in response to any insinuations about the opportunism of our appeal at this stage to the African continent, we can simply remind that this is the second summit – the first was held in 2019. Holding the second summit, which will involve heads of African states, requires very serious and lengthy preparation, so it's clear that the idea has emerged not today. These are the points to keep in mind.

The focus of the global economy, followed by politics, keeps shifting from Euro-Atlantics toward Euro-Asia. Who or what contributes to this? First of all, Euro-Atlantics itself. Everything they have done over the past decades and before has caused reversals, revolts, or the focus shifts. The goals of their neocolonialist policy of the 1970s and 1980s were to locate production in Asia, use local resources for a penny payment, without applying the Western human rights standards there. They believed that everything would remain that way, simultaneously forgetting that they themselves launched the process of globalization, actually intended to enlighten certain parts of the world, develop other regions of the planet. But that's ridiculous! A fantastic story! It is also necessary to understand to what extent those regions, which they moved their production to, are susceptible to experience and how they have historically developed this experience on their own ground. And then, these two processes completely converged, resulting in appearance of a new powerful economic centre. And who is to be blamed for this? In the United States, Republicans talk a lot about this. The society's conservative part, which advocates promotion and support of real production, knows that they had done it themselves, with their own hands.

The European Union can no longer claim political, economic, and value leadership in the Eurasian space. It cannot and will not, because it delegated its leadership, and not partially, as we could say five or six years ago, but completely. Over the past year, the process of renouncing its own sovereignty in the European Union has ended. With the Brexit, the European Union was subjected to public humiliation, consolidating its entirely dependent role. The way Brexit took place, the way negotiations were going on, the way this event was presented to the world community – all this was the beginning of completion of the process of re-

nouncing any sovereignty by the European Union. Another factor in this context was open placement of officials and representatives of the bureaucracy in key positions in the European Union, who were not only focused on some liberal attitudes, but were fostered and brought to power by the hands of Washington. In fact, Washington did with the European Union the same thing as with Ukraine, except for a smaller civilizational rift, but in generally the same manner, walking with its tank tracks across fine European settings, completely destroying them.

The states-continents have real freedom to choose their development models, international partners, as well as opportunities for participating in various integration initiatives. One of the most dynamically developing regional associations is, of course, the Eurasian Economic Union, where Russia is chairing this year. Efficiency and relevance of the EAEU is evidenced by its extensive economic ties. Collaboration within the framework of the CSTO remains an integral factor of regional stability, and cooperation within the CIS develops as well. Within the CIS, this year has been declared the Year of the Russian Language as the Language of Interethnic Communication. Striking examples of multipolar diplomacy, mutually beneficial, equal, multilateral partnership in Eurasia and in the world as a whole are interstate associations, such as the SCO and BRICS, in which Russia actively takes part. There are neither leaders nor followers there, decisions are made on the basis of consensus, taking into account opinions of all the countries, even those that have recently joined. The process of accepting new members is not conditioned by strict requirements of the "either-or" type, at the level of blackmail, as is done in other block organizations. The lengthy negotiation process of joining our integration associations takes into account details, nuances, traditions, developing through harmonization, correlation of interests, and does not occur in the ultimatum manner, in which, for example, Brussels talks to Serbia now. This country, perhaps, would have existed quite well on its own, if it had not been put in such conditions, under which, willy-nilly, it has to move toward European integration. And now we understand perfectly well that this is not movement, but extreme-degree humiliation, and not behind the scenes, but explicitly demonstrative. We must give Serbia its due, it passes these trials with dignity.

In conclusion, I would like to say that efficient, established consensus is the key to successful multipolarity. We consider those who are always trying to blur the principle of consensus on various international platforms to be the most rabid opponents of multipolarity. But this, again, is either the American hegemony's intrigues, or attacks of the US satellites that have totally lost their independence. However, the dialectic of the historical process dictates further development logic of the situation. More and more states will understand the inevitability of forming the truly democratic international world order, and Russia's voice on this issue will sound increasingly louder in full solidarity with the voices of representatives of the global majority. I believe you are aware of the global online conference on multipolarity that took place on April 29, 2023. It was organized on the initiative of political scientists from Brazil, India, China and Russia. The event was unprecedented in its format and geographical scope. The marathon lasted for 17 hours, and involved over 120 speakers from more than 60 countries. The absolute majority of the participants of the meeting

agreed that there is no alternative to the multipolar world order. This event is just one of the evidences of emergence of the new fair world order. It will be a very difficult journey, but it has already been started.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – Maria Vladimirovna, I would like to understand, based on your thoughts, who is to be blamed and what to do in context of the fact that the United States placed their people in key positions in Europe? Not only the Russian Federation is outraged by this. For ensuring the transition from the unipolar world to real multipolarity, we need to know why and how this became possible. Due to economy, intelligence, or something else?

M. V. ZAKHAROVA: – We said yesterday that there are increasingly more examples of a real global hoax. The problem is that, although we are aware of staged nature of false messages of a number of states called the collective West, we cannot lose such a concept as trust, because we will all go to hell without it. These are the Scylla and Charybdis, which you need to pass between: we cannot either succumb to these false promises, nor completely abandon trust as part of international relations. We see remarkable examples of how different players' trust in each other, with all attributes of their own policies and their own interests, becomes the key to successful implementation of projects and the most ambitious plans. Now people often recollect the collapse of the Soviet Union and the situation that immediately preceded this event, because our current problems are rooted in this period. Many people say that we should have been smarter, more cunning, more right, etc. I don't even want to discuss it. I will express my personal opinion: there was certainly a chance to build the new world, when the Cold War was over. And looking back, we see how the West took advantage of this chance.

It has to be written in huge letters in all textbooks on political science that one of the clearest examples of not just a false essence, but the global unscrupulousness of the West was its policy in 1980–1990s. At that time, there was a unique opportunity to build the new fair world, including globalization in a good, right way, moving toward global deconfrontation. But this chance was destroyed by the West. Under the guise of processes related to integration, cooperation and the like, there was another planning of dividing the world into sectors: some should supply raw materials, the others should provide territories, the third ones – labour resources, etc. This historical period, in my opinion, should remain in scientific analysis as the most striking example of the essence of the collective West's policy. And, after all, I have not given any judgments now, neither positive nor negative ones. Let's recall: there was detente, disarmament, opening borders, liberalization of domestic legislation in our country and in other countries, and opening the markets in full – everything for building cooperation focused on the future in the global and peaceful way. And it was all trampled. NATO's expansion, coups in Ukraine, Libya, Syria are local examples. The global example is how the collective West responded to the end of the Cold War, considering that it was its victory, and not seeing the main thing – countries' desire to build the new world order.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – The floor is given to Andrei Dragomirovich Khlutkov, Director of the North-West Insti-

tute of Management of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Doctor of Economics, Professor.

A. D. KHLUTKOV: – Yesterday I said that it is pointless to argue about multipolarity, it is an obvious fact. The subject of discussion may only be some considerations about centres of power; although, to my mind, everything is clear about them. Perhaps only more precise coordinates can determine the global location of these centres of power. Now, I believe it is very important to raise the question in context of the Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation, adopted two months ago, on March 31. This is a very serious and relevant document that answers many of the questions we are facing today.

When analyzing multipolarity of the world, it is important to clearly structure and understand our own disposition. Russia has often resisted aggression, acted as a peacemaker, and participated in settling international conflicts. But we have always acted in the framework of some kind of a block, not alone, but together with our allies. The same thing is happening now. Maria Vladimirovna mentioned Serbia. We cooperate with this country very closely. I have three years of experience working closely with Serbia on the part of the Saint Petersburg Committee on Foreign Relations. And, of course, we understand how difficult their current situation is. I would like to draw your attention to, in my opinion, an unprecedented case illustrating the civil society's attitude. Last year we were at the site of the University of Belgrade. This is essentially a kind of an association of all Serbian universities, more than 100 thousand students study there, to be trained as specialists in almost all areas – from medicine to advanced level mathematics and nuclear physics. So, the professors of the University of Belgrade say, “We have been closely monitoring the Serbian government's actions. If we feel it deflects somewhere to the left or to the right of the Russian-Serbian agenda, we immediately write memos to the president, aligning the course in respect of strategic partnership with Russia.” It seems to me that this is a most valuable achievement when educated people, who, of course, largely express interests of ordinary Serbs, including those who study at the university and those who used to work there, participate in foreign policy. I consider this to be the highest level of people's democracy in the most civilized form, when through science, through discussion, through publicity, the political leaders of the country are supplied with important data and roadmaps.

