

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

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ST. PETERSBURG UNIVERSITY OF THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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under the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia

# DIALOGUE OF CULTURES AND PARTNERSHIP OF CIVILIZATIONS

THE 8TH INTERNATIONAL LIKHACHOV SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

May 22–23, 2008

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

*The conference, originally called “Days of Science  
in St. Petersburg University of the Humanities  
and Social Sciences” is the 16th in number  
and the 8th in the status of International Likhachov  
Scientific Conference*



**St. Petersburg  
2008**

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The volume presents the materials of the 8th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, held in May 22–23, 2008, St. Petersburg, in accordance with the Decree of President of Russia V. V. Putin.

The regular Likhachov Scientific Conference has become one of the most significant international scientific forums on humanitarian issues, it is devoted to fundamental aspects of modern global society development, that faces the challenge of dialogue of cultures and partnership of civilization.

The most prominent scholars and scientists, as well as public figures from various countries, academicians of the Russian Academy of Science and Education, famous members of cultural and intellectual community, international-scale experts took part in the Plenary Meeting and in numerous working sections.

In particular, the issues of personality and social medium, European mentality, contemporary law and economy, the role of mass media in forming the world perspective, reforms of education related to globalization process were considered.

The volume is designed for a broad range of academic societies, experts in the fields of social sciences and humanities, as well as for students and post-graduates.

**ББК 72**

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# ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL LIKHACHOV SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

Notabene

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The International Likhachov Scientific Conference in St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences was first held in 1993, May and was timed to the Days of Slavonic Letters and Culture. It was initiated by Academician Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov and Professors of in St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences V. E. Triodin, R. S. Milonov and A. S. Zapesotsky. Since then the Conference has been held annually. D. S. Likhachov made his presentations twice – with essays “Declaration on Culture Rights and its global role” (1996) and “The great culture is pacifying in nature” (1997).

After Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov had perished, novelist D. A. Granin and Professor A. S. Zapesotsky suggested granting the Conference with a state status of International Likhachov Scientific Conference, which was confirmed by Decree of President of the Russian federation V.V. Putin “On perpetuating the memory of DMITRY SERGEYEVICH LIKHACHOV” No. 587, dated from May 23, 2001.

The founding partners of the Conference are the Russian Academy of Science, the Russian Academy of Education, St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress (officially registered by A. S. Zapesotsky in 1999 on commitment of D. S. Likhachov and D. A. Granin; among other founding partners of the Congress are: J. I. Alferov, A. P. Petrov, M. B. Piotrivsky, K. U. Lavrov. The Congress is targeted at enhancing humane potential of intelligentsia, promoting civic society and protecting democratic rights, providing a constant dialogue between society and authorities, as well as consolidating all levels of society to achieve public concord).

In 2007 and 2008 Likhachov Scientific Conference was held under the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia.

The agenda of the Conference traditionally involves the most global and universal challenges that face the contemporary world. Namely, in 2001 and 2002 the theme of the conference was “The world of humanitarian culture of Academician D. S. Likhachov”; “Education in the period of forming a new type of culture” in 2003, “Education in the process of humanization of modern world” in 2004, “Culture and global challenges of the world development” in 2005, “Humanitarian problems of modern civilization” in 2006, “Dialogue of cultures and civilizations in the global world” in 2007, DIALOGUE OF CULTURES AND PARTNERSHIP OF CIVILIZATIONS in 2008.

Every year Likhachov Scientific Conference is held on a large scale and it is getting a more impressive and distinguished event. Prominent figures of both Russian and foreign science, culture, art, public and political leaders come to participate in the Conference. Among the participants of the conference in different years were Academicians and corresponding members of the Russian Academy of Science: A. G. Arbatov, N. P. Bekhtereva, O. T. Bogomolov, V. N. Bolshakov, A. V. Bryshlinsky, R. Sh. Ganelin, A. A. Guseinov, I. I. Eliseeva, T. I. Zaslavskaya, N. V. Karlov, A. A. Kokoshin, I. I. Luki-  
nov, V. A. Martynov, S. V. Medvedev, N. N. Moiseev, A. D. Nekipelov, A. M. Panchenko, N. Y. Petrakov, N. A. Plate, B. V. Raushenbakh, U. A. Pyshov, N. N. Skatov, V. S. Stepin, Zh. T. Totchenko, A. M. Finkelstain, A. O. Chubarian, V. L. Yanin, R. G. Yanovsky; Academicians and corresponding members of the Russian Academy of Education: Sh. A. Amnashvili, V. I. Andreev, G. M. Andreeva, A. G. Asmolov, V. K. Balsevich, A. P. Belyaeva, M. N. Berulava, I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada, A. A. Bodalev, E. V. Bondarevskaya, G. A. Bordovsky, V. P. Borisenkov, A. P. Valitskaya, G. N. Volkov, U. N. Gladky, U. S. Davidov, A. V. Darinsky, A. N. Jurinsky, E. D. Dneprov, S. F. Egorov, V. I. Eroshin, V. G. Kinelev, V. A. Kobylyansky, I. S. Khon, A. S. Kondratiev, V. G. Kostomarov,

V. V. Kraevsky, M. N. Kuzmin, N. V. Kuzmina, O. E. Lebedev, V. T. Lisovsky, A. A. Likhachov, V. G. Marantsman, G. V. Mukhamedzhanov, N. D. Nikandrov, A. M. Novikov, A. A. Orlov, A. A. Pean, U. A. Saurov, U. V. Senko, N. A. Terentieva, A. V. Usova, U. Y. Fokht-Babushkin, A. V. Khutorskoy, G. A. Yagodin, E. A. Yamburg, V. Mitter (Germany); public figures and state officials: A. A. Akaev, A. E. Busygin, O. G. Dmitrieva, V. P. Kozlov, A. A. Sobchak, E. S. Stroeve, V. E. Churov, M. V. Shmakov, V. A. Yakovlev; persons of culture and arts: M. K. Anikushin, A. A. Voznesensky, I. O. Gorbachev, D. A. Granin, N. M. Dudinskaya, Z. Y. Korogodsky, K. U. Lavrov, A. P. Petrov, M. M. Plisetskaya, M. L. Rostropovich, E. A. Ryazanov, G. V. Sviridov.

Three times, in 2001, 2004 and 2006, the organizers and participants of the Conference were greeted by President of Russia; and in 2008 by Chairperson of Government of the Russian Federation V. V. Putin.

Annually the results of the International Likhachov Scientific Conference are published as a book of reports and presentations of the participants, texts of section discussions and round table sessions. The books are stored in all large libraries of Russia, countries of CIS, scientific and educational centers in many states of the world. All papers on the subject are presented at the scientific internet-site [www.Lihachev.ru](http://www.Lihachev.ru).

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**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 Science (Pushkin's House);

– guarantee the work on setting up D. S. Likhachov's gravestone in prescribed manner.

3. According to the suggestion from the Russian Academy of Science the Likhachov Memorial Prizes of the Russian Academy of Science should be established for Russian and foreign scientists for their outstanding contribution to the research of literature and culture of ancient Russia, and the collected writings of the late Academician should be published.

4. According to the suggestion from St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress the International Likhachov Scientific Conference should be annually held on the Day of the Slavonic Letters and Culture.

***VLADIMIR PUTIN***

*President of the Russian Federation*

*Moscow, the Kremlin, May 23, 2001*

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# ADDRESSES OF V. V. PUTIN, PRESIDENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION, TO THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LIKHACHOV SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

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

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

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

**V. Putin**

President of the Russian Federation  
May 21, 2001



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

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

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

**V. Putin**

President of the Russian Federation  
May 20, 2004



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

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

**V. Putin**

President of the Russian Federation  
May 25, 2006

## **GREETINGS TO THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE 8TH INTERNATIONAL LIKHACHOV SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE**

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### **To members of the Steering Committee, participants and guests of the 8th International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

*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 development of humanitarian sciences, steadfast and righteous moral norms.*

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

Chairman of Government of the Russian Federation

**V. PUTIN**

May 22, 2008

### **To participants of the 8th International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

*I wish to extend my warm welcome to the participants of the 8th International Scientific Likhachov Conference that has become a traditional and important event in scientific, social and political life of St. Petersburg and Russia.*

*Scholars from universities and research centers both foreign and Russian, as well as politicians, public figures, state and governmental officials, culture and art persons arrived at St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences to discuss challenging issues of dialogue of cultures and civilizations. The topic of the 8th International Scientific Likhachov Conference is broad and deals with spheres of science, education, economy and law. It will enable the participants of the Conference to analyze complicated process of contemporary society efficiently and in details.*

*At present the humanity faces new problems and new challenges that require suitable answers and solutions. Considering the issues on the planned agenda will allow to build a system for solving vital global matters. With reference to all this, it is crucial to provide further development of scientific and cultural legacy Academician Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov. Undoubtedly, the 8th International Scientific Likhachov Conference will become an important landmark along this way.*

*I wish good luck and best regards to the participants of the conference.*

Chairman, State Duma, Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation

**B. V. GRYSLOV**

May 22, 2008

### **To Chairman of the Steering Committee Of the 8th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, Professor A. S. Zapesotsky, participants and guests of the Conference**

*Dear Alexander Sergeevich, distinguished guests and participants of the Conference, I congratulate you on beginning the work of annual Likhachov Conference. At this forum we consider culture in its broad sense, so to say, in "Likhachov's sense" – as a combination of behavior culture, culture of preserving history*

*and historical monuments, political culture, including culture of elections, culture of economy and trade (what historically was called “merchant’s word”), culture of speech, culture of international relations, etc.*

*Only in such broad sense can culture of Russia become a pillar to hold the state. From this viewpoint the 8th International Scientific Likhachov Conference is very special as it is held immediately after election and inauguration of new President of Russia, and after forming the New Government of Russia.*

*As it has always occurred before, scientific potential of Russian intelligentsia is now required for making plans of further development for sovereign democratic Russian state. The names of The Conference sections reflect your following basic ideas and principles of Academician Likhachov.*

*I wish the Forum good luck.*

Chairman, Central Election Panel of the Russian Federation

**V. E. CHUROV**

May 19, 2008

## To participants of the 8th International Likhachov Scientific Conference

*Distinguished colleagues, I am delighted to bring greetings to all participants and guests of the 8th International Scientific Likhachov Conference.*

*For the years of holding Likhachov Conference, it has become a famous forum on which urgent matters of developing the humankind, first and foremost in the sphere of education and science, are discussed.*

*At present time the state considers the issue of human potential as a key element for developing society, for modernizing economy of the country. That’s why the problems to be debated during the Conference appear challenging for detecting areas of enhancing and developing human potential of the country.*

*I’m sure that discussions will be conducted in a constructive dialogue manner that will enable to go further in realizing a wide range of scientific and educational issues, as well as positively influencing social development thanks to close cooperation of the state and scientific community.*

*I wish all of you good luck in your creative quest, personal and professional achievements, new scientific discoveries for the sake of Russia.*

Minister of Education and Science of the Russian Federation

**A. A. FURSENKO**

May 20, 2008

## To hosts, participants and guests of the 8th International Likhachov Scientific Conference

*It is a pleasure to extend a warm welcome to hosts, participants and guests of the 8th International Scientific Likhachov Conference on behalf of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation.*

*The significance of Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov’s personality for Russia can hardly be overestimated. He discovered a completely new approach to culture as of sense-building backbone in the life of the state, peoples, every person in particular.*

