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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 *Лалин 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 культуру, 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.

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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).