I cannot but say that it is necessary to define a kind of a pool of allies, which is needed in any multipolarity, because the stronger the pole is, the more numerous and versatile it is. And, of course, from all points of view, this can be attributed only to competitive advantages of this pole. The former Warsaw Pact Organization is the most striking example of our allies' consolidation. We are probably working out the draft of a new “Warsaw Pact”, it is obvious by all signs, and this seems to me an absolutely right vector. At different stages, we had decisively separated from some actors, as Vladimir Ilyich said, but it is precisely for uniting in the future. And I believe that we need to keep this in mind all the time: not just to state that someone is at a certain pole, but also to fight for people to switch from other poles to ours and unite around the Russian Federation. It is important to emphasize that any serious work, including

that under the banner of civilization, requires strengthening the civilization itself. And at the heart of this, of course, lies the educational process.

I am still impressed by yesterday's meeting of the Council of Rectors of Saint Petersburg Universities, which was a tough discussion about ways of transforming the Bologna system. We actually abandoned it in favor of returning to the proven Soviet model. We have no reason not to trust it: if I ask now to raise hands of those who studied for four years at the bachelor's degree program, there are no such people here, as everyone graduated from a specialty program. I just want to remind you of one historical fact: at the beginning of the 1950s, a very serious delegation of congressmen from the USA came to the USSR on a visit. They studied the phenomenon of our victory: how the Soviet people managed to win the Second World War and, having suffered huge human losses, restore the almost completely destroyed economy of the country's European part in the shortest time period. The final closed report of the US Congress contained the conclusion that if the Soviet system of higher education is not transformed, the Russians will never be defeated in any war – either cold or hot.

Now it is very important that we consider the education system as a strategic area of our security and our strength. Therefore, when today they say that it is necessary to return to "basic" education, but leave four years of study, it is, of course, entirely wrong. We must take into account our own interests and, of course, focus on the consumer. And at present, the consumer is our industry, which is being restructured, focusing on the principle of technological sovereignty. And much of what is happening, including various events and processes in the international arena, suggest that first of all, we should rely only on our own strength. As the saying goes, there was no happiness, but misfortune helped. This is very important, and national and strategic security not only of Russia, but of our entire block, depend on our capacity to prepare a generation of qualified specialists who, *inter alia*, are able to make right management decisions. Almost everything depends on it. Therefore, management issues should also be included in the current agenda as part of adjustment of our approaches to improve the higher education system.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – Andrei Dragomirovich, your idea is very close to my mind; from time to time I think that when talking about transition from unipolarity to multipolarity, we often tend to think of technocracy, economy, processes in the real sector of economy. And, in my opinion, a certain balance with the humanitarian and social spheres should still be achieved, and education is one of the key areas. It was not by chance that I asked Maria Vladimirovna the questions "Who is to be blamed?" and "What to do?". Promotion of ideas was performed not only and not so much through economy, and apparently allowed the United States to integrate into key management mechanisms of the EU and other world communicants due to goal-setting, which was determined primarily not through technocratic and economic priorities, but through values. Therefore, today in the Republic of Belarus, the Sustainable Development Goals have been declared as the national strategy.

Literally the day before yesterday, in Belarus, Ioanna Kazana-Vishnevetsky, who acted since 2018 as the Per-

manent Coordinator of the UN within the competence of the Sustainable Development Goal in Belarus, resigned her powers. Her career at the UN was built in Poland, Ukraine and Lithuania, and before coming to Belarus – in New York. Since April 2019, the position of Permanent Representative of the United Nations Development Program in Belarus has been held by Aleksandra Solovyova, a citizen of the Russian Federation, Master of Public Administration at the University of Colorado, Denver. Since November 2012, the office of the International Finance Corporation (IFC) in Belarus has been headed by Olga Shcherbina, Master of Business Administration (MBA) from the University of Mississippi. She is responsible for development and implementation of the IFC strategy in the country, maintaining the dialogue with the government, developing the investment program and supervising IFC advisory assistance projects implemented in Belarus. These are key things that are not confined to the economy, and are strategically and vitally important for the state. These are goals, strategies for developing contacts at a completely different level, formation of loyalty, parities of thought development in relations not only between countries. Why does this happen? Does this have an economic justification: investments in social projects, in the educational system? And aren't all these experts a kind of a Trojan horse? That's what I'd like to speculate about.

M. V. ZAKHAROVA: – If you look at the number of such American specialists travelling around the world, and joining regional programs, and multiply this by the endless concern with matters all over the world expressed from the rostrums of the Washington State Department, I would say: you should visit Philadelphia, just walk there, go along its streets. I am sure they wouldn't be the way they are shown in the famous videoclip for the same-name song. This is real hell on earth! And these are not consequences of a natural disaster, nor a zone of destruction after a global catastrophe where one cannot enter without harm to health, nor an ice floe with polar explorers which cannot be moored, nor a sunken ship. It's just a city in the territory of the United States of America, which a long time ago turned into a real sewer, a natural disaster that struck thousands of people. Isn't it possible to use all the power of American expert thought to get Philadelphia out of trouble at least? And there are a huge number of such cities in the USA! Ghost towns where people have lost all human dignity and no longer even understand what a man essentially is. And it's because all kinds of experiments are allowed and legalized. I'm sorry, but in New York, stores selling drugs are absolutely legally advertised, and are located approximately every 50–100 meters. Just think about it! Isn't it possible to direct the power of the US expert thought to overcome certain problems within the States? I am absolutely serious now: as soon as the administration of some US president shows the world that it is capable of solving the problem of at least one of its cities, hope will dawn. Everyone will understand that they can do it. And how is it possible to deal with problems from Myanmar to Sudan – and we see the results of their activities: people are already moaning! – if a particular city is plunged into the abyss in the territory of the United States? That's all I have to say about experts from Mississippi.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – The floor is given to the RAS Deputy President, Member of the RAS Presidium, Academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Scientific Director of the Institute of Immunology and Physiology of the RAS Ural Branch, Doctor of Medical Sciences, Professor, Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS Valery Aleksandrovich Chereshev.

V. A. CHERESHNEV: – Concerning the sewers, which Maria Vladimirovna spoke about. I remember my first visit to Austria in the 1990s. We approach the Schoenbrunn Palace in the centre of Vienna, and what do we see at the entrance? Hippies are lying on the ground, fifteen or twenty people. There is an ambulance nearby, nurses inject them with narcotics using sterile needles. I ask, “How is that possible? This is a crime!” They answer me, “No, no, these are sick people, we know them all. If we don’t inject them with the narcotic, they’ll crush everything here.” “But how is that?” I continue resenting. “Is there really no police?” And they answer me, “We can’t turn everyone over to the police. This is a mass phenomenon, they need to be re-educated.”

M. V. ZAKHAROVA: – Substitution therapy.

V. A. CHERESHNEV: – Exactly. And in Amsterdam, they generally serve everyone. The trailers stand everywhere, so that – God forbid! – two or three people do not use one syringe, because in the West, HIV is transmitted via injections in 80% of cases, and not through sexual intercourse. Therefore, they carefully monitor that one syringe isn’t used twice. Wow, what a service! Heights of democracy! We are outraged, “The sewer! Terrible!” And they answer, “We take care of everyone.”

Now think about it: how did the United States become a hegemon of the world? It’s a whole system! I give lectures on immunology, and can assure you that in the beginning of the last century there were no Americans in this field. Who received the Nobel prizes? Europe. A little bit – Austria, France, Russia, and a lot – Germany. Almost a year later – Germans, Germans, Germans in all fields. And what’s next? When the Nazis came to power, America took all the scientists. Karl Landsteiner could not receive the Nobel Prize in Austria and immediately received it in America a year later, for the blood group discovery, although Paul Ehrlich had already done it before him. In Europe, there is a discussion; they argue, they reason, and in the USA they promote everything instantly. The Nobel Prize was awarded 970 times, of which more than 400 went to the United States. We have a little over 20 Nobel laureates in our country, and they have 400. Do you feel the difference? They now have ten Nobel laureates working at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, eight at Harvard, and six at Stanford.

At Stanford, tartan-covered running tracks are laid throughout the university. And along one of these tracks, under the glass hood, there are sculptures by Rodin – 110 figures. Not copies, but originals. In 1930, Rockefeller bought the entire collection from Rodin, the first six variants, and presented it to Stanford University. At first they stood in a building, then – in the basement of the library, then – in the museum, and later it was decided to place them near the track for running, and they were put outdoors: “Gates of Hell”, “Bronze Age”, “Thinker”. And there are no

guides, only bronze figures, and the signs saying “Rodin”. The marbles are under the hood, the bronze is also protected. People run... and become more cultured. I come to Paris for a conference in the Pasteur Institute. I go to the Rodin Museum: “How many sculptures do you have?” – “78.” – “Why 78? There are 110.” – “Well, you know, our collection is not complete... billionaires have bought it out.” The Rodin Museum has 78 sculptures, and the runners at Stanford – 110. Why am I saying this? The United States has become a force not of a sudden: it has been moving toward this monopolarity for a hundred years. Science, culture, education – absolutely everything was used.