*The name of Academician D. S. Likhachov is closely connected with history and culture of the North Palmira (as St. Petersburg is called). With reference to it, holding the Conference in his honor and memory in the great city of St. Petersburg is symbolic. This event is a bright evidence that D. S. Likhachov’s ideas are still up-to-date. At the same time, it is also an intention to further his ideas, to see chances of applying them in new historical environment.*

*It is crucial that a great mane of schoolchildren from cities and towns of Russia are involved in the Conference. It is they who are to inherit and advance national culture, science, economy; and the name of our great contemporary D. S. Likhachov will serve a firm landmark in the world of culture.*

*I wish all participants of the Conference fruitful work, interesting discussions and all the best.*

Minister of Culture of the Russian Federation

**A. A. AVDEEV**

May 20, 2008

## To hosts, participants and guests of the 8th International Likhachov Scientific Conference

*I'm pleased to welcome hosts, participants and guests of a distinguished humanitarian scientific forum – the 8th International Scientific Likhachov Conference.*

*Annual scientific Conference in St. Petersburg, initiated by a prominent scholar D. S. Likhachov, has become an important discussion area for many figures of scientific, political and intellectual elite from a number of countries to debate challenging global issues and the role of Russia in international affairs.*

*The Russian Federation tends to promote democratization of international relations, as well as efforts to develop a multifaceted intercultural and inter-civilizational dialogue. This approach is based on particular historical way of Russia that involves many century experience of peaceful coexistence with various cultural and religious traditions within a single state. That's why we, like no other, realize the necessity to combine different methods of solving challenging global issues based on moral and ethical values of all world religions.*

*The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is well aware of significance to hold this forum that rises to a principally new level and attracts more and more foreign participants every year.*

*We are ready to support this initiative further on and take part both in regular sessions and a new diplomatic project “International Dialogue of Cultures” that gives the floor to Russian and foreign diplomats to highlight various way of dealing with key challenges of the contemporary way.*

*I hope that the coming discussing on problems of dialogue of cultures and partnership of civilizations among scientists, state and public figures will be successful.*

*To conclude, allow me to wish good luck, fruitful work and discussion, and my best regards.*

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation  
**S. V. LAVROV**  
 May 19, 2008

## To participants of the 8th International Likhachov Scientific Conference

*On behalf of the Presidium of the Russian Academy of Science I congratulate the participants of the annual 8th International Scientific Likhachov Conference on beginning the work of this Forum.*

*The Conference held for the 8th time, has become an important event in scientific life of Russia. This year the topic “Dialogue of Cultures and Partnership of Civilization” logically evolves from the topics of previous conferences and skillfully develops the trends of scientific and public activity of our great contemporary D. S. Likhachov, to which he devoted last years of his life.*

*Years that have passed since our great contemporary perished, convincingly proved the verity of his ideas that science, technology, civilization lose the sense without culture and turn into the source of hazard for humanity.*

*The fact that Russian and foreign scientists having various fields of interest, politicians, public figures, members of artistic and intellectual communities, journalists take part in the 8th International Scientific Likhachov Conference is a bright embodiment of multifaceted scientific interests and public activities of D. S. Likhachov; his constant intention to integrate scientific data; as well as manifestation of broad international concern in his legacy*

*Referring to all this, the significance of your scientific forum devoted to the most challenging issue nowadays – the issue of realizing ways, means and content of the dialogue of cultures and civilizations – can't be overestimated.*

*I wish all participants of the 8th International Scientific Likhachov Conference fruitful work for the sake of Russian culture and education.*

President of Russian Academy of Science, Academician  
**U. S. OSIPOV**  
 May 20, 2008

## To participants, guests, members of the Steering Committee of the 8th International Likhachov Scientific Conference

*On behalf of Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, I'd like to extend my warm welcome and congratulate you on opening the 8th International Scientific Forum in the name of the great humanist and scholar D. S. Likhachov.*

*As a constituent of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia would like to convey deep appreciation that this year Scientific Likhachov Conference has attracted unprecedentedly large number of participants from many cities of Russia as well as from foreign counties. In this University we can see the flower of national and world humanitarian science, culture, politics, education. In many senses it was facilitated by the fact that Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov was doctor honoris causa of this University. It was also contributed to by the work on promoting the creative legacy of the great scholar that St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences has been conducting for many years.*

*Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia as the most large-scale public organization in this country unites representatives of various professions, advocates of diverse political viewpoints, it has broad international relations. In this respect, the topic of the 8th International Scientific Likhachov Conference – Dialogue of Cultures and Partnership of Civilizations – is crucial for us.*

*Being a constituent part of the world trade union movement, Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia contributes a lot to the developing current integrational processes. We expect science to say its word and give a hand on the way to mutual understanding and uniting the world community.*

*I wish fruitful work and success.*

Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia

**M. V. SHMAKOV**

*May 22, 2008*

### **To hosts, participants and guests of the 8th International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

*I want to extend my warm welcome to participants, hosts and guests of the 8th International Scientific Likhachov Conference in that St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences and congratulate you on beginning this high forum.*

*The problems covered by the conference reflect one of the most challenging trends of humanities; dialogue of cultures and partnership of civilizations is a topical issue for politicians, diplomats, all people of good will.*

*The world in which we and our children are going to live depends on how intensive the partnership is going to be and what content of the dialogue will be.*

*I wish participants of the conference good luck in their scientific quest, and my best regards.*

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

**S. S. ZHUROVA**

*May 22, 2008*

## Plenary meeting

# DIALOGUE OF CULTURES AND PARTNERSHIP OF CIVILIZATIONS

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*Assembly Hall named after A. P. Petrov, St. Petersburg University  
of the Humanities and Social Sciences, May 22, 2008*

### Chairpersons:

- A. A. GUSEINOV** President of Philosophy Institute of the Russian Academy of Science, Head of the Department of Ethics of Moscow State University, doctor *honoris causa* of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Academician of the Russian Academy of Science, Vice-President of the Russian Philosophic Society. His scientific interests are history and theory of ethics, social philosophy
- A. S. ZAPESOTSKY** Chairman of the Executive Committee of St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress, President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Education, Doctor of Cultural Studies, Professor
- M. B. PIOTROVSKY** President of St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress, Director of the State Hermitage, a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Science, a full member of the Russian Academy of Art, Doctor of History, Professor

### Participants:

- J. SAMPAIO** High Representative of Secretary General of the UN at the “Alliance of Civilizations”, President of Portugal (1996–2006)
- A. A. AKAEV** Academician of the Kyrgyzstan Republic Academy of Science, a foreign member of the Russian Academy of Science, President of Kyrgyzstan Republic (1990–2005), Doctor of Technical Sciences, Professor
- O. T. BOGOMOLOV** Honorary President of the International Economic and Political Research Institute at the Russian Academy of Science, Academician of the Russian Academy of Science, Doctor of Economics, Professor
- A. E. BUSYGIN** Deputy Minister of Culture of the Russian Federation, Doctor of Economics, Professor
- P. BUL-BUL OGLI** Ambassador of Azerbaijan Republic to the Russian Federation, Doctor of Arts, Professor, artist emeritus of Azerbaijan
- I. WALLERSTEIN** Professor of Social Sciences in Yale University (USA), Doctor of Philosophy
- R. GUERRA** Professor of the University of Nice (France)
- J. CH. KAPUR** President of “Kapur Surya Foundation”, Co-President of the World Public Forum “Dialogue of Civilizations”, Doctor of Philosophy, Professor
- V. P. KOZLOV** President of the Federal Archives Agency of Russia, a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Science, Doctor of History, Professor
- A. A. LIKHANOV** Writer, Chairman of Russian Children Foundation, Academician of the Russian Academy of Education, President of Scientific and Research Institute of the Juvenile at the Russian Children Foundation, doctor *honoris causa* of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences
- N. D. NIKANDROV** President of the Russian Academy of Education, Academician of the Russian Academy of Education, Doctor of Pedagogy, Professor
- V. L. RABINOVICH** Head of the section “Languages of Culture” of Russian Institute of Culture Studies, Doctor of Philosophy, Master of Chemistry, Professor
- G. RYABYKH** Priest of the Russian Orthodox Church, the acting Secretary for Public Relations of the Department of External Relations at Moscow Patriarch Office, Master of Political Sciences
- E. A. RYAZANOV** Film director, doctor *honoris causa* of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, artist emeritus of the Soviet Union
- V. E. CHUROV** Chairman of the Central Election Panel of the Russian Federation, Professor of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences
- W. SCHWIMMER** Member of the National Assembly (Parliament) of Austria, President of World Public Forum “Dialogue of Civilizations”, Doctor of Law, Secretary General of the Council of Europe (1999–2004)
- U. S. SHEMSHUCHENKO** President of the Institute of State and Law named after V. M. Koretsky at the Ukrainian Academy of Science, Academician of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, a foreign member of the Russian Academy of Science, Doctor of Law, Professor
- A. V. YAKOVENKO** Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Doctor of Law, Professor
- E. G. YASIN** Scientific Director of High School of Economics (University), Doctor of Economics, Professor

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY**<sup>1</sup>, Chairman: *Distinguished colleagues, I'm delighted to welcome you on behalf of the Forum Steering Committee. Conference history dates back to 1993, a very dramatic period of Russian history, when scientific and pedagogical community was searching for their place and role in national reforms. Right then a prominent Russian scholar, Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov, who later became doctor honoris causa of the University, suggested holding Days of Science, timing them with Days of Slavonic Letters and Culture celebrated on 24, May. This is how this tradition started. At that time this Conference was called "Days of Science".*

*After Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov had perished, Daniil Granin and I acting on behalf of St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress appealed to President of Russia Vladimir Putin with a request to issue a decree on perpetuating the memory and name of Academician Likhachov. I'd like to point out that the Congress was founded in 1999 initiated by Granin and Likhachov. Along with these two outstanding Russians, Mikhail Piotrovsky, Jores Alferov, Kiril Lavrov, Andrew Petrov and your obedient servant also acted as founding members of the Congress.*

*Since 2001 by the ad hoc decree of President of Russia dated May 23, 2001 No 587 this Conference has born an official status "International Scientific Likhachov Conference".*

*It has become a tradition to discuss acute humanitarian problems of the modern world at the Conference. Since 1993 we have been gradually transmitting from critical and sore national issues to global problems that process corresponded changes in Russian life. As national problems were being solved and the life in the country was becoming quite stable to develop, more and more scholars, members of faculty, academic community grew interested in global matters. On the one hand, issues of international development affected the situation in Russia, on the other hand, Russia's contribution to international affairs was expanding too.*

*Since the very beginning of the history of this Conference, the Russian Academy of Science and Russian Academy of Education have been its founding members along with the Intelligentsia Congress and the University. I'd like to express my appreciation to those (now present in the audience) distinguished and prominent scholars, Academicians, state and public figures who have taken part in the Conference from the day of its birth in the mid 90s. Nowadays we host mostly adults here, but*

*tomorrow this hall will hold about 700 students from all parts of Russia.*

*Traditionally we host participants from Russian provinces, Moscow and St. Petersburg and foreign guests. The Conference has gathered people from 60–70 Russian regions and 30–40 foreign countries. Almost all parts of the world have their representatives at the Conference.*

*Now I'd like to extend my warm welcome to some guests present here. I must apologize in advance that it doesn't follow the protocol as the composition of the delegates was not fully defined until recently. Firstly, I'm pleased and honoured to welcome doctors honoris causa of the University: a marvellous film director, artist emeritus of the Soviet Union Eldar Ryazanov; an outstanding Russian novelist, Academician of the Russian Academy of Education, Chairman of Russian Children Foundation Albert Likhanov, a prominent Russian philosopher, Academician, President of the Philosophy Institute of the Russian Academy of Science Adbusalam Guseinov (we will be honoured to grant him with the title of doctor honoris causa tomorrow); it has become a good tradition to welcome here President of the Russian Academy of Education, Academician Nikolai Nikandrov.*