Vladimir Putin and Sergey Lavrov believe that it is necessary to understand in detail what the multipolar world is. Diplomats, historians, etc. express their opinions on this issue. In this context, the concept of “informal empires” arises, around which the main poles of the world will be formed. The first empire is the United States of America, the second one is China, and the third one (in question) is Russia. It’s in question because empires interact between each other, for example, the United States and China. And many countries have broken off relations with Russia, and now the only thing that binds us to the US is arms control. As the Russian Ambassador to the United States A. I. Antonov rightly said, in our relationship with America, we’ve come to the end of the line. What role will Russia play in the multipolar world if relations with our country are deliberately severed, and we are isolated? These important issues need to be analyzed in detail.

In the course of today’s discussion, results of the reforms were also talked about. As an outcome of reforming the state academies of sciences in 2013–2014, three academies were merged (the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Russian Academy of Medical Sciences and the Russian Academy of Agricultural Sciences), real estate and property were transferred to the Federal Agency of Scientific Organizations (FANO), and then the Ministry of Science and Higher Education formed the corps of experts of the Russian Academy of Sciences for scientific support of the work of public bodies and expert evaluation of important state projects, etc. But we were not explained what this management system should lead to.

Two main functions of scientific and methodological expertise can be distinguished: expert evaluation and building a future prospect (analysis made by scientists). But for performing scientific and methodological guidance, it is necessary to conduct constant monitoring. However, even if a project receives a negative review, nothing will happen, according to Russian laws: funding will not stop, and the work will continue.

There are two management systems (be it the state, science, etc.). The first system is centralized, the vertical of power, as in the army. But how can this principle be implemented in the field of science? The second system is democratic. In science, until we discuss everything and reach a consensus, no approval for implementation will be given, and this is what we invite the experts for.

Science inherently presupposes constant opposition of the minority to the majority. It is always required to prove something, to justify, and the majority says, “It cannot be.” And the state should take all this into account. We follow the informal slogan, “Long live all the things that make us despite all odds!”

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – Maria Vladimirovna, please.

M. V. ZAKHAROVA: – The discussion touched upon the issue of European health centres, which are gradually disappearing because of the so-called “overflow” of specialists. I would like to articulate two points in the context of this thesis.

The first point. Germany, which has been positioned as a leader in the healthcare sector until now, failed to provide a product as a response to the spread of the virus during the pandemic. This served as an indicator. How did this become possible? The largest manufacturers of medications are concentrated in Germany, strict discipline is in effect, the role of this country in regulating the pharmaceutical market is great, but it could not provide the product.

The second point. The President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, purchased the American Pfizer vaccine worth tens of billions of euros to provide the entire European Union with it. The investigation on this matter is underway now. If the European Union has so much money to buy the vaccine, then it should have allocated the funds to research and stimulation of its own production based in Germany, France, and Italy. But the industry is gradually collapsing, which indicates the next stage – destruction of the European identity: we are witnessing not only the re-purchase of medications and licensing them in their own manner, but doctors are also re-purchased, and people destroying the EU identity from within begin to be introduced.

The same thing happens in sports. The EU had its own sport built on this principle. What happens now with Russian and Belarusian athletes and sports in general? While the Europeans had the opportunity for outbidding our athletes, they made it possible for us to develop our sport and participate in competitions, because it was profitable for them. We trained athletes on the base of our infrastructure, and they outbid them at the moment of takeoff. But everything changed when athletes themselves wanted to stay in their countries. As soon as athletes decided to compete for their country for a number of reasons (financial, material, ideological, etc.), began to stay inside the country and work for sporting achievements, a blow was dealt at the Russian sports.

The next stage is establishing preferences, then destroying those who previously ensured these preferences. There are a lot of similar examples in medicine and in sports.

V. A. CHERESHNEV: – In Russia, several vaccines against COVID-19 have been developed by N. F. Gamalei Centre (A. L. Ginzburg, D. Yu. Lagunov), M. P. Chumakov Research Centre for Development of Immunobiological Medications, and the Novosibirsk VECTOR Research Centre. Names of developers of the domestic vaccines against COVID-19 are known, unlike in the European Union, because Germany and France did not participate in developing the vaccines. Huge pharmacological concerns operate in the territory of these countries, but pharmaceutical companies are not interested in research to be carried out by individuals, which is prescribed in their charters and is related to distribution of profits.

Having compared two academies of sciences – Russian and Chinese, we can draw the following conclusion. When the Chinese Academy of Sciences was established on No-

vember 1, 1949 (simultaneously with formation of the People’s Republic of China), the USSR Academy of Sciences (branches, elections, etc.) was taken as a model, but the Chinese refused from the two-stage system: they have only academics and no corresponding members, though the number of members is the same as in the Russian Academy of Sciences – 800 persons. In 1977, the Chinese Academy of Sciences spun off the Department of Philosophy and Social Sciences from its membership into the independent state academy – the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. In China, besides two large academies, there are also small academies: medical, arts, etc.

The Academy of Social Sciences and the Chinese Academy of Sciences thrive, as academic science is at a high level in China. They work using the Russian system, but there is a nuance. Over the past 30 years, Russia has spent about 1% of GDP on science (now it is 1.07%; in 2012, when the President’s May Edicts were issued, it was instructed to increase this figure to 1.78% by 2017). In China, expenses on science in 1949 amounted to 0.5% of GDP, and in the last 12 years – 2.4%, in the United States – 2.9%.

As for the issue of ideology that has been touched in course of the discussion, I’d like to state that ideology must be returned. We must educate patriots of our country. Let me give you an example: if China asks its scientists who work all over the world to return to the country, 99% will come back; and if we do the same, hardly 10 people will return.

A. D. KHLUTKOV: – Commenting on vivid examples from the fields of medicine and sports, we should say that not only sports and medicine, but also the entire financial system is in the hands of the same people. Attempts to correct this, to develop the national financial system, to switch to national or regional currencies in international trade meet resistance. Perhaps the main reason for our opponents’ dissatisfaction is that we ventured to rebel against the Bretton Woods system, and proposed using national financial systems, regional currencies, based on the principle of fairness, proportionality and benefits of national participants in the global economic process. Not only in medicine and sports, but in almost every industry, we can find evidence to back up our words.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – The floor is given to Academician of the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus Aleksandr Gennadievich Shumilin.

A. G. SHUMILIN: – I would like to introduce a number of economic categories into the discussion about the multipolar world, try to diagnose and determine the method of treatment. All this is required to understand the deep processes taking place today.

The cyclic nature of the economy is indisputable. Approximately every one hundred years the socioeconomic formation changes, development of economy and the state slows down, and humanity comes up with something new. In the United States of America, this change occurred at the turn of the 20–21st centuries, when the liberal economy, which was built all over the world and was based on money, demonstrated the lack of the necessary pace of development, i. e. slowdown in its development began. This was overlapped with the coronavirus pandemic. The liberal

global economy has shown its developmental inconsistency under the Covid restrictions, which outwardly manifested in vulnerability of the world system construction.

Over the past hundred years, 55% of the economical resources have migrated from the material segment to the so-called intellectual segment. Today, 55% of the world's resources is the intellectual capital, not machines, other equipment, natural resources and energy. It is safe to say that the world is ruled by technologies that increasingly determine the development of the civilization.

During the crisis, the first thing that Western countries did was disconnecting Russia from international payment systems. This limited our economies to a certain extent, but Belarus and Russia quickly coped with the problem. Besides, our countries have been restricted in technology. And it hit us harder. For example, they stopped supplying Bosch ABS systems for cars. Although they are not difficult to be made technologically, it will take time. Also, we do not have chips to manufacture microelectronics, and, as in any complex technological process, it will not be possible to quickly organize their production.

Meanwhile, the digital economy emerges, and it is pure intelligence. That is, the approach to economic processes has changed in its essence. Writing a program code does not require large investments and resources. All high-tech companies, such as Google, Microsoft, Tesla, are growing. Well-known oil campaigns are more than a hundred years old, and who knew about *Tesla* ten years ago and could imagine that today its value would be over 44 billion US dollars?

The main problem of the multipolar world is emergence of artificial intelligence. Elon Musk suggested suspending its development. But artificial intelligence has already been created, and it is better than human. Unlike our intelligence, it learns quickly. Today, a computer program draws well, writes texts, and sometimes it is even difficult to distinguish which text was written by a machine and which by a person. Computer-generated paintings, houses and land plots are already being bought in virtual reality.

We live in the ever-changing world. At present, the humanity cannot realize what development of artificial intelligence and technology will lead to. Creation of a steam locomotive, automation of production, emergence of electricity – all these discoveries led to increasing labour productivity. No one can currently predict how technology will affect the world as a whole.

A Soviet movie “Adventures of Electronic” was about a robot. And when the robot (actually artificial intelligence) was in fact designed, representatives of unfriendly countries asked how it can be stopped and limited. If there is a button, an AI can be stopped. The Electronic, that is, an artificial intelligence, at one point decided that he wanted to become a human being, get out of its creator's control and live like an ordinary person. Even then, the following idea was expressed: AI might want to become a human being. At the end of the film, Electronic voluntarily returned to its creator. What if he hadn't come back and started living among people?

When talking about the multipolar world, we understand it traditionally: as the government, the state, the people. And in ten years, a technological definition may appear. Are we ready to realize and discuss what will happen? Are we ready to compete with AI, a completely new reality that is already on the threshold? Perhaps in the future, scientists

will need to realize where to go next and how to influence these processes, which are already influencing the humanity. The multipolar world may look very much unlike the traditional models.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – There are different opinions about how the decline of Europe will happen: either it will have to be done manually, or it will just occur by itself. Aleksey Anatolievich Gromyko, Director of the RAS Institute of Europe, knows the answer to this question.

Al. A. GROMYKO: – This discussion was started by O. Spengler, and it will continue in the 21st century. At the Plenary Session and the Panel Discussion, we talked about Europe, about polycentricity, what it may be, how new centres of power will be distributed, about their combination and political geometry. But, to my mind, in the context of European studies and view of the world's state, it is necessary to say a few words about problems of arms control. This important issue has not yet been touched upon.

We often use the expression “strategic stability”, referring to the system of checks and balances that was developed in the 1960s and 1980s in relations between the USSR and the United States of America. However, the term “strategic stability” appeared only in the late 1980s. I remember from speeches and communication with Andrei Andreevich Gromyko that at that time the country's top political leaders talked about establishing military-political parity in essence. At present, the situation with strategic stability is miserable. It is considered that in the framework of strategic stability, ten agreements were concluded between the USSR (later Russia) and the USA, of which only the Treaty on Measures for Further Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (START III) is actually in effect. Russia suspended its participation in the START III Treaty after 20 years of its implementation, after the United States, neglecting the strategic stability, withdrew from the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Systems Limitation Treaty in 2002.

I must say that in our case this is just suspension of the START III Treaty, not withdrawal from it. The Treaty was signed in Prague in 2010, and its validity period ends in 2026. The Treaty has been suspended, but the Parties to it continue to comply with the Agreement between Moscow and Washington on Notifications of Launches of Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles signed in 1988.

Now experts are elaborating scenarios of what will happen if a new form of the Treaty is not proposed in 2026, which could replace START III. They recall the fate of the START II Treaty, which was not ratified by the US Congress in 1979, but until 1984, the Parties adhered to the principles specified in it.

Today the important factor is China, which continues to actively and rapidly increase its nuclear triad. According to American experts' forecasts, by 2030, China will have created about one thousand nuclear warheads, and by 2035 – one and a half thousand units, that is, in fact, it can match Russia and the United States by this indicator. Since the time of D. Trump's presidency, Washington has been doing everything to involve China in negotiations on strategic stability.

In 2023, Russia (represented by its President) raised the demand that France and Great Britain should also join these negotiations, since de facto, and in some ways de jure, their

nuclear arsenals are part of the combined military power of NATO. There are other negotiation “strings” for involving them in discussing this issue, since these countries are members of the official nuclear club and permanent members of the UN Security Council.

Today, the European security system actually has ceased to exist. Its remains are in ruins. One of the root causes of this is NATO’s expansion, about which much has been said over the past 30 years. Russia, the State Duma and the Federation Council recently denounced Russia’s participation in the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE Treaty), transferring to the legal field what has de facto been happening with the CFE Treaty for 20 years, if we recall the history of this issue, starting with the Istanbul Summit of 1999 (confidence and security measures in Europe under the OSCE umbrella, the Vienna documents, etc.).

But I must say that communication is still maintained between Russia and the leading military command structures of the West, the United States and NATO, and, if necessary, the Defense Ministers and the Chiefs of the General Staff can be in touch. We have seen this several times in 2022–2023. The Agreements (they were concluded between the USSR and the USA in 1972 and 1989) are also observed, in order to avoid incidents on the high seas, in airspace, and conducting dangerous military activities.

As for the Russia – NATO Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security, the Parties have not yet declared that it is null, but de facto it is. NATO’s eastern flank is turning into a kind of a bastion. There, the infrastructure and contingent of troops are increasing from the battalion level to the brigade level: about 40 thousand NATO troopers are quartered in the countries comprising the eastern flank.

I wonder what will happen at the Vilnius NATO Summit in July this year. There are grounds for believing that NATO may move from the concept of flexible response to the concept of prohibiting access or prohibiting enemy attacks; in other words, the number of military personnel, warehouses and, accordingly, infrastructure in countries that border with Russia or are in close proximity to it, will continue to increase. Let me remind you that Finland has already joined NATO, and Sweden may also join this organization in 2023.

The issue of security is very important for Europe, as well as for us and other countries, in particular, in terms of the situation’s development after the USA’s withdrawal from the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. In the USA, the ship multi-functional combat information and control mobile missile system Typhon, which is capable of firing Tomahawk cruise missiles and SM-6 anti-aircraft hypersonic missiles, has already been developed and even engaged in experimental firing and testing.

In principle, nothing, even in theory, can guarantee that in two or three years new medium- and shorter-range ground attack systems will not appear in the territory of Europe. This is directly related not only to the European theater of military operations, but also to the nuclear doctrine. If this happens, the flight time to Moscow, Saint Petersburg and other decision-making centres (in the political and military spheres) will be 2–3 minutes, not 8–10, as it is now. And then, according to the experts, there will be

no other way out than to make a decision on transition from the retaliatory strike concept to the concept of a preemptive strike. The situation will be much more risky and uncertain than it is today.

In 1968, when the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was signed and its ratification began, only five countries owned such weapons (China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States); to date, nine countries have already joined the Treaty (including India, Pakistan, Israel, and North Korea). In the West, they say Iran is highly likely to join these countries sooner or later. Recently, we have heard statements from high officials of Saudi Arabia, South Korea and Japan that if the situation changes, these countries may think about producing their own nuclear systems.

Now, I’d like to say a few words about the statement that everything in Europe currently revolves around the Ukrainian crisis. It is not so much self-sufficient as it has exposed contradictions in international relations that have appeared even before 2022; by the way, the same thing can be said about the pandemic in 2020. In the spring of 2020, much has been written about the chance the world has finally obtained to jointly confront the common threat, forget about contradictions, bury the hatchet, etc. But the COVID-19 pandemic has led to just the opposite result.

The Ukrainian crisis has developed along divergent trajectories: the more Russia defended Minsk-2, the more actively the other party developed plans to inflate the confrontation. Now in Ukraine, the West is waging a de facto proxy war against our country. This is a huge challenge. The situation, as it has been said more than once today, is very tense, but in the coming years we will have to deal with this fact anyway – with maximizing the tasks to achieve the goals that were set in February 2022.

Having risen to the global level, we can say that in the coming years, there will be the struggle for minds and wallets, and for hearts of the global South. The centres of power are in the West and in the East, and it is clear that no one can become a leader and gain a foothold in these positions alone. It is necessary to gather coalitions of those who want to do it, albeit informal; but to do it together with those who share our views, tactical or strategic.

Assuming that external factors will provide maximum opportunities for development is wrong. The society and economy of a country that claims leadership should be stress-resistant. This country needs to have the ability to regulate conflicts in its sphere of influence. For example, recently the Kremlin made a big step forward in settlement of the relations between Yerevan and Baku.

The last thing I’d like to draw your attention to in the context of strategic planning is that we must make forecasts based on the less convenient scenarios, and not the best ones. If we assume that the situation will develop according to a less favorable scenario, and respectively prepare for the fact that much more reserves and potential will be spent than in a more favorable scenario, then this will be the key to our success and victory.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – Aleksei Anatolievich, you said that in the short term, the East may determine the future. I would like to develop this topic. The floor is given to the teacher from Norway, Jan Stokseth.