*I want to bring my greetings to a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Science, chief editor of the journal "Russkaya Literatura" (Russian Literature), President of the Science, Culture, Art and Education Fund, who has been chairing Pushkinsky Dom (Pushkin's House) Nikolai Nikolaevich Skatov. He is the one who entrusts all his life to develop science, culture, education, who has become a symbol of St. Petersburg Intelligentsia. I'm speaking at full length about Nikolai Nikolaevich because Professor Skatov himself has some trouble with his vocal cords and will not be able to present his speech. Let me suggest that you applaud and show him your appreciation support extended by Pushkinsky Dom to the conference since the very beginning.*

*Among other participants of the Conference are: Chairman of the St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress, Director of the Hermitage, a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Science Mikhail Piotrovsky; a member of our faculty, Chairman of the General Election Panel Vladimir Churkin; Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Professor, Doctor of Law Alexander Yakovenko; Deputy Minister of Culture and Mass Communication, Professor, Doctor of Economics Andrew Busygin; a galaxy of famous foreign guests, such as: High Representative of UN Secretary General at the "Alliance of Civilizations" ("Alliance of Civilizations" is an initiative founded by the UN to put forth issues that this conference agenda covers too, i. e. dialogue of cultures), ex-President of Portugal Jorge Sampaio; Walter Schwimmer from Austria, President of the World Public Forum "Dialogue of Civilizations" and ex-President of European Council; Immanuel Wallerstein, Doctor, Professor of Social Sciences at Yale University (USA); Secretary General of the Indonesian Council of Ulama and President of the Central Board of Muhammadiyah (it is a multimillion*

<sup>1</sup> Chairman of the Executive Committee of St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress, President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Education, Doctor of Cultural Studies, Professor, scientist emeritus of the Russian Federation, artist emeritus of the Russian Federation, laureate of Russian Federation Government Educational Award (2007), laureate of Gorky literary award (2007), the author of books: "Education: Philosophy, Culture Studies, Politics" (2002); "Culture Studies by Dmitry Likhachov" (2007) and more than thousand scientific publications on problems of culture, education, mass media, social and youth policy, he created a culture-centred concept of education as the basis for St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences activities.

member public organization), Professor, Doctor Din Shamsuddin; Ambassador of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Merdad Jameel bin Mohamed.

Among our country mates I'd like to greet: Academician of the Russian Academy of Science, doctor honoris causa of the Institute for International Economic and Political Research of the Russian Academy of Science, Doctor of Economics, Professor Oleg Bogomolov; Father Georgy Ryabykh; Academician of the Russian Academy of Science, representative of the Urals Department of the Russian Academy of Science, President of the Flora and Fauna Ecology Institute, chief-editor of the magazine "Ecology", Doctor of Biology, Professor Ury Ryzhov; President of the Federal Archive Agency of Russia, a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Science, Doctor of History, Professor Vladimir Kozlov.

I'm glad to welcome here: the first President of Kyrgyzstan Republic, academician honoris causa of the Russian Academy of Science, Academician of Kyrgyzstan Academy of Science Askar Akaev; Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Azerbaijan Republic to the Russian Federation, a well-known and favourite actor and singer Polad Bul-Bul Ogli; Scientific Research Adviser of the State University High School of Economics, Doctor of Economics, Professor Eugeni Yasin; a novelist from Czech Republic Peter Vail; Professor in the University of Nice Rene Guerra; Jagdish Chandra Kapur, Professor, President of "Kapur Surya Foundation", Co-President of the World Public Forum "Dialogue of Civilizations" (India). Japan is represented here by Professor Kinhide Mushakoji, Director of Osaka Economy and Law University Centre; I'm glad to welcome a distinguished European Legal Scholar, President of the State and Law Institute named after Koretsky of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, a foreign member of the Russian Academy of Science, Doctor of Law, Professor Ury Shemshuchenko; Professor of Military History in Tel Aviv University Azar Gat; Piotr Dutkiewicz, Professor at Carleton University and Director of the Institute of European and Russian Studies from Canada; Professor in the German Institute for International and Security Affairs Eberhard Schneider; President of the International Institute of Central Asia Studies under UNESCO Shain Mustafaev; Stephen White, Professor of Political Sciences in Glasgow University (England); Doctor Mujani Ali, plenipotentiary representative of Iran ex-President.

It has become a tradition that the flower of scientific and pedagogical community of Russia take part in the Conference – about 30 Academicians and corresponding members of the Russian Academy of Education. I want to apologize that I will not be able to name everyone because of the limited time. Also among participants are outstanding Russian journalists; member of diplomatic community, school teachers from all over the country, education officials, prominent figures of culture. On behalf of the Steering Committee I want to extend my appreciation for taking part in the Conference.

I'm sure that such list of participants will make our work very fruitful.

Now I give the floor for the opening remarks at the 8th International Scientific Likhachov Conference to Mikhail Borisovich Piotrovsky.

**M. B. PIOTROVSKY<sup>1</sup>:** Dear friends, I'm delighted to see so many participants here both permanent ones and newcomers. It's wonderful, too, to see so many young faces. It's a privilege for me to open this International and world famous Conference, that honours the memory of Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov whose name became the symbol of culture and science.

I suppose it is time we stopped dealing with abstract philosophical issues, and turned over to actual problems that long to be thoroughly discussed. Some issues of the dialogue of civilizations and cultures are worth studying in more details. Rather than finding out to what extent civilization and culture can denote the same thing, we'd better start analyzing difference between these two terms, and how it can make the dialogue successful. We also have to rethink its influence on everyday life. Following the tradition laid by Dmitry Sergeevich, I'd like to divert your attention to some problems of conflict and dialogue of cultures coexisting within the borders of communities. Needless to say, the example of Dmitry Sergeevich can serve us as a guideline and inspire us to further discussion. We should keep the issues raised by him on the flow.

Let me highlight my idea. I'm talking about cultural heritage and its development, on one hand, and another sort of culture – culture of economy and money on the other hand. Nowadays these two sorts of cultures don't co-exist peacefully all over the world and they confront each other in Russia and St. Petersburg as well. In this city we can feel the atmosphere of their sharp conflict. Culture of heritage opposes culture of money. The former stands on the ground that cultural heritage is a national idea, the essence of life for nationalities and civilizations. On the contrary, the latter claims that money is primary in social life. Heritage is sacred for the first type of culture, while over profit, comfort, convenience or low prices are basis for money culture. The main criteria separating or uniting nations is heritage in the first type of culture, while income obtained by heritage abuse is a sign of success in money culture.

Heritage culture has its own economy, a developed infrastructure of heritage financially providing for itself. Meanwhile money culture exploits heritage thus destroying it. What is more important – heritage or money? It is a matter of principle. Heritage playing the leading role,

<sup>1</sup> Chairman of St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress, Director of the State Hermitage, a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Science, a full member of the Russian Academy of Art, Doctor of History, Professor, Vice-Chairman of the Culture Council under President of the Russian Federation, the author of books: "The Koran Tales" (1991), "Large museum in the Epoch of Impair Collapse (museum as a factor for evolution)" (1996); "Muslim Art: Between China and Europe" (2008), and more than 200 scientific papers on cultural and political history of Islam and Arabian culture.



economical success grows up. If money becomes supreme, it becomes the force of destruction at the same time. It is only cultural heritage that can work out a sort of Protestant Ethics whose principles enhance economy growth. Heritage culture generates strict rules to preserve heritage, whereas in money culture such rules keep constantly changing, adjusted to the momentary profit. The moral and ethics of heritage culture is to subdue to heritage, to accept the future as sequel of the past, to overcome with pride for great historical events. The moral and ethics of money culture is to do whatever one wants as long as he has money.

We have seen a lot of vivid examples how these two cultures confront and there are many symbols which of them wins. But there is no dialogue, although we can find positive ways to overcome this problem. We need to discuss and compare different points of view and try to work out a solution, bearing in mind differences between culture of money and culture of heritage.

It goes without saying that to put into life heritage saving strategy created in St. Petersburg by advocates of different points of view, we shouldn't forget that St. Petersburg is a historical centre guarded by UNESCO. In this case the strategy will work perfectly and we will be saving the city as an ensemble rather than separate buildings.

I'd like to remind you that the Museum of Kulikovo Field Battle has recently received the Russian National Award. Historical papers and documents, methods of keeping cultural and natural heritage and of restoring the landscape were highly valued. Banking Trust System used there and spreading in Russia enabled to combine business and heritage usage.

We also have a design to build some new districts of St. Petersburg where expensive whims of modern architecture won't spoil the landscape of historical central part of the city. The dialogue of new and old districts would make an ideal solution to the problem unsolved so far.

It can also serve as a matrix for overcoming other problems, such as the one I've been keen on and can speak at full length – the problem of relationships between Muslim and Christian civilizations, their international conflicts and ways to improve this situation.

As far as St. Petersburg is concerned, we need more discussions. Without dialogue we won't be aware of different point of view, we should understand at last that money culture won't need any cultural heritage, but cultural heritage has to come over money. If money becomes the national target rather than means to reach this target, the most pessimistic predictions of poets will come true:

O, transparent star, O, wandering fire  
You brother, the city of Peter, is dying.

*O. Mandelstam*

Like a submarine  
Blown Petersburg sank down

*V. Mayakovsky*

Another quote from Mayakovsky:

Emperor Peter the Great  
stands thinking:  
– I'll have the feast of freedom here! –  
And in the next street  
Drunken voices are heard  
Building the site of Astoria Hotel

1916

Thank you for your attention.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** The floor is given to High Representative of UN Secretary General at the "Alliance of Civilizations", ex-President of Portugal Jorge Sampaio.

**J. SAMPAIO<sup>1</sup>:** Distinguished President Zapesotsky, dear guests and participants of the conference, first of all I'd like to express my appreciation to St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences and its President Professor Zapesotsky for the opportunity to speak before the distinguished audience. I also want to thank him for the warm words in my respect, I'm really deeply touched.

I'm honoured and pleased to introduce you the initiative "Alliance of Civilizations" under the UN. I'm especially delighted to have this opportunity in this beautiful city that in many respects can be the symbol of how much can be achieved due to fruitful dialogue of civilizations, cultures, religions, their peaceful co-existence and interconnection.

We are well aware that the history of peoples, religions, cultures is a consequence of black and white stripes. Peaceful periods altered with conflicts, clashes and intolerance, but tendency towards open and franc dialogue, acknowledgement of common human values, tolerance to other cultures have always existed. It is the best remedy from isolation, confrontation, mistrust, powerful stimuli to mutual understanding, tolerance, friendly relations.

We can judge both from the world history and multiple conflicts of the modernity that it isn't so easy to start the dialogue. Without efforts to advance the dialogue further, it may turn to a one-sided attempt that will soon fade. Under such conditions we more and more often witness the fanatic claims and dangerous extremist riots.

At times various nations seek their identity on the world arena through clashes and confrontation. Cultural diversities backed by religious and ethnic factor have always been a cause of conflicts in order to obtain dominance.

Every nation, culture, religion should be tolerant towards others, should admit the others' right for identity. Those who express intolerance towards other cultures or religions can promote instability in the world along with making harm to themselves. Such negative attitude has always

<sup>1</sup> High Representative of Secretary General of the UN at the "Alliance of Civilizations", President of Portugal (1996–2006). His area of professional interests is human rights issues and health care issues. The author of books: "A festa de um sonho" (1991), "Um olhar sobre Portugal" (1995), "Portugueses" (1997), as well as multiple publications on politics and culture.

existed, and throughout history it has varied and adapted.