J. STOKSETH: – I will express a few thoughts, but I will start with the words that seem to me more beautiful and important than the sayings by Henrik Ibsen, Dostoevsky, or Tolstoy. I hope you will understand where these words come from. This is the basis of our culture, and it is very important to keep this in mind when discussing the multipolar world that we may be heading toward. These are the words, “And God created man in His own image. In the image of God He created him; male and female He created them. And God blessed them, and God said to them, Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth, and possess it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over every animal that creeps on the earth.”

In the world on the threshold of which we stand, these words can be regarded as hateful, since they indicate differences, for example, two sexes are distinguished: there is a man and there is a woman. In the new world, it is used as a weapon, mainly against Russia, Iran, Hungary, because the leaders of these countries say that there are two sexes. And when we imagine the multipolar world, I also see it divided into two poles.

There are people who profess different religions – Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism, Islam. They will say that there are two sexes – man and woman. And this is the basis of their picture of the world. In Norway and in the West in general, this is the main point for attacks on these countries. It’s childish, but it really is.

Let us take Hungary as an example. In this country, the standard of living is growing, people are happy, but in Norwegian and Western newspapers its residents are considered homophobic. As Maria Vladimirovna said, mentioning Philadelphia, it does not matter whether the standard of living in your country is high or low if you are homophobic. And in future, transgender people will appear on this path. And what is transgenderism? In my mind or in my dark imagination, this is just a rehearsal for transhumanism. It is about artificial intelligence and the combination, fusion of man and machine. It’s possible. Scientists have made significant, if I may say so, progress in this area. So transgenderism may be needed to prepare us for the future with transpeople.

To my mind, in the multipolar world, there will be a division into believers, for whom religion determines the concepts “man” and “woman”, and those who go beyond this platform and for whom everything becomes possible. If we are created by God, then we have a certain responsibility. If we are descended from nature, then it is a matter of survival of the strongest. In this case, everything is allowed. You have no moral obligations if there is no starting point, at which the Lord determines your existence.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – The floor is given to Vladimir Konstantinovich Mamontov, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the newspaper “Komsomolskaya Pravda”.

V. K. MAMONTOV: – Discussions held at the Likhachov Conference are very interesting and represent a kaleidoscope of opinions. Then there comes the one who arranges the pieces of glass in various colored patterns. This is highly valuable.

I don’t quite understand the term “multipolarity”. From the school physics, I know that there are only two poles, for example, in the radio tube, there is a cathode and an an-

ode. Everything else is various adjustments. The story that we lived in the bipolar world, and now the unipolar one is coming, is unbelievable. This situation is impossible, even according to school physics, not to mention the advanced sciences.

I like to restore old equipment, among which I single out the Soviet radio set “Symphony” (player and radio receiver), one of the best tube radios. Talented scientists worked on its creation, who, by the way, also launched Gagarin into space and created the nuclear reactor.

If we survive the current stage, and the multipolar world is created, I will say, “Stay, fleeting moment! You’re divine!” But today nothing will come of this, as we do not yet know how long the balanced post-war situation will last. In fact, the current situation resembles the one that developed after 1945, when everyone was already tired of the war: having counted the losses (except for Americans, who counted their profits), the people said, “Let there be multipolar world at least for a while.” But this situation did not last long. We have seen how this can work and by what efforts it is achieved.

However, I feel that the “Symphony” with its old radio tubes will not last long. People who own technology and have different views of how the world should develop will come and say, “Remove the lamps!”

In the course of today’s discussion, it was already mentioned that there is a struggle for hearts, minds and wallets. But contradictions constantly arise. And if the wonderful time comes – the multipolar world, and no war, – it would be great! It would have been a symphony reminiscent of the old days, which, as it turns out, are possible, but we have forgotten a bit about them.

I like stories about artificial intelligence. I believe that all this is targeted at perfection of man, his immortality, prolongation of life. If in the past the one-legged John Silver had a wooden leg, now athletes use high-tech prostheses. Cyborgs, which were embodied on the screen by A. Schwarzenegger, are the path to immortality. Computer technology is the way to make the human brain more perfect.

God said: go and own (birds, fish, etc.). But we burn ourselves in the furnace of evolution, producing transhumanism, etc. When all this is merged, a new monster will arise. The story about artificial intelligence is from the same series. It was impossible to imagine even yesterday.

I consider everything that happens at the Likhachov Conference useful and important. The kaleidoscope of opinions is being created. When you look at its arrangement, you see that the beautiful pattern is formed from various pieces of glass. And we make our small contribution to gradual buildup of this pattern.

J. STOKSETH: – One very interesting point concerning the subject of your speech. If cyborgs or transpeople appear, will they be responsible for their actions? For example, if one person kills another, (s)he will be tried. If a cyborg or somebody with an artificial intelligence kills somebody else, will he be legally responsible for his deed? What will the man be like?

V. K. MAMONTOV: – I will give a short and truthful answer in the style of “Komsomolskaya Pravda”: I don’t know, I’m not sure. This is a matter of our responsibility.

But by and large, everyone is responsible for tomorrow's events. Let's admit that my intelligence will be transferred to a new, more durable medium. Am I responsible for this? Probably, yes. But is there anything I can really do about it? I don't know, I'm not sure.

M. V. ZAKHAROVA: – Your words can be regarded as an indicator of the problem. You propose to look into the future and answer the question whether an artificial intelligence or some creature based on artificial intelligence will be responsible for killing a man. Today, if one person kills another, the criminal must be held accountable. But the problem is that this is not quite true. We have exhausted all possibilities to follow this path. What kind of responsibility there is in this case? Moral? The society is ready to justify the criminal, having provided him with medicines and psychologists to make him less nervous, and saying that he is not to be blamed for what happened, because circumstances forced him to do this. Legal responsibility? This is a question of money (it is not about corruption or illegitimate use of it) and quality of defence (lawyers, involvement of the media capable to make a hero out of him, etc.).

What responsibility did the Norwegian terrorist A. Breivik take? He killed a huge number of young people with extreme cruelty and invented a political and ethical basis for his deed. For many people, he became a hero. And as the result, he received the most comfortable conditions of stay in the penitentiary institution (it can't be called a prison), more like a nursery in an Ikea store, as well as attention of the media, which satisfied his painful ambitions, and endless justifications for his actions by political scientists, experts, psychologists, etc. He became an iconic figure. Humanity must take responsibility for such actions, but, unfortunately, it does not, and the system of progress supports this irresponsible behavior.

In order to be saved, we need to think not about whether an artificial intelligence will take responsibility in the future or not, but about whether the current natural intelligence of a man will enable him to bear such a responsibility. Because a man can be saved only if he is responsible for himself.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – The Likhachov Conference welcomes Mr. Guy Mettan, a representative of Switzerland. Please, you have the floor.

G. METTAN: – I would like to highlight historical prospects for developing the multipolar world. I believe that creation of the multipolar world has never been so close to success. There are three reasons for this.

The first reason is that many things have changed over a hundred years. For example, the Cold War and the bipolar world no longer exist. During the Cold War, there was no opportunity to create the multipolar world, since the main task of all countries was to maintain balance between the United States and the USSR.

The second reason is also related to the Cold War. Now there are no hundred states that would claim to be a centre of power. Five or six strong powers are enough to form poles. Besides, the countries are not divided, they cooperate in the framework of the SCO and other organizations, i. e. there is no separation, and the states desire to cooperate.

The third reason is the existence of the unipolar world: the United States and its vassals. But this single pole

has undergone a significant reduction. The situation has changed, compared, for example, to one after the Second World War, when in 1945, the United States provided 40% of the world's economic development, while today this share is only 18–20%. Its influence has been reduced twofold, which indicates prerequisites for transition to the multipolar world.

But in order for multipolarity to be successful, three problems need to be solved. The first problem is that currently, the West still dominates the world and controls the entire narrative, using various fake values, such as democracy, human rights, ecology. This narrative should be questioned and revised, in order to succeed. The second problem is that the West still dominates the financial sector. Dollariization of the economy has significantly increased the West's dominance and control, and measures to be taken in this area should include controlling debt and overcoming dominance. The third problem is that multipolarity implies several centres, so it is not a united world. Now the West will strive to apply the "divide and rule" policy, therefore it is necessary to prevent the policy of dividing and stimulating conflicts by the West between various countries, such as India and China. The West will try to do so, but the attempts must be stopped.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – To expand this idea, I would like to give the floor to Professor Olivier Roqueplo from Sorbonne University.

O. ROQUEPLO: – First of all, I want to speak about history. The moment we are in today seems to be similar to the period before one very important event of which we almost forgot. Perhaps, it was the very first world war. I mean the Seven Years' War. England, France, Prussia, Austria, Spain and Portugal, as well as Russia, participated in it. Military operations took place both in Europe and overseas: in the North America, the Caribbean countries, India, and the Philippines. This war is considered colonial, since it was a collision of colonial interests of Great Britain and France.

Multipolarity, first and foremost, means the end of colonialism, which originated in 1763 with the victory of England over France in the Seven Years' War. The colonialism that we know is engendered by the British.

Why do I talk about this today? If the trends of philosophy, culture, politics, economics coincide, you can guess what will happen. In Western Europe and the USA, we witness the end of rationalism, democracy, liberalism. In France, they begin to openly state that principles of liberalism (separation of legislative, executive and judicial authorities) are no longer important and the parliament does not play any role, since the president ignores it.

For comprehending what development opportunities remain, it would be interesting to compare the world of the early 18th century and one of the early 21st century. Modern Europe is similar to the one that existed at the beginning of the 18th century, that is, before the colonial era. Modern China is similar to the great China of the beginning of the Qin Dynasty. The Spanish-speaking world is as important today as before. Turkey and Iran are striving to regain their former status.

In conclusion, I will add that colonialism as the main tool of globalization has almost disappeared, but not yet completely, and now it is destroying itself. Today we are

witnessing the phenomenon of self-colonialism, because colonialism has not disappeared from the minds of people who live in Europe and North America.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – Dmitry Babich, a columnist for the news agency “RIA Novosti”, Member of the Union of Journalists of Russia.

D. O. BABICH: – I think everyone noticed that in March this year, a so-called arrest warrant was issued for the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin. But since Russia did not join the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court in The Hague, its decisions are insignificant for us. Nevertheless, I suggest recalling similar cases when the International Court of Justice attempted to judge the state leaders, and what this led to. Initially, it was assumed that the main purpose of such decisions was moral condemnation by the people of the country which is headed by the leader. Therefore, when this illegal, from my point of view, decision regarding Vladimir Putin appeared, the Berliner Zeitung newspaper published the review article considering whether it was possible to get the population to condemn their leader at least once.

The most interesting data in this regard is related to the Nuremberg Tribunal. When the Nazi criminals were tried, the German population was strongly opposed to them. It must be admitted that back then, the United States tried to convince the Germans living in the territories controlled by Americans that they, the Americans, have nothing against the people of Germany, but condemn only the Nazi bosses who unleashed this terrible war. According to sociological studies, during the Nuremberg Tribunal most of the German people demanded harsh punishments for the Nazi criminals. But then, in the 1960s, when Hannah Arendt and other German philosophers and historians who left for the United States began to claim that not only Hitler and his henchmen were to blame, but also the society that allowed that situation, the mood of the Germans began to change. They began to state that the Nuremberg Tribunal was unfair. This happens after any war: whoever wins, judges the defeated. I think we all here believe that it was necessary to condemn the Nazi criminals, of course, and imposition of the blame on society is to some extent justified. Nevertheless, fluctuations in public opinion are of a certain interest.

It is curious that this phenomenon repeated, as the authors of the article in the Berliner Zeitung noted, after the war in Yugoslavia. The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) was established in 1993, and Russia supported its creation in the UN Security Council, because we expected it to be a fair court. Russia’s representative to the UN Security Council, Yuri Vorontsov, speaking after the vote, said that for the first time, it is not the winner who judges the defeated, but the entire international community, represented by the tribunal, will render its verdict to those who trample not only the norms of international law, but also simply human ideas about humanness. As Maria Vladimirovna said, we really wanted to believe then, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, that humanity had come to accord, and we would build beautiful and just life together. But, alas, we know the results of the ICTY: 92 convicts were Serbs, 33 – Croats, 8 – Kosovo Albanians, 7 – Bosnian Muslims. That is, the Serbs made up the absolute majority of those convicted. But the most terrible

thing is (and this was noticed in the Berliner Zeitung) that the Serbian people did not accept the decision of the tribunal. When former members of the Serbian military leadership were released, they were greeted with flowers. That is, the tribunal actually turned out to be illegitimate. You see, the fiasco is not even that not all the perpetrators were brought to justice, but that there were more Serbs among those convicted than representatives of other ethnic groups. It is obvious that at that time the system began slipping.

And it has completely failed in Africa, when it was not even possible to detain Sudanese President Omar Al-Bashir, although by that time he had already been overthrown. Now there seems to be nothing preventing his extradition, but the Africans are in no hurry to do it.

The decision regarding our president was clearly made for political reasons and is intended primarily to limit his opportunities for foreign visits. However, it misses the mark because it is not supported by public opinion in Russia and in many other countries, especially in the global South. Why, by the way, did the African Union help bring Omar Al-Bashir to justice? Not because it took his side in the civil war in Sudan. It’s just that Africans know that the situation is very complicated, it does not fit into the Hollywood template of “good guy versus bad guy”. In the Sudanese case, it is almost impossible to determine who is right and who is wrong, but Americans and Europeans pretend that everything is clear to them.

It turns out that the humanity, primarily through efforts of the West, has lost its ability to determine truly common values for all. Therefore, we can say that the international justice system is in the state of crisis, and its urgent reform is required. To my mind, this reform should provide for increase in the weight of non-Western countries in international justice, for the purpose of preventing repetition of the case as with Omar Al-Bashir. Before judging an African, ask the Africans what they think about this. Before judging a participant in the war in Yugoslavia, ask the citizens of the countries that were parts of the federation. I am convinced that this is the principle that we should defend.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – I hope that the experience and traditions to be developed by us will become the basis for future reforming of international law. This will make it possible in the future to make right decisions in the most difficult situations in the multipolar world, so that they serve the cause of progress and creation.

The floor is given to Vitaly Nikolayevich Punchenko.

V. N. PUNCHENKO: – We talk about multipolarity, implying that the poles can be represented by large states that meet certain criteria: strong army, diplomacy, GDP and other resources. However, let’s look at it from the point of view of small- and medium-sized states that do not have such resources, and not only from the position of their governments, but also with the eyes of their people. Is it possible to imagine a more compromising image of the future multipolar, post-conflict world? Most likely, it will be the world in which each state can be considered a separate pole, since it will independently determine its place in geopolitics, without fearing to lose its subjectivity and dissolve due to the gravity of large poles. This is not an easy way. Belarus and Russia are passing it right now. Perhaps the history of Belarusian-Russian integration will eventually reveal to

the world a new format of multipolarity – the union of the two poles strong in their own way, in fact, two cores of one pole. I believe that multi-core poles are quite possible. And if our experience turns out to be successful, then, of course, it will spread.

We notice much attention to the integration processes from other member countries of the EAEU, the SCO, and other associations. Therefore, the most efficient journey to multipolarity is creating the territory of success. This is not easy, because we mean not only the economy, but also values and perceptions of each other. Not all issues are settled or even discussed, we often keep silent about topics that we consider potentially conflicting. However, differences in ideologies are not a vulnerability, but an advantage to be used to its maximum. Therefore, we need to conduct more intensive research, implement analytical media projects, and develop the mutually respectful expert dialogue. This is already being implemented, but there is still a long and difficult way ahead.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – I invite to the microphone Professor Vladimir Aleksandrovich Shamakhov.

V. A. SHAMAKHOV: – I am an engineer by my first education, so I have rather mundane views. I believe that any indicator should be measurable. In general, no one has yet officially formulated the criteria of multipolarity. In my opinion, this has to be done, because, using this term, different people may mean not quite the same thing. Probably, we will still consider states as the poles and, accordingly, their economy, military potential, technological development (although the latter is unlikely to be decisive). But traditional values, religion and culture continue to be in the first place. In this regard, I would like to thank Aleksandr Sergeyevich Zapesotsky and his colleagues once again for continuing to deal with the topic of the dialogue of cultures; after all, this is the key thing in the modern world, and, to my mind, the situation will not change in the future.

Losing to us in traditional values, our opponents seem to have decided to bet on electronic technologies like transhumanism. However, this destructive trend threatens to destroy not only culture, but also the familiar world in general. The worst thing is that it is aimed primarily at children. We talk a lot about the future as the world in which today's youth will live, but a person's worldview solidifies much earlier, so it is necessary to appropriately educate children in elementary schools and even in kindergartens. We discuss problems of higher education that need to be solved, forgetting about secondary school, though reforms are also required there. During the Soviet period, educational work at schools was conducted at a superior level.

And, of course, we cannot do without ideology. Here the choice is simple: if there is no ideology of our own, it will be someone else's. Therefore the ideology based on traditional values is very much in demand today, and ideological work should be carried out starting from the children of preschool age. We must unite our efforts in fighting for minds of next generations, and therefore for the country's future.

M. V. ZAKHAROVA: – As for transgender people, transhumanism and many other technologies, I want to give an example illustrating the benefits of such "achievements".