We have to admit that there is a serious power imbalance in the world, multiple manifestations of inequality that result in many challenges. At present a very complex situation of multi-polar world has evolved that may lead to violence, conflicts and could threaten the world safety.

For the last years fear and suspicion enveloped the world community due to series of wars, invasions, terrorist attacks. Some political leaders, mass media and radical organizations try to benefit from these conditions, cultivating the image of civilization bound to constant conflicts and confrontation of religions.

Deep concern about the theory of "clash of civilizations" had only enhanced polar opinions. Moreover, common folk stick to a completely wrong position of inevitable confrontation among the nations, and they believe the problems solvable through a peaceful dialogue inevitably lead to ethnic conflicts.

All that said, establishing friendly relations among the nations, promoting a dialogue, mutual understanding and close cooperation in political endeavours for facilitating the world balance have become urgent. The tasks mentioned above are principal for the "The Alliance of Civilizations" initiative.

As you may have heard, the "Alliance of Civilizations" was initiated by the Secretary General of the UN in 2005, and is sponsored by the governments of Spain and Turkey. The Board appointed by the Secretary General manages the initiative's activities. The Board has a task of studying the causes of the confrontation of cultures and civilizations in the contemporary world and finding solutions for the issue.

The results of the study are presented in the report to the UN, where a range of definite practical recommendations is given for the four areas of activities: education, youth policy, mass media and migration. You can read the report at the web site at [www.unaoc.org](http://www.unaoc.org).

Following one of the recommendations the new Secretary General Ban Ki-moon appointed me as his High Representative at the "Alliance of Civilizations" initiative.

I'd like to observe that at first quite a few treated the initiative with scepticism and disbelief, though the reasons for that were different. Some used to say that the Alliance aiming at fight with the theories of "conflict of civilizations" would fail to overcome difficulties; that the Alliance would just add to the long list of similar organizations; that the goals set up were too large to be put into life by the sources at the Alliance's disposal; that under modern conditions of fight with terrorism our initiative was just a utopia that had nothing to do with tough demands of real politics.

You will easily understand why after my appointment as the High Representative of the UN at the "Alliance of Civilizations" in May, 2007 my motto was cautiousness. However, I'm fully con-

vinced that the Alliance can gain political influence, and it was created right on time.

This is a brief history of this initiative. You can look for details at our site.

Now I'd like to discuss two issues: first, to tell you what the Alliance is all about and what views it advocates on the challenge of cultures, religions and states relationships. Second, I'll explain the principle of its work and how everyone can take part in its activities.

### **1. The structure of the Alliance, its viewpoint on the issue of cultural, religious and inter-state relations**

The basic problem that the Alliance faces and that it is targeted to solve is how to build friendly relations in the world of constant conflicts and turmoil, when cultural and religious diversities split the society. Hence, the main target of the Alliance is to oppose to cracks in the relations among nations; to define principles of mutual respect politics for peoples of different cultural and religious traditions; to assist the organizations aimed at lowering tension in the world.

Our activity should reflect the will of most peoples, their desire to end up with extremism in the society, their predominant wish to leave in the world based on the principles of respect, equality and human dignity.

The Alliance is ready with the follow-up plan of actions, designed to build friendly relations among cultures and nations, to promote dialogue and mutual understanding, to articulate the common political will of the peoples who tend to smooth tension, oppose to sharp division into two polar points of views on the world cultures, fight with the sources of extremism and conflicts. This wide range of goals is on the global level, but the priority is for the relations between the West and the East.

Thus three articles result from the abovementioned:

- The activities plan for the Alliance is designed for interconnected spheres of political activity, education, youth policy, mass media and migration;

- The primary goal for the Alliance is to lessen cultural and religious contradictions that may split the society;

- The Alliance activities should be targeted at achieving definite results to smooth tensions.

So practical actions are needed to change the life of various nations and to influence their viewpoints. Our initiative can do it thanks to three basic articles: goal, program, activities.

Now allow me to tackle upon the issue of political, religious and cultural differences. Why is this issue so crucial? Because now we are witnessing (at least, in Europe) that religion is piercing the society and provides changes in it.

To my mind, in the modern world, apart from new technologies, information boom and globalization there is one more phenomenon, very significant at that, religion is restoring its role practically everywhere. Even in Europe, where as the result of secularization (separation of church and state) religion has become a personal choice of

every citizen, religious tendencies grow more powerful. People stick to religion everywhere, and the number of fundamentalists of all sorts (Christians, including Catholics, Orthodox, other sects, Muslims, Hebrews) keep growing. They lay their loud claims and insist that religion should be a measure of human behaviour.

Apart from this typical feature of European countries (the causes of which are not defined yet), while the states lose the power and civic communities gain it, we can notice changes in the politics: civil societies, pluralism, cultural differences are controlled by democratic power. That's why I consider the top priority of international European, national politics should be forming democratic system of power to define principles of multi-cultural society, provide protecting human rights and basic freedoms, as well as equality of opportunities for all nations.

The world division into two poles and extremist riots are growing sharper that threaten human safety, as local conflicts influence international situation. To settle this matter, we should avoid the danger of fundamentalist ideas in the society. In other words, we have to develop new strategies and principles of intercultural and interreligious dialogue, based on accepting human rights. The hope failed that the influence of religious political organizations will lessen or vanish while the globalization and world community modernization keep enhancing, because nowadays these tendencies are strongly supported in many regions by many peoples of different cultural origin. That's why we can't forget about acute challenges: how legitimate the impact of religion on governments is and how to set up relations among civil and religious authorities (both nationally and internationally).

Thus a range of questions arises: what is the role of relations between political doctrines, based on principles of democracy of religion? How to overcome mutual disbelief between state and church figures and how to have a productive dialogue?

The time has come for politicians to pay attention to various initiatives that deal with studying, arranging and providing the process of the dialogue between religious and political organizations in different countries. It will not only promote and enhance the conditions of the dialogue, but will enable political leaders to contribute to preventing conflicts and confrontation among the states.

Thus, the process of interreligious dialogue grows vital. Free communication facilitates mutual understanding, and if we start acting, we'll be able to reach our common goal, global security. I mean not only the safety of humankind, but also acknowledgement that human dignity (including the right for a decent life) is the basis for all peace-promoting activities. Moreover, the concept of global security involves not only security of citizens or states, it also includes the concept of prosperity for the lowest society levels, as all countries and nations are interdependent. That's why security means the ability of neighbouring countries to

cooperate for providing their prosperity. A very significant feature of the concept is that it emphasizes collective responsibility in achieving global security.

To sum it up, it is necessary to mention that to achieve the global security we have to involve all groups and communities, including the youth, mass media and religious organizations. We also have to enhance international relations through intercultural dialogue, it is the primary task.

## **2. Principles of Alliance work and how to take part in its activities**

Ladies and gentlemen, allow me now to consider the second question concerning the principles of Alliance work and how everyone can take part in its work.

I guess that the main question you are asking is how the Alliance that counts only a dozen members including the UN representative can cope with the global issues facing it? How can our initiative turn from just a good intention into a weighty organization?

In my point of view, three conditions are required for the Alliance to contribute to the consolidation and peace in the world.

First, it is important that the countries should support the goals and targets of the Alliance, mostly on the national level. That's why I offered the group of Alliance friends a program on developing national strategies for intercultural dialogue, focusing on four activity spheres, that is mass media, education, the youth policy and migration.

Second, the Alliance has to play the leading role in decreasing polarity between cultures and nations, building a network of partnership relations for international and national structures and organizations. It may help to coordinate activities and provide the unity of goals and targets.

Third, non-governmental organizations, private sector, volunteering and civil institutions, religious communities and organizations should cooperate, as they play a significant role in creating conditions for peaceful co-existence at all levels.

Talking about the block of non-governmental organizations, allow me to underline the crucial role that the Alliance leaves for universities and other educational institutions in two basic spheres of its activity, the youth policy and education. It should also be pointed out that within its framework the Alliance develops international net of universities to promote global enhancing relations between various cultures and religions.

Twelve universities and research centres form the core of the net. In the future we are planning to expand it along with broadening our interests in the sphere of common research and scientific activity. Special attention is paid to various analytical programs, conflict studies, as well as research in the four fields of the Alliance activity.

I'm quite sure that by mutual efforts we will achieve fruitful cooperation, find new ways to improve understanding, dialogue and partnership and we will be able to foresee or successfully solve the conflicts that may arise.

If the three conditions mentioned above are observed, we may hope that our initiative will contribute to peaceful cooperation provided the Alliance activities in the four areas (education, the youth policy, mass media and migration) are well planned. I'd like to point out that the Alliance is a new type of initiative thus it attracts public attention. But it will only benefit us, as it is necessary to have clear and open policy to gain the world acknowledgement for the initiative like the Alliance.

Ladies and gentlemen, every day we witness the growing tension between cultures and religions, which often results in clashes. Discrimination, injustice, illegal actions directed towards the weak promote suspicion and extremism. Prejudice and discrimination manifest themselves in different ways in the society and human behaviour. To eliminate discrimination is the main target in the struggle for human rights, but to achieve it, legal acts and political activities are required. To eliminate its manifestations in the conduct and relations of people all civil society has to participate. To keep the relations between nations and even the high level of life we have to make the global goal of discrimination elimination. Governments and international organizations can play an important role in solving these problems and decreasing the world tension.

In the four main activities of the Alliance (education, the youth policy, mass media and migration) there are no common ways for solving problems, but it's impossible to cope with such problems alone. What we need is a joint program to create strong relations between the partners in the dialogue of civilizations, so that cultural diversities would not become the means to disintegrate nations. Of course, the "Alliance of Civilizations" can't become an immediate UN vehicle to provide peaceful cooperation in the world. To find the solution for global problems we need support from citizens and national organizations. What I mean is that global challenges envelope the world, and the solution should also be global, but the definite measures are taken on the national level. Thus the role of local authorities can't be overestimated, as it is locally that the main events take place to build friendly relations between different communities.

Dear friends, the targets set at the Alliance are impossible to achieve in a short period of time and even within one generation, as, in general, our aim is to put the universal dream of peace into life. That's why many consider our initiative a utopia and underestimate its significance. On the contrary, we see the Alliance as the symbol of nations integrity, as a mutual effort to enhance the conditions of human life (for example, the issues of the environment, or biological difference, and other challenges of the international politics). But to be able to conduct a dialogue, to promote cooperation, the Alliance should not become another Panel or Committee under the UN or General Assembly in miniature. The Alliance members should be partners in common international projects, rather than sides in military

actions. The target of the Alliance is not to form a close group, as well as not to promote contradictions based on cultural diversities. Just the other way round, our aim is to keep global human principles of cooperation, develop cultural traditions of nations, admit, without ignoring differences, that we can have a dialogue sometimes disagreeing with each other, that we can work together, without allowing misunderstanding to grow into conflicts and clashes.

Allow me, as an experienced politician, to remind you that in the modern world the main target is to integrate democratic organizations, to create a tolerant society, to provide equal rights for everyone, to enhance pluralism and acknowledge cultural diversities.

In conclusion allow me to quote Academician Likhachov's wise and inspiring words, in whose honour the conference is held (he could have become an honorary ambassador for the Alliance of Civilizations): "Man is not only a biological, but a spiritual being. He needs cultural environment as he needs air to breathe. Without culture man will be morally extinct".