In the late 1950s, twins were born in Canada – two boys. Both had a minor medical problem that required surgery. One was properly operated, and he became healthy, and with the other boy, a medical mistake was made, which put an end to his reproductive function. And then an American doctor who dealt with issues of child and gender psychology joined in to solve the problem. He offered to change the child's gender. He explained to the parents that babies did not understand whether they were boys or girls, so we would correct the child's anatomy, and you will raise him as a girl, later we would add hormones.

How did this story end? By the age of 15, the child had committed several suicide attempts. The parents decided to disclose to the child what had happened shortly after his birth. Having reached adulthood, the young person rushed to a surgeon – to regain his natural sex. After the operation, everything seemed to be fine, he even got married. But the imbalance created over the years turned out to be so traumatic that at the age of 38, he still committed a suicide. His brother did the same, because for some reason he considered himself guilty of the tragedy. What a terrible story!

But what happened to that American doctor? Nothing! He did not admit his mistake, and the society did not condemn him. He lived a long life, wrote articles, gave interviews.

So, the most terrible thing is that such practices have now become the new normality. We make a mistake when we say that this is just fashion, and it will pass soon. It will not pass by itself if we do not fight these ugly phenomena in the most resolute way.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – Yes, it's true. And now I propose to listen to the opinion of sociologists. Sergey Grigorievich Musienko, please, you are given the floor.

S. G. MUSIENKO: – Yesterday at the Plenary Session Valery Aleksandrovich Chereshev expressed the idea which seems to me very important – that science is an integral part of culture. It resonates with the idea of Sergey Georgievich Kara-Murza, who wrote the book "Ideology and its Mother Science" 20 years ago. Today, ideology must be approached from the scientific point of view. In this regard, it is difficult to overestimate the role of the Likhachov Conference, which has been broadcasting this understanding for decades. Today we see the fierce ideological struggle, when monuments are demolished, symbols are banned and entire cultures are abolished.

At one time, in my Candidate thesis, I tried to prove that the elite of the state are those people who are responsible (and aware of this responsibility) for the past, present and future of their country. In the National Security Strategy of Russia issued in 2021, there are words about protection of traditional spiritual and moral values, culture and historical memory. In two years, this Strategy has largely lost its relevance. However, the Concept of Security was developed in Belarus 25 years ago! Therefore, I propose to use opportunities provided by the Likhachov Conference to put forward some proposals regarding the future concept of the security of the Union State, which sooner or later will have to be jointly adopted. We were working on such a document in Belarus, but with the beginning of the Special Military Operation (SVO), we suspended this activity because it got clear that many changes would have to be made to it

later. In my opinion, this new concept should have the section “Cultural Security” based on “Declaration of Cultural Rights” created by Academician Likhachov in cooperation with SPbUHSS. In response to Academician Shumilin’s concerns, I can say that only culture can prevent the negative consequences that development of artificial intelligence can entail.

I have a feeling that the ideas of UNOVIS (the Affirmers of New Art), the association created in 1920 by Malevich, are now being implemented in the West. Anyway, this style has been adopted by designers of branded cars, clothing, etc. This leads to their self-destruction, so our task is to prevent such phenomena from occurring in our reality.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – And another sociologist from the Republic of Belarus Irina Valerievna Lashuk. You are welcome.

I. V. LASHUK: – I have been engaged in sociology of culture for many years – the area that is currently often called culture sociology, and for many years I have been stating that culture determines a lot in various areas of life. But, since the topic of culture is not among the key ones at the University of Economics, I performed a sociological study and received quantitative data showing (in percentages!) the contribution of the sociocultural component to economic, sociopolitical and cultural development of society. Expanding the topic, I began to study such a phenomenon as sociocultural consolidation of the society. I agree with the idea of measurable indicators, but how can such consolidation be expressed in numbers? In this regard, I will take the liberty and advertise my work, in which I offer tools that are useful, in my opinion. If we join forces to monitor this most important area – the socio-cultural one, it will be our great victory. And let’s remember that this field takes a long time, many years, to form, but later it is almost impossible to destroy it.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – Galina Valerievna Naumova, writer, translator, anthropologist. You are given the floor.

G. V. NAUMOVA: – Probably, the term “cultural anthropologist” is the most fitting for my specialization. Like Vladimir Aleksandrovich, I think we lack a precise definition of multipolarity. The world-famous political scientist of the 20th century, Samuel Huntington, proposed his own version (perhaps the most correct one), assuming identification by a cultural principle. What is this principle? This is a whole set of criteria combined according to the magnet model, as Maria Vladimirovna said. Such “magnets” attract common structures of collective thinking and action. A good example is the collective West. Huntington does not talk about cultural diversity of the West, but considers the West as an integral phenomenon. Slavic-Orthodox countries are one civilization, Hindu countries are another. The Chinese civilization stands apart, and Huntington defines it on the basis of Confucianism, and this is correct, because religion plays the fundamental role for identification. And, of course, the countries of Islam also represent a separate civilization.

Cultural identification includes the whole set of anthropological features that determine the relationship between a man and a woman, a person’s attitude to death, time, na-

ture, etc. The latter factor plays a huge role in Confucianism and other archaic cultures, for which nature is the meaning of existence, it is their symbol. Today, the problem of human survival has become more acute and is associated with such phenomena as transhumanism and artificial intelligence. When I met Marvin Minsky in Massachusetts in the second half of the 1990s, in the course of our conversation he was suddenly lost in thought for a long time, and then said: “We will take the soul away, the soul interferes.” In my opinion, this is the answer to all questions: no soul – no God, which means there is neither spirituality nor morality.

In order for humanity to survive, we all need to join our efforts and work out some common solutions, and this requires thinking on a planetary scale. But at the same time, we, Russians, need to realize at last that we will never be close to the West, so we should not trust it. Every time we talk about the Russian soul at a conference, colleagues from Western countries get extremely agitated. It is the Russian soul that irritates them, and it is our greatest value which we must preserve, despite all historical twists and turns.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – We will listen with pleasure and attention to Yekaterina Vladimirovna Radevich.

Ye. V. RADEVICH: – As philosophers, we know that culture is a very multifaceted phenomenon, which can be regarded from different points of view, while applying informational, activity-based, semiotic and other approaches. Philosophy studies any problem in dynamics, but as far as culture is concerned, I, as a philosopher, insist on the axiological approach. Culture is, first and foremost, the system of values, which forms the core of cultural tradition in any society. And this is what may help avoid the divergence that we are witnessing today. It is the culture comprehended in terms of the axiological approach.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – Professor Dmitry Valentinovich Mosyakov, please, you are given the floor.

D. V. MOSYAKOV: – During our discussions, many interesting ideas were expressed. Firstly, Maria Vladimirovna voiced her wonderful idea about the struggle between culture and anti-culture. Which one of them will win? A society with a highly developed culture consists of people who are used to taking into account other people, there are a lot of restrictions for them. A lack of culture means absence of red lines, when people do not consider it necessary to curb their darkest instincts. What can be opposed to them? History knows many examples when barbarian tribes turned out to be stronger than highly developed civilizations and destroyed them. Therefore, this problem is not only philosophical, it requires the search for a practical solutions.

Secondly, we live within the new system of international relations. International law is actually invalid, and any conflict is resolved under the rules that regularly change in accordance with interests of those who set these rules. At present, for example, conflicts arise every now and then over decisions made by the West. The historical context does not matter, and conflict resolution is performed on the basis of the current circumstances. A good example is the dispute between the Philippines and China over some islands and waters in the South China Sea. Court decisions

have been made in favor of the Philippines, but the Philippines cannot take advantage of this, because China is a larger and more powerful country, and has a strong army.

Thirdly, the culture of compromise seems to be a thing of the past. Peace-loving communities wishing to resolve the conflict try to find a compromise and make peace as soon as possible. Today we see a different logic: let's fight until one of us wins, and then we will be ready to negotiate the terms of the peace agreement.

Finally, fourthly, everything is shrouded in such a phenomenon as post-truth. In my opinion, post-truth is one of the most powerful tools of information warfare and pressure on the opponent. What is it? Post-truth is obtained when some nuances are added to the true information, which are beneficial to those who transmit it. It is especially scary that these sources have monopoly on information, they have the largest audiences, their version is always considered the main one, and others can only publish refutations.

All these new realities represent a kind of an integrity in which we already live. We need to fully realize this and think about strategies to help in this difficult situation.

Maria Vladimirovna expressed another interesting idea – about global hoaxes. Indeed, we observe simultaneous existence of all the principles I have described, and as a result, a certain picture develops. And here I want to recall the history of Ancient Greece, in which there was multipolarity (Athens, Sparta, Thebes), followed by a period of non-polarity, disintegration, and after that the Macedonians came.