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Thank you, President Sampaio. I'd like to figure out that the process of globalization challenges both economics and culture. We could get a clear notion of it from Harvard Professor Huntington's book about the clash of civilizations published in the mid 90s. Many of his ideas are argued and re-argued, but anyway, they need to be thoroughly thought over. Meanwhile, in the mid 90s the faculty of the University initiated by Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov started to work out the Declaration on Culture Rights. Most brilliant and learned figures of St. Petersburg humanities took part in it, such as Mikhail Borisovich Piotrovsky. The core essence of the declaration was recognized as follows: diversity of all world cultures needs valuing and protecting to put forth their fruitful cooperation and dialogue in the global era. There's another paragraph which we especially insisted on, it deals with Government responsibility for providing cultural heritage protection and enhancing culture development of different nations and ethnic groups. It is utterly transparent that the matter of the dialogue of cultures is gradually capturing minds of all communities, and what is more important Governments of many countries got involved in this process.*

*Six months ago I had the pleasure to get acquainted with Mr. Sampaio at a dinner party of Embassy of Portugal in Moscow, where our friendly argument was occupied with a problem – why world leaders, official representatives and heads of states so little base on scientists and researchers ideas and discuss issues of dialogue of civilizations only within their narrow circle? It has become a great privilege for me, that Mr. Sampaio responded my request and is participating in the discussion now. I'm sure that scientists and world leaders may well find mutual understanding in the process of further developing dialogue of cultures and civilizations.*

*I'd like to emphasize that scientific approach is not only the way to search for the answers to the deepest questions concerning challenges of life, or how genuine human values may take a proper place in conscious thoughts of society. With a keener appreciation we see that the artistry makes it much better than scientific figures and even public and state persons. Now I'm giving the floor to a distinguished Russian artist to say the words of warm welcome. He unlike many others perfectly felt the pulse, the rhythm and the breath of life in this country and his works embodied these emotions. Because of his films we could percept many events of our life from a completely different point of view than before his films had been shot. Allow me to invite here artist emeritus of the Soviet Union, doctor honoris causa of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, a film director Eldar Ryazanov.*

**E. A. RYAZANOV<sup>1</sup>:** Dear friends, let me confess that I don't feel I have the right to welcome you, as I respect and worship people bearing such high scientific titles – Doctors, Professors, Academicians. As far as I'm concerned, I'm just a little bit of a film director, a little bit of a writer and a little bit of just a good guy.

I have several reasons to feel pride and admiration here. Firstly, this Assembly Hall is named after Andrew Petrov, a great composer and my close friend. I'd like to express my appreciation to the University for it. Andrew Pavlovich was a grand composer, melodist and a wonderful man. I also admire Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov, as he set an example of an outstanding life: noble, honest and talented. He was a prominent scholar, a perfect President of Culture Fund of Russia and a world famous person. Dmitry Sergeyevich led a life that everyone should live, which is very difficult. He was a person of a very high moral.

There are so many problems in the world. People who write books, pictures, compose music percept it quite well. They may not formulate the problem so well as scientists do, but try to express their alarm and pain in their works. I can say about myself that in everything I have been doing I tried to make my films contribute to realizing the full potential of great humane issues, to make people feel closely knitted: men and women, people of different nationalities and social positions. I view the primary mission of art as uniting people in a virtuous life, rather than the other way round.

Let me give you all, great talented people, my best regards and wish success. The situation in the world is very difficult: among challenging issues are military claims of different countries, intolerance, nationalism, which has become the root of evil ideology. They are all very dangerous. That's

why we need to look for mutual understanding between countries, societies and nations. I wish you all, including myself, to achieve good results and succeed. It is the most important thing now in our life. Thank you.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *I give the floor to President of the Russian Academy of Education, Academician Nikandrov Nikolai Dmitrievich to greet you on behalf of founding members of the International Scientific Likhachov Conference and scientific and pedagogical community of Russia.*

**N. D. NIKANDROV<sup>2</sup>:** Distinguished chairman, dear colleagues, it is a great honour to address the guests to the conference, and especially marvellous and talented members of the faculty. The Academy admires and values your accomplishments. It is reflected at all levels both personal, as Alexander Sergeyevich is a corresponding member of the Academy, and institutional, as we hold many events in close cooperation. Today there are about 30 members of the Academy in the audience and it is not surprising. We respect this University and its traditions and together we try to develop humanitarian science and culture which Russia lacks so much nowadays.

I've been listening to all speeches here with great attention and I have much to say myself. Mikhail Borisovich was talking about heritage culture and money culture. It is a very interesting idea as there are two different things – quality of life and level of life. Level of life includes rate of consumption and sticks to economy and manufacture. It belongs to money culture. But quality of life is another cup of tea. It includes, first and foremost, humanitarian culture, i.e. something that we ponder upon, some insights we try to search apart from living by bread alone. It is very vital. I'd like to repeat the words of Eldar Ryazanov: Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov was really an outstanding person of high moral and culture. His life can hardly be repeated by anyone. But we should follow his example and show our great appreciation to his high humanistic culture.

When I was listening to Mr. Sampaio, I noticed him using some key phrases, that we here have known for many years. I heard the words “peaceful coexistence” and my memory went back to some 50 years ago, when this principle was formulated for the first time. By the way, it was this country that initiated the principle of peaceful coexistence, and there was a broad discussion in Soviet Union about it. Mr. Sampaio closed his speech with another very important thesis – about great hope (the dream of peace, eternal peace). Without doubt, the hope for eternal peace is great, but it will take

<sup>1</sup> Film director, doctor *honoris causa* of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, artist emeritus of the Soviet Union. President of the Russian Academy of Cinematography “NIKA”. Laureate of the State Vasiliev brothers Award of the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation. Winner of International Film Festivals in Madrid, Brussels, Deli and other cities.

<sup>2</sup> President of the Russian Academy of Education, Academician of the Russian Academy of Education, Doctor of Pedagogy, Professor. The author of books “Educating Values: Russian variant” (1996); “Russia: values of society on the edge of 21st century” (1997); “Russia: socializing and education on the edge of the new millennium” (2006) and others. Under his guidance higher school course books were published: “Pedagogy of Higher School”; “How to Arrange the Process of Education in Pedagogical Institute”; “Essentials of profession”.

lots of time to achieve it. To make eternal peace closer, we need humanitarian culture. We lack it now on many levels. And this is the matter we are working now at in close cooperation.

I want to close my speech by expressing my warm thanks to the University once again, where all guests can feel a warm and friendly atmosphere, can contribute to facilitating cooperation and enhancing mutual understanding, which displays a high level of humanitarian culture in all senses. I wish you, dear colleagues, success. Not only do we respect the memory of Dmirty Sergeevich Likhachov, but his legacy as well, and following his guidelines, we keep feeling that we exist in the world of culture. The more humanitarian culture we will experience (like here at this University) the more interesting and pleasant our life may become.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Thank you, Nikolai Dmitrievich. I call upon Mr. Wallerstein. Immanuel Wallerstein is Doctor of Social Sciences, Professor of Yale University, our guest from the United States.*

**I. WALLERSTEIN<sup>1</sup>:** We talk, rather glibly, of a dialogue of cultures, a partnership of civilizations. But what do these words mean? I leave aside the definitions of "culture" and of "civilization" – words that have been a locus of endless debate. I take it we are talking about the fact that people, groups, states in different parts of the world have many kinds of differences – in everyday habits, in religious preferences, in levels of material development, in language. And we are all clear that such differences are important and meaningful to the people involved, and furthermore that people are resistant to changing, a fortiori to giving up, their preferences or habits.

So, it is virtuous of us to say that we are in favor of a dialogue between these different groups, and from dialogue we may proceed to partnerships. We practice these virtues far less than we talk about them. And from time to time, we give up pretence, and engage in angry exchanges which may escalate into violent confrontations. And, if such confrontations eventually end in exhaustion or in a deadlock, we may finally come back to talking again of dialogues and partnerships. We all know the long list of present-day serious confrontations: Arab Palestinians and Jewish Israelis, Basque nationalists and Spanish-speaking Spaniards, Tibetans and Han Chinese, etc. And we all know the long list of

antagonisms that are long-standing in which the violence is sporadic if continuous, such as Blacks and Whites in the United States. And we all know the list of recent violent confrontations that seem to have quieted down for the moment, such as Black Africans and Afrikaners in South Africa, or Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. Everyone can add to such lists.

One of the essential starting points is that neither "civilization" nor "culture" as concepts is the characteristic of a state. All states, without exception, are host to peoples of different cultures. Some are no doubt more homogeneous than others. That is to say, in some one cultural group constitutes a vast majority of the population and other groups are relatively small minorities. In many states, however, there may be no group that constitutes even a majority of the population. The politics of states with these two different kinds of demographic composition are to be sure quite different. Nevertheless, for every state, there is always the reality of multiple cultures within it.

What states in the modern world-system have almost all tried to do is to become nation-states. That is, they have tended to promote a nationalist ideology and practice that consists of pressuring all persons to conform to one culture – the dominant one. This is difficult enough when the dominant culture represents a quantitative majority of the population. It is even more difficult when the dominant culture is that of a numerical minority.

The concept of nation-state constitutes a rhetorical objective. It is never, I repeat never, an actual reality. There are no true nation-states in the world. So, the fundamental political question for states is whether the government engages in pressure on non-dominant cultures to conform to the dominant culture incessantly and vigorously, or instead creates structures that accommodate the pluri-cultural reality. The former policy is what we have come to call Jacobinism, because the Jacobins in the French Revolution formulated such a policy and pursued it. They sought to eradicate minority languages and minority customs, and insisted that no intermediate institutions could exist between the state and the individual. The alternative policy is what these days is called the creation of "plurinational" or "pluri-cultural" states, that is, the recognition of the cultural/political rights of collectivities within the state.

Now what happens when the advocates of a Jacobin policy confront the advocates of a pluri-cultural policy? The advocates of a pluri-cultural policy, if they are repressed or if they are largely unsuccessful in pursuing their objectives, may begin to promote secession as a solution. They may think that their culture can only be guaranteed by creating a separate state in which it is the dominant culture. And, as we know, this secessionist option has been regularly pursued by groups throughout the world – sometimes successfully, quite often unsuccessfully. Of course, for the Jacobins, secession is precisely their worst nightmare. They often argue that any concessions to the demands to create pluri-cultural institutions within the state

<sup>1</sup> Professor of Social Sciences in Yale University (USA), Doctor of Philosophy. He writes in three domains of world-systems analysis: the historical development of the modern world-system; the contemporary crisis of the capitalist world-economy; the structures of knowledge. Author of researches on problems of globalization and geopolitics, among which are: "The Modern World System" (in 3 vol. – 1974, 1980, 1989), "Unthinking Social Science" *The Limits of Nineteenth Century Paradigms* (1991), "Utopistics, or Historical Choices for the Twenty-first Century" (1998) and some others. His books were translated into Russian: "World Systems Analysis and Situation in the Modern World" (2001), "The End of the World As We Know It: Social Science in the 21st Century" (2003), "After Liberalism" (2003), "World System Analysis: introduction" (2006) and others.

will simply lead sooner or later to secession. Others argue the opposite. They argue that creating pluricultural institutions will precisely be the remedy, leading the groups that feel oppressed to find relative satisfaction that their demands are being met within the state, and thereupon renounce the more ephemeral objective of secession.

One of the consequences of the growing strength of democratizing social movements throughout the world has been the increased legitimation of such demands for pluricultural structures within states. These demands have been pressed with more vigor everywhere in the last thirty years than they ever were previously. And the strength of such movements has been growing constantly.

The other thing that has been feeding the strength of such demands has been the quantitatively important increase in interstate migration, and especially the ability of persons to migrate over much greater distances than previously, thereby leading to a mix of more disparate cultures within the receiving states. The Jacobin call is for the cultural "integration" of the migrants. The pluricultural demand is for the legitimate maintenance of the cultural patterns of the migrants.

In addition, we must consider the wider geopolitical context, the North-South struggle that is so central a part of contemporary geopolitical reality. The mix of cultures at the world level is not the mix of somewhat similar cultures but the mix of radically different cultures. This is what has led some analysts to talk of a "clash of civilizations." It is one thing to speak of the cultural differences of Catalans and Spanish-speaking populations in Spain. It is another thing to talk of the cultural differences of Christians and Moslems in Spain.

What is characteristic of each of these confrontations is that there is always more to them than a difference in culture and/or civilization. There is also a differential in contemporaneous power of the two contenders. One is politically and probably militarily stronger than the other. And the weaker one (at least momentarily weaker one) usually contends that it is being oppressed by the stronger one. The stronger one in return usually claims that the weaker one is resorting to illegitimate modes of political expression. The currently most popular terminology is that the weaker one is engaged in "terrorism".

The struggle between the two becomes then more than a political or a military struggle. It also becomes a struggle for the moral high ground. And the point of this struggle for the moral high ground is not only that such efforts strengthen the political cohesion of the two contending parties but that they are efforts to obtain support from third (outside) parties on the grounds of their moral case.

Dialogue and partnership are activities that equals enter into with each other. But the according of equal status to the other undermines any argument for the moral high ground. Hence it involves a major political concession. It is no wonder that contending groups hesitate to do this. Why then do they ever do it? It is probably the case

that dialogue and partnership is only possible when the results of the ongoing struggle result in de facto politico-military equality, at which point there is no better choice than dialogue and partnership. That is what happened in South Africa and Northern Ireland.

So the possibilities of dialogue and partnership may have a prerequisite: de facto politico-military equality between contending groups, peoples, cultures, civilizations. Perhaps we should center our discussions on how we can reach this point.

When one of the two groups in conflict has more immediate power than the other, the more powerful group is most unlikely to yield its power or to make serious political concessions. Equal treatment of a group regarded as in some sense inferior is not granted; it must be seized. This means that the route to equal treatment is via the de facto strengthening of the weaker group.

The road to the strengthening of the weaker group is a long one. It requires first of all political education within the group. It requires that the group come to think of itself as worthy of equal treatment. It must come to understand the multiple ways in which the existing unequal situation limits their social and individual possibilities. And they must come to feel that political organization on their part can be rewarded in some way by actual political change. That is, they must have some reason to believe that the unequal situation is not hopeless.

This is a process we might term the mobilization of the lower-status group. This mobilization is always deprecated and feared by the dominant group. But it is actually quite healthy for the dominant group. A dominant group is never secure in its own rights if there is not a rough equality of power with the "minority" group. In the long run, understanding between civilizations and/or cultures can only be guaranteed in a more egalitarian world.

Dialogues are only possible between equals. Otherwise, they are really double monologues. Partnership is only possible between equals. Otherwise, it is a mask for the primacy of one over the other. Without equality, the search for understanding between different groups is fruitless and is a rhetorical vanity.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *I wish to thank Professor Wallerstein for his presentation. Now I give the floor to President of the Philosophy Institute of the Russian Academy of Science, Academician Abdulalam Abdulkerimovich Guseinov. Throughout the history of this Conference, the Academy has been its constant founding partner. To our regret, The Conference is being held simultaneously with the Academy's General Assembly. We can't change the date of the Day of Slavonic Letters and Culture, to which the Conference is timed to, and the Academy can't change its traditional period of the Assembly. This time, to make the matters more complicated, next week the Academy will held very perplex election campaign to adjust the new Regulations Charter. That's why the Board entrusted*

*Adbusalam Adbulkerimovich to speak on behalf of the Academy.*

**A. A. GUSEINOV<sup>1</sup>:** Thank you. Let me begin with a presumption that the issues of dialogue of cultures and civilizations are significant and touch the basis of people's life in the modern world.

It is quite obvious that dialogue of cultures takes it for granted that cultures have something in common, for example, common principles and aims of life. Anyway, there has to be a mutual intellect and values area, where cultures may cooperate and have a dialogue. On the other hand, it is evident, that cultures differ. The difference can also serve as a prerequisite to the dialogue, because culture always involves something special, it is always unique, based on exceptional national phenomena, historical events, famous names. Every culture has some phenomena untranslatable to other languages. It means that every culture equals only to itself and to no other culture. When cultures have a dialogue, their difference doesn't vanish, on the contrary, dialogue may enhance this difference, as it is well known that dividing into polar "they" and "us", comparing cultures, looking for differences serves as a ground for self identifying the culture, one of the ways to get self awareness.

These two aspects – similarities and differences of cultures can be a starting point of two different strategies for cooperation among cultures. The first strategy is a cosmopolitan one, it can be called "anonymous universalism". The other is chauvinistic, it reveals many forms, the most dangerous of which is ethnocentric chauvinism. Both strategies combat with the core essence of culture, as they treat culture very lop-sidedly and try to set borders to its infiniteness. Both strategies are false and destructional. Dialogue is the golden mean, free from extremities.

One of the speakers, Professor Wallerstein, was arguing that dialogue means equality of cultures. It goes without doubt. Dialogue is not just a situation when one culture shows tolerance and understanding to the other. It means something more: that one culture needs to communicate with the other, completely different.

Equality of cultures, their sovereignty to shape their own values, priorities and standards of life is an essential condition for a fruitful dialogue among cultures.

Here we may tackle with a whole range of problems. Allow me to indicate them. Cultures are different. They differ in the level of development,

multifaceted infrastructure, size, they differ in the way how much they contribute to the world culture, that is how one culture influenced the others. Cultures are multiply different.

Then a question arises: how can they cooperate on equal terms? Let's take as an example worldwide religions and small sects, or languages of great nations with glorious literary works and languages of small nations. They seem to be completely different. How can they cooperate?

Another point is that every culture not only claims itself to bear principles of truth and justice, but also lays a claim to be unique in possessing absolute truth. Moslems consider their religion the only true one, but so do Christians with their religion. How can they have a dialogue in such case? If each of them possesses the absolute truth, what can they talk about with each other?

I denoted only two obvious problems. But there is a wide range of other problems that appear due to differences in cultures. I fully agree with the deep concern of my colleague Piotrovsky that dialogue can change from a friendly discussion to a challenge, you know.

Talking about dialogue of cultures, we should realize that it is just a figure of speech, something highly abstractional. Cultures and civilizations have no bodies, they don't meet with each other. It is people of different cultures that meet, like groups or communities or nations. They don't meet to discuss cultural differences, but to solve actual problems that worry them. These problems have already made people involves into process of ideological interaction. Bearing all this in mind, I'd like to point out that troubles and problems that appear in dialogue of cultures can be solved if we treat them as a model of interpersonal dialogue and cross cultural communication. That is, we should consider dialogue of cultures as a dialogue of people, cooperation among people taken separately. This is the only way to solve problems.

But people are different too in social status, wealth, moral principles, aesthetic, preferences, in thousands other ways. Still, civilization has worked out certain conditions of how people can cooperate despite their differences. Moral dignity of each person, political rights of citizens of democratic society are recognized as a possibility to cooperation, where individual differences stop serving as an obstacle, but become a condition to mutual understanding.

The same is true about claims for absolute truth. People can also differ in the concepts of the good and the evil. And the abyss can be so deep, that what is good for one is evil for the other. But in the history of humankind we have worked out some procedures how to behave in such cases: everyone should give up claims to judge these issues. Otherwise, when differences reach two absolute different poles, the next step may be confrontation, violence, an attempt to solve problems by force. I guess that cultures, too, should treat such claims as home issues. Nobody can prevent Moslems from considering their religion as the only true one. But in cases of cooperation and dialogue this problem

<sup>1</sup> President of Philosophy Institute of the Russian Academy of Science, Head of the Department of Ethics of Moscow State University, doctor *honoris causa* of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Academician of the Russian Academy of Science, Vice-President of the Russian Philosophy Community. His scientific interests are history and theory of ethics, social philosophy, etc. the author of more than 300 papers, including "Golden Means of Ethics" (1979); "The Great Moralists" (1995); "Language and Consciousness" (1996); "Philosophy, morality, politics" (2002); "Antique ethics" (2003). Laureate of the State Award of the Russian Federation. He is awarded with UNESCO Diploma and Mahatma Gandhi Medal for Outstanding Achievement in Promotion of Tolerance and Non-violence.



should be excluded from any discussion. Dialogue of cultures is possible in all cases except disputing value status of cultures. It mustn't be the topic of the dialogue. Here a priori presumption of equality begins to work. Arguments who is better and who is worse appear absolutely senseless.

In the conclusion I want to touch upon the problem of tolerance. We link tolerance and cooperation of cultures. But a question may arise: to what extent can tolerance go? What shall we do if some people deny the idea of tolerance? As the most general solution I can offer the following: tolerance can't mean only accepting other culture's convictions. It is a dead end, in case we deal with intolerant religions. The most fruitful way is to treat tolerance in the negation formula, as not forcing your ideas upon others. This is the core point about tolerance that will save us from logical dead end.

The point I'm driving at is the following: dialogue of cultures pre-supposes that people are ready and willing to start dialogue. It is explicated in placing exacting demands upon oneself rather than trying to estimate others. Dialogue of cultures requests a certain level of socially responsible, highly developed people. I'd like to close by greeting everyone on behalf of the Institute and Russian Academy of Science. Thank you.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Thank you, Abdusalam Abdulkherimovich. Dear colleagues! Allow me to say some words about addresses and greeting that the International Scientific Likhachov Conference has received. I won't read them out, but name some of them. Welcoming addresses were received from: Chairman of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation Boris Vyacheslavovich Grysllov; President of the Russian Academy of Science Ury Sergeevich Osipov; President of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia Mikhail Viktorovich Shmakov; Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergei Viktorovich Lavrov; Minister of Education and Science of Russia Andrew Alexandrovich Fursenko; Deputy Chairperson of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation Svetlana Sergeevna Zhurova; Governor of Kaliningradsky region Georgy Boos; Chairman of the Legislative Council of St. Petersburg Vadim Tulpanov; Deputy of the State Duma, President of the Institute of International Security Issues, Academician Kokoshin; on behalf of the Federal Agency of Education Butko Evgeni Yakovlevich; on behalf of the Russian Psychological Society Ury Zinchenko and other. I won't be able even to mention them all. But we will publish their texts. However, with your permission let me read out one of the addresses:*

To members of the Steering Committee, participants and guests of the 8th International Likhachov Scientific Conference

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 development of humanitarian sciences, steadfast and righteous moral norms.

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

Chairman of Government Of the Russian Federation V. Putin

*Now I give the floor to Professor Yakovenko Alexander Vladimirovich. Alexander Vladimirovich is a Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Doctor of Law. You are welcome.*

**A. V. YAKOVENKO<sup>1</sup>:** Dear ladies and gentlemen, I'm grateful to have this opportunity to address you. In my presentation I'll touch upon the role and influence of religion on the world policy.

Diversity of cultures and civilizations is a hallmark of the modern world. It is only now that global competition acquires all-civilization dimension, do we become aware its special significance. Fullest expression of cultural and religious traditions potential is the way to accomplish for peaceful coexistence. Human rights can't be provided without respecting moral and ethical norms.

Russia contributes directly to making international relations more democratically based. This country strives to ensure every nation and state to take their proper place in the world community. Recounting to the history of Russia makes clear the reason for such policy: we have experienced throughout centuries that multi cultural and multi religious traditions can peacefully co-exist within one country.