In the future, events may develop in different ways, but we must find solutions. How to live in absence of universal international law, how to respond to the post-truth, etc.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – Maria Vladimirovna Zakharova, your remark, please.

M. V. ZAKHAROVA: – What is the main purpose of culture? In the number of theaters, museums, stadiums? Of course, not. Culture is one of the ways to preserve the man in his nature, in the human essence, in the part that distinguishes us from all other animals, even such intelligent ones as dolphins.

In 2004, I came to Washington for the first time. And in my parents' family there was a rule: in any city, first of all, visit its main museum – art, historical, local history – basically, the most representative one. And I went to the National Gallery of Art. Let me remind you that the Gallery exists largely due to donated private collections and donations. I reached the hall of medieval Western European art, walked past the sculpture composition in the centre, and suddenly an African-American caretaker of about 55 years old stopped me. "Wait, madam!" My first reaction was, "Oh, my God, what rules have I broken?" And he replied, "I work here, and what you can see are, of course, great masterpieces. But I would put your shoes on this pedestal."

It's funny only at the first glance. It turned out that all visitors come to the Gallery in sneakers, and not only to the gallery: they wear sports shoes to theaters, and to visit someone, and generally everywhere. And I was wearing elegant shoes. That is, the meaning of culture is not only to collect great works of art for everyone to see. A person should maintain an understanding that theater and museum are spaces different from everyday life. You are in contact

with the beautiful, and if you have the appropriate look, this indicates your personal culture.

I think we need to return to deeper and eternal meanings. Previous generations have created a lot of things for us, and our task is not only to use this heritage, but also to develop and improve it.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – The floor is given to Ruslan Vasilievich Kostyuk. You are welcome.

R. V. KOSTYUK: – Talking about multipolarity and problems of the new geopolitics, we often use such expressions as "collective West", "golden billion", etc. These are pretty wordings; however, we must comprehend that in fact there is no internal unity among the countries of the West. The now active socio-class protest movement shows how many contradictions there are in Western European societies. The functioning of the European social model raises many questions, at least the leaders of the left-wing parties and the modern trade union movement have been talking about this for a long time. Unemployment, growth of prices and utility tariffs, decrease in the citizens' purchasing power, together with the ongoing policy of privatization, raising the retirement age and other actions of the authorities – all these are manifestations of the neoliberalism policy. This policy faces criticism from the left and the right, so the trend toward radicalization of socio-political life becomes increasingly pronounced. In 2022–2023, the protest movement in Western European countries – Germany, France, Great Britain, in the south of the continent – became more active.

In this regard, I will note one important point. During the Cold War, the struggle for social and labour rights in capitalist countries was an important topic of all the congresses of the CPSU, this movement was seen as an ally of the USSR. And it wasn't just words, it was a real situation. Today we have no such allies. In European countries, the position of the leading left-wing parties and the trade union movement – both industry trade unions and pan-European ones – is negative regarding Russia's actions. Nevertheless, these movements strike blows at the socio-political situation in Western European countries. Recent events in France have shown this, as well as the fact that methods used by Macron, the representative of French liberalism, are not liberal at all. As the result, he is criticized by radical representatives of both the left and right flanks. Examples of this kind can be seen not only in France. Therefore, to my mind, we should analyze these phenomena in terms of changes in modern international relations.

I. I. BUZOVSKY: – I remember the old Soviet film "Time Has Chosen Us". The picture was about the Great Patriotic War, but today I would like to repeat the words: time has chosen us. You and I. In order to test us once again. Of course, these are not the horrors that our grandfathers had to go through, but what we are going through today is also the hardest test. I know that the light will win. It is also inspiring that the leaders of our states, Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin and Aleksandr Grigorievich Lukashenko, are not functionaries, but persons who sincerely worry about the present and the future.

Thank you for participating in today's insightful and interesting discussion.

INDEX OF NAMES

- Akayev A. A. 16
Atlagic S. 20
Babich D. O. 22, 127, 128, 141
Bondar N. S. 23
Buzovsky I. I. 116, 127, 131, 133–144
Chereshnev V. A. 113, 135, 136
Denisov A. I. 125, 126
De Vega J. M. D. 27
Drapeko Ye. G. 33, 115
Galice G. 35
Garbovsky N. K. 38, 118
Goddard Ch. 41
Gromyko Al. A. 44, 119, 123, 137
Guseinov A. A. 46, 116
Gusman M. S. 114
Isaev A. K. 48
Karpovich O. G. 52
Kevin A. 56
Khabrieva T. Ya. 60
Khlutkov A. D. 64, 119, 133, 136
Kostikova O. I. 66
Kostina A. V. 70
Kostyuk R. V. 144
Köchler H. 73
Lashuk I. V. 143
Makarov Ye. I. 76
Maksimov A. S. 116
Mamontov V. K. 118, 139
Mettan G. 79, 122, 140
Mezhevich N. M. 64
Mosyakov D. V. 82, 143
Musienko S. G. 142
Naumova G. V. 129, 143
Punchenko V. N. 141
Radevich Ye. V. 143
Roqueplo O. 86, 117, 122, 129, 140
Sanaci M. 95, 117, 127
Shamakhov V. A. 142
Shmakov M. V. 99, 112, 124
Shumilin A. G. 102, 136
Stokseth J. 106, 139
Yakovenko A. V. 108
Zakharova M. V. 114, 124, 131, 133–136, 140, 142, 144
Zapesotsky A. S. 112–129, 131

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About the University

St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences was established by the Trade Unions of Russia on October 9th, 1926. Its first task originally was to educate trade unions' leaders for socialist countries and institutions of culture and tourism. Since 1992 this institution of higher education has been working in the status of university educating specialists for a market system that has grown in our country. For the last 25 years SPbUHSS has become one of the leaders of higher education in Russia. Today there are more than 8000 students here. The University has 5 branches in Russia: Kirov, Krasnoyarsk, Moskovsky region — “Institution of Arts and IT” (Zelenograd), Samara and one abroad — in the Republic of Kazakhstan.

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More than 45 000 different specialists have received their degrees of higher education since the time SPbUHSS became a university.

The University collaborates with the Russian Academy of Sciences, the State Duma, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Russian Academy of Education, creative unions of Russia, regional administrations, scientific journals, and academies of science in different countries. Our partners are universities of Russia, Western Europe, the USA, Asia we have student and professor exchanges and joint researches. Among the most famous scientific researches of the University there is “the Declaration of the Rights of Culture” developed under the direction of academician D. Likhachov. The culture-centred model of university was recognized by the Russian Academy of Sciences as the most innovative and perspective for Russia in the 21st century.

20 scientific conferences take place in SPbUHSS annually, including the International Likhachov Scientific Conference — the largest forum of humanitarian knowledge in Russia. In 2001, by a special decree of the President of Russia, the Conference became the state conference. Since 2007 the Conference has been organized with the help of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia.



The Proceedings of the 21st International Likhachov Scientific Conference held on May 25–26, 2023 in St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences were published in the present collection in accordance with the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation V. V. Putin No. 587, May 23, 2001 “On perpetuating the memory of Dmitry Sergeyeovich Likhachov”. Representatives of 11 countries took part in the 21st Conference.

The 44 authors of the collection include prominent national scientists, members of the Russian Academy of Sciences: A. A. Akayev, Al. A. Gromyko, A. A. Guseynov, A. S. Zapesotsky, T. Ya. Khabrieva, V. A. Chereshnev and others; the heads of academic institutions and research centres, university professors, well-known state and public figures, representatives of mass media: Member of the State Council of the Russian Federation, Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia M. V. Shmakov, First Deputy Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Federation Council A. I. Denisov, First Deputy Chairman of the State Duma Committee on Culture Ye. G. Drapeko, Deputy Head of the “United Russia” party faction in the State Duma A. K. Isaev, Rector of the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation A. V. Yakovenko, Director of the Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary M. V. Zakharova, Judge of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation (2000–2020) N. S. Bondar, Director of the Higher School of Translation and Interpreting at Lomonosov Moscow State University N. K. Garbovsky, First Deputy Director General of the Russian News Agency TASS M. S. Gusman, Chairman of the Committee on Science and Higher Education of the Government of St. Petersburg A. S. Maksimov and others.

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President of Russia Vladimir Putin highly appreciates the role of the Likhachov Conference: this scientific forum is “distinguished by a rich agenda, the interested participation of famous scientists and politicians, public figures, representatives of culture and art. This allows us to conduct a productive dialogue on the most important problems of our time, substantive discussion of ways to solve them, taking into account the full range of opinions.”