The concept of religion role and status on the world arena is laid on the ground of conjugating challenging matters of today's society with basic values of main world religions, that form moral and ethical norms as well as liaisons for all nations. If we don't take these principles into account, we will fail to solve challenging problems justly as mutually formulated law principle, we will fail to deepen mutual understanding and create an enduring foundation for cooperation among countries

<sup>1</sup> Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Doctor of Law, Professor, a full member of the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, a member of the Russian Academy of Science Council on Space, member of the Council on foreign and military policy, the author of the textbook on international right and a wide range of books, for example "Progressive Development of International Space Law" (1999), "Modern Space Projects; Problems of International Law" (2000).

in the global multipolar world, when competition grows at a fast and alarming rate.

Ethical fundamentals, originated by world religions and warranting strong support, might help to carry forward an important mandate (including the one of the "Alliance of civilizations" under the UN) of contributing to peace and security through international cooperation. It may well help to facilitate observing civil rights and freedoms, in the extent to which individual freedom should be subordinated to collective needs. For example, to motivate and propel this idea, we initiated a margin seminar of the UN Council on Human Rights "Russian Orthodox Confession and Human Rights".

The more astonishingly multipolarity rises in the world, the more significant role religion plays, influencing the world politics. Even a middling expert can observe that the model of secular liberalism with constantly growing consumption fails to give answers to challenging problems of modernity. Such issues as environment pollution, natural fossils depletion, global poverty are growing sharper. Inter ethnic and inter religious relationships are becoming more tense, too.

This tendency reveals itself at full length in Western Europe, where countries have come across the problems of integrating a large community of Moslem immigrants. The rate of Moslems is expected to grow up to 10% of population in European Union by 2010. Progressing secularization of West European society and giving benefits to materialistic values may serve as impulse to begin inevitable confrontation between the native population and immigrant communities.

To make the matters worse, secular liberalism of European elite societies grows more intolerant. We could witness it when mass media persisted in denying their responsibility for unleashing a "caricature scandal", in setting on the Net anti Islamic film made by the Netherlands Parliament member and other events, that hurt religious feelings of the Moslems. Very feeble attempts to reflect this new reality are being made now in the West, but they won't warrant strong support by all governments and their citizens.

All the facts, mentioned above, enable us to make a conclusion: the world politics lacks such categories as self-restriction and solidarity, which are the only ones that can provide solving many issues on controlling the world development in modern era. We need to ground international relations with moral and ethical norms, established by basic world religions, including mutual respect and tolerance toward life and religious traditions of other nations.

Dialogue of civilizations is to play the key role in this process, namely dialogue of religions. We in Russia are well aware of it. President of Russia in his address in November 2007 to Moscow diplomatic corpse said that Russia is willing to enhance mutual understanding between nations of Europe, contribute to peace and tolerance among different confessions. We suggest we turn back to moral and ethical norms of European civilization, including

USA, Western Europe and Russia. To keep European civilization at the head of global process demands to put together different ways of solving challenging problems of modern life.

We are well aware that the role of religion in international relations is growing and want to exploit it at full length in mutual projects with "Alliance of Civilizations", Council of Europe and OSCE and contacts with European Union. We are interested to further favourable political and diplomatic climate to provide interreligious dialogue and to eliminate all attempts to use religious extremism as a lever in politics. An important stage in solving this issue was World Summit of Religious Leaders, held in July, 2006 in Moscow. Russia is a partner of three sided Forum on interreligious peaceful cooperation. The Forum unites official representatives of countries and organizations like UN or non-governmental organizations. During the 62nd session of the General Assembly of the UN in October 2007 representatives of Russia, including Russian Orthodox Confession, took an active part in the first high level "Dialogue on encouraging interreligious and intercultural understanding and cooperation for the sake of peace".

In 2007 Russia put forward an initiative to form Consultative Panel of Religions under the UN. Moscow patriarch office and its department of External Relations suppose that the panel could unite representatives of Christianity (Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox and Byzantine confessions), Islam (Sunnism and Shiism), Hebrew, Dharmic Religions (Buddhism, Hinduism), Sintoism. The Panel, being a religious organization would choose secular ways and methods of work. The range of issues would involve expertise on interreligious dialogue and dialogue with non-religious partners, trying to stop defamation of religion, intolerance and xenophobia, protecting sacred places of pilgrimage, promoting solving regional conflicts with religious background. This question was widely discussed during the visit of the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon to Moscow in April, 2008.

An important field to apply our efforts is cooperation with the organization "Islamic Conference", where Russia is considered an ally of Islamic nations to solve challenging issues of high priority for Moslems. Our cooperation with Islamic Conference is based on necessity to combine different ways of solving international issues with basic moral and ethical values of world religions. To make experience of peaceful co-existence of Islam and Christianity more well known in other countries, we set a group of strategic perspective "Russia and Islamic World", that operates successfully.

All in all, the correct exploiting of religion role might help to settle regional and inter ethnic conflicts, to enhance mutual trust and to provide cooperation of all parties, based on UN activity in world issues. It would also put an end to attempts of using religious slogans in political struggle, and it would benefit for formulating human rights and civic freedoms that can be accepted by all nations.

I guess that “Alliance of Civilizations” – the Forum that enables us to discuss these problems at UN – provides a strong basis to the dialogue of equal partners. It is essential for contributing to peace and security not only in one country but among nations, thus conflicts with religious backgrounds might be settled. It is a priority for Russian foreign policy and we will keep following this principle. Thank you.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Thank you. Now I call upon Doctor of Economics, Professor, Deputy Minister of Culture and Mass Communication of the Russian Federation Andrew Evgenievich Busygin to extend his welcome to you.*

**A. E. BUSYGIN<sup>1</sup>:** Ladies and gentleman, dear friends, distinguished Bureau, allow me to read out the welcome address of Minister of Culture of the Russian Federation Alexander Alexeevich Avdeev:

“It is a pleasure to extend a warm welcome to hosts, participants and guests of the 8th International Scientific Likhachov Conference on behalf of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation.

The significance of Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov’s personality for Russia can hardly be overestimated. He discovered a completely new approach to culture as of sense-building backbone in the life of the state, peoples, every person in particular.

The name of Academician D. S. Likhachov is closely connected with history and culture of the North Palmira (as St. Petersburg is called). With reference to it, holding the Conference in his honour and memory in the great city of St. Petersburg is symbolic. This event is a bright evidence that D. S. Likhachov’s ideas are still up-to-date. At the same time, it is also an intention to further his ideas, to see chances of applying them in new historical environment.

It is crucial that a great mane of schoolchildren from cities and towns of Russia are involved in the Conference. It is they who are to inherit and advance national culture, science, economy; and the name of our great contemporary D. S. Likhachov will serve a firm landmark in the world of culture.

I wish all participants of the Conference fruitful work, interesting discussions and all the best.

Minister of Culture Of the Russian Federation A. A. Avdeev”.

Alexander Sergeevich, let me hand in the address to you. As far as I’m concerned personally, allow me to continue by discussing problems of dialogue of cultures and civilizations. Today this Assembly Hall has heard plenty of interesting ideas. I’d like to emphasize one more.

I fully agree with Academician Guseinov, who argued that dialogue of cultures and civilizations

is an abstraction, because it isn’t cultures that communicate, it is people of different cultures, ethnical, national and global that communicate. It is expected, that people with different cultural backgrounds must be ready for the dialogue. But unfortunately, it often happens that stereotypes prevent cultures from cooperation. To prepare people to dialogue such stereotypes should be withdrawn.

I remember the World Newspaper Congress being held in Moscow two years ago and Mr. Timoty Bolding, President of the World Newspaper Congress giving an interview to the radio station “Ekho Mosckvy” (the Echo of Moscow). He said: “Have a look at two great nations – the English and the French. The English don’t want to know anything about The French, and the French think that all Englishmen ride bicycles and wear top hats”. Such a very primitive perspective on each other is striking.

By the way, breaking stereotypes is important not only in international affairs. It is crucial for Russian home affairs too, because this country is multi ethnical and multinational. This problem has become challenging nowadays as the process of migration grows at a high rate. As an example, let’s consider the Region of Mid Volga (it may be called the most multinational region of the Russian Federation.). The percentage of native Russians there is even less than in the North Caucasus. But even during the turmoil of the 1990s the Mid Volga Region experienced no ethnical conflicts. There were some nationalist groups who were trying to put their ideas forth through meetings and demonstrations. But no fights occurred. It is an interconnected region with a diverse array of peoples, cultures and beliefs, coexisting inter-dependently for centuries. Peoples in this part of Russia have learned to have dialogue.

The situation changes dramatically when peoples from the Central Caucasus or Mid Asia migrate to central Russian provinces, for instance, Smolensky region. This is where intolerance to other cultures begin. The reason for it is cross-cultural misunderstanding and stereotypes, that must be eliminated by means of culture.

I guess that so far little has been done about this problem in our country. I expect that the Ministry of Culture, being reorganized now, will pay a lot of attention to implementing such kind of state policy on developing dialogue of cultures.

It is necessary to cultivate tolerance, friendly relations with other cultures since childhood. A very powerful source here is knowledge of folklore and fairytales. Recently I went to one of the largest chain book stores in Moscow “BiblioGlobus” to see what fairytales were on sale. There were mostly Russian, a bit of Ukrainian and that’s all. I asked: “Could you show me any book of fairy tales of peoples in Russia?” The shop girl looked bewildered and replied: “Which ones?” I explained: “For example, the Tartas, Yakuts, Bashkirs, Chuvashes, Buriats. Do you have any?” “No, nothing of the sort”. We do publish such books, but if, for instance, they are published in Kalmykia, they are distributed

<sup>1</sup> Deputy Minister of Culture of the Russian Federation, Doctor of Economics, Professor, the author of the book “Regions of Russia 2004: social and economical achievements” (2005, co-author) and monographs and publications on preserving cultural heritage of Russia.

only in Elista and neighbouring areas, but not in other parts of Russia. Meanwhile dialogue should begin with acquaintance and interest to each other, mutual recognizing. You remember the lines by Agnia Barto, a poet for children, that we learned by heart in childhood:

A Moscow girl has only 2 plaits  
An Uzbek has twenty five.

A couple of lines reveal mutual interest and respect of two cultures. Thank you.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *That was most interesting, thank you. I'd like to mention that more than 100 Doctors of Science and Professors work in this University. Among them are founders of large and new scientific branches. But when it comes to holding scientific conference, we arrange it to give the privilege of presentations mostly to guests, so that as many of them as possible could share their ideas. Although, I can't but call on one of the Professors of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences. The floor is given to Vladimir Evgenievich Churov, Chairman of the Central Election Panel. Welcome.*

**V. E. CHUROV**<sup>1</sup>: Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov treated culture in a wide universal sense. In his works and records of interviews one can find discussions on culture of behaviour, culture of work, trade and politics (including election culture), culture of choice and interstate relations, including respect to international laws, historical culture and culture of preserving and exploiting historical heritage, which Professor Piotrovsky has convincingly debated about today.

Culture in such a broad, almost universal sense is the basis of every democratic county, because our civilization keeps developing, first and foremost, within the borders of sovereign states. But to our deep regret, new problems in culture appear much quicker than we try to solve them. No sooner had we started discussing issue of cultural development in the global world and begun talking about creating global democracy, than this process appeared to be a myth and broke into smithereens. So completely different questions arose, compared to the ones we were going to discuss.

I'll give two examples. We intended to talk about culture of free international trade, but it turned out that more acute topic is trade barriers and gradual transmitting to natural exchange in international trade. We were going to discuss how to exchange freely works of visual arts and museum collections, how to give access to them to as many people as possible in all countries of the global world, but came across the necessity to deal with legal issues of protecting masterpieces from encroaching upon them. I can go on with many

more examples. But humanitarian ideas should forestall world events and direct them. This is the main target for this conference. I know that a great many challenging world issues will be discussed tomorrow at sections. I wish good luck to this Forum, one of the most respectable in humanitarian field. Thank you for your attention.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Thank you, Vladimir Evgenievich. Dear colleagues, the first part of plenary meeting is coming to the end. Before announcing the break, I'd like to arrange a small but pleasant for the University event and express my appreciation to the former President, now Prime Minister of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin and Presidential Administration.*

*Our International Conference is an independent scientific and public event that has never been initiated by authorities. However, we can't but value positive attitude, attention and support that were provided to us by Vladimir Vladimirovich and Administration of President of the Russian Federation. When Daniil Granin and I appealed to Vladimir Vladimirovich with our request, President's decree "On perpetuating the memory of Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov" was issued within 3 days. It is unprecedented for the state document of such a high rank to go through formalities in such a short period. Usually it may happen in case of wars or natural disasters. But in this case it was the question of principle and moral duty. Both St. Petersburg intelligentsia and Russian Scientific Community appreciated and valued this attitude. For all the time the Conference has existed, President of Russia addressed the Conference with greeting three times. It is also an unprecedented case and attention.*

*We take it as a rule not to speak about money in this hall, but I can't help saying than when the Conference grew to the scale impossible for the University to finance, we addressed our request to President about partly financing the event, and we were given President grant. Authorities do not tend to guide and lead us, but treat the conference, initiated by St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress, very attentively and friendly.*

*Today Grishin Igor Alexandrovich represents here Presidential Administration. He is commissioned to execute the decree of President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin to decorate one of our colleagues with a high order, namely Lev Abramovich Sankin, First Vice-President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, who has been working in the University for 50 years. Lev Sankin together with Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov in 1993 initiated the tradition of May Scientific Conference and since then as a Vice-Chairman of Steering Committee has devoted his energy to make International Likhachov Conference at the highest level.*

*St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress doesn't have administrative body for organization work, it is performed by the staff of the University. The fact that Professor Sankin, undoubtedly one of our*

<sup>1</sup> Chairman of the Central Election Panel of the Russian Federation, Professor of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, the author of the documentary novel "Mystery of four generals" (2005), the book "Elections in Russia: legal and organizational difficulties of the coming Elections" (2007).

*leaders, is decorated with a high award makes us feel pride and deep appreciation to the Government. Mr. Grishin, please, carry forward your mandate to decorate Professor Sankin with the order of Honour.*

(Ceremony of decoration.)

*Thank you, Igor Alexandrovich. Lev Abramovich, the floor is given to you.*

**L. A. SANKIN:** I can't put into words my appreciation for this high award that estimates my contribution. I think it is also a sing of value for all staff work. I had the honour to take part in Likhachov Conference since 1993. I thank all participants of the Conference who accepted our invitation to take part in it. I think our pursuit may prove to be the most important accomplishment. Thank you.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Please accept my gratitude for you work for the sake of Russian Science and Culture.*

*I give the floor to President of World Public Forum "Dialogue of civilization". Ex-chairman of European Council Walter Schwimmer (Austria).*

**W. SCHWIMMER<sup>1</sup>:** Europe and its neighbours face similar challenges in a fast globalizing world and we need to prepare our societies to deal with them. The right answers are essential. The challenges to our future – global terrorism tries to hijack religion, the poverty gap is growing, financial mismanagement in one country has suddenly global impacts, the threats to environment and climate and not to forget migration flows that get out of control – require a collective regional, international and global response. Facing these challenges leaves no space for "the clash of civilizations". On the contrary, civilizations are jointly challenged. Terrorism is not the result of one civilization opposing or attacking another one, no, it is an attack on all civilizations. The same view applies to the problem of poverty, to keeping the economy moving, to the threats to climate and our natural resources or to global migration flows. We need global thinking and global solidarity.

We are still sometimes divided on the responses to common challenges. Some are tempted to find convenient enemies, feeding all sorts of phobias and hatred. But we should not be distracted from the pressing challenges of ensuring peace, sustainable development, human dignity and democracy, because they are the keys to any effective answer.

Indeed, terrorism as the ultimate opposite to dialogue must be defeated with utmost vigour but not at any cost, certainly not at the cost of human dignity, human rights, respect for cultural and

religious diversity, the rule of law and democracy: we must not undermine ourselves those fundamental values that terrorists mock and ruin.

And it is essential that the root causes of terrorism be addressed. I started in the Council of Europe an ambitious programme for intercultural and interreligious dialogue and I still do not get tired to appeal to invest in education, confidence-building, action against social exclusion, illegal migrations, etc., and also and in particular to fight stereotypes, all kind of xenophobia, anti-Semitism as well as Islamophobia, intolerance and discrimination. And I have been convinced, that Europe cannot do this alone and on its own only.

Looking to our common challenges and also opportunities we have much more in common than many people in our countries think. Unfortunately people too often look first at differences and what may divide us than to what may unite us.

Diversity within and between our societies should be seen as an asset, not as an obstacle. We must learn to learn from each other.

Europe itself contains a wide diversity of nations, cultures, religions, minorities. Europe this is 48 states, 200 languages, several religious denominations Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox Christians, Muslims, Jews, even Buddhist, Latin, Germanic, Slavic, Ottoman traditions and others. There has been always an interaction with our neighbours in the East and in the South.

In times of rising xenophobia and intolerance we have to recall the positive experiences with the wide diversity of nations, cultures and religions in Europe. I am convinced that it was exactly this diversity which helped to create a European cultural identity, to achieve so much in sciences and arts and to develop a European political identity. And this very specific identity includes the obligation to share the achievements with the neighbours and to get friends with the neighbours.

Europe has learned to some extent, after tragic historical experiences, to develop responses to today's challenges based on a joint commitment to democracy, human rights and the rule of law.

The responses, which we learned from our experience build on universal values reflected in fundamental texts of the United Nations which are our common heritage.

So the European commitment to these global responses should include a real partnership with our neighbours in facing common challenges.

I have repeated my own conviction that many current problems do not reflect a clash of civilizations but a clash of ignorance. I strongly believe that we can together afford bridging the understanding gap not only between Islamic nations and the so-called West, but also between all civilizations.

Each of us can start at home.

Increased attention to unsolved conflicts may be deemed an important priority in the fight against terrorism. We should attach particular importance to the restoration of human rights and the rule of law that should in turn facilitate any political

<sup>1</sup> Member of the National Assembly (Parliament) of Austria, President of World Public Forum "Dialogue of Civilization", Secretary General of the Council of Europe (1999–2004), Doctor of Law, the author of books: "Soziale Folgen der Inflation" (1987, co-author), "The European Dream: Europe from 19th century to the third millennium" (2003), translated into Russian, English, Italian and other languages.

settlement in various conflict areas around the world.

The Iraq war is – as we can daily realize – not over. Afghanistan is still day by day the source of bad news. UN and African Union are still faced with the dramatic humanitarian situation in the Darfur province in Sudan.

As regards the Middle East, I would recall the "road map" of the "quartet" and that we see the return to the rule of law and the respect for the legal authorities of the Palestinians as part of the democratic and peaceful alternative to violence and terrorism. Fighting brought only suffering and no solution. There can be no military solution. Only reconciliation and mutual recognition will bring an end to this conflict.

We saw clashes between state authorities and opposition in Zimbabwe, and before Pakistan or in Georgia, and whenever religion, race or nation seems to play a role in such conflicts, it is my deep conviction, that that all is just hijacked and abused for very simple political reasons.

What can we do in this sea of troubles beside keeping our optimism and sticking to our ideals?

We can jointly re-examine history teaching in order to overcome ignorance and prejudice.

In the same spirit, we should assess the way young people are made aware of diversity as a contribution to the intercultural and inter-religious dialogue as the alternative to the clash of ignorance. Education plays a key role in inculcating basic knowledge and promoting empathy about religious diversity as well as democratic practices. Let us engage in the development of standard curricula that should help teachers all over our globe to do precisely that. Becoming aware of the existence of other faiths and of their main features must become an indispensable part of any education in order to limit prejudice and hostility.

Religion and democracy have in common the goal of peace and the concept of recognition and respect for others. In today's world it should mean all the others, without any further categories, distinctions or discriminations.

Neither the European nor the global project of dialogue can be defined along narrowly construed cultural, religious, historic, geographic or even ethnic lines.

The project of political Europe is first and foremost based on values of democracy, human rights and the rule of law, of mutual respect for equality and human dignity. The same applies in a more and more globalized world to our common project of a better world. Valuing and linking diversity through a shared commitment to fundamental values are keys to stable societies, free of fear and free of terrorism. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and in rights. We have to defend and protect freedom, equality, dignity and rights together.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Thank you, Mr. Schwimmer. Now I call upon one of the leading Slavic researches of present time, René Guerra (France). Our guest is Professor in the University of Nice.*

**R. GUERRA<sup>1</sup>:** Dear ladies and gentlemen, dear colleagues and friends, I'm grateful to Alexander Sergeevich Zapesotsky for his invitation. It's a privilege for me to participate in the International Likhachov Conference. I deeply honour the memory of Dmitry Sergeevich and feel a bit worried and excited standing at the portrait of this great Russian man, a real intelligent, and presenting my speech to you.

Both for you and me D. S. Likhachov is, first and foremost, an embodiment of dialogue of cultures and civilizations, he represented that sort of cooperation, and no one could do it better. That's why this Scientific Conference touched me to the core with its name "Dialogue of Cultures and Partnership of Civilizations". I myself have humbly been serving, promoting and hoping for this dialogue for many years. It has become especially required nowadays, both in Russia and in European Union, particularly in France. I don't deal with politics, it is just my cry in the wilderness.

I hope to communicate here with many good friends and acquaintances. I won't list everybody I'd like to talk with, but I' like to mention my close friend Yuri Alexeevich Ruzhov, who represented Russia in the time of his serving as First Ambassador of the Russian Federation in France. I'm delighted to see and welcome another person, to whom I'm indebted, that is Eldar Ryazanov, as well as my friends from the publisher's house of "Rossiiskaya Gazeta".

I'm glad to have a chance to talk with intelligent people and follow the guidelines, left by Dmitry Sergeevich. It was often said that he was the last Russian intelligent. There is some truth in it. But let's hope that his ideas will be followed. It depends first and foremost on those present here today. All of us have to be intelligents to make this dialogue enhanced and enriched rather than just kept and followed. Because it isn't a "social order", in the demand of history, the duty entrusted to us by history itself.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Thank you, Mr. Guerra. The floor is given to Akaev Askar Akaevich, the first President of the Kyrgyzstan Republic, doctor honoris causa of the Russian Academy of Science, Academician of the Kyrgyzstan Republic.*

**A. A. AKAEV<sup>2</sup>:** Chairman and colleagues, It is a great honour to address distinguished guests.

<sup>1</sup> Professor of the University of Nice (France), publisher, collector, he has at his disposal the largest collection of works by "the first wave" Russian immigrant writers, poets and artists. The author of books: "They took Russia with them... Russian immigrant artists in France in 1920–1970s" 1995 translated into Russian), "The Pity to Russian people" (1992 translated into Russian) etc.

<sup>2</sup> Academician of the Kyrgyzstan Republic Academy of Science, a foreign member of the Russian Academy of Science, President of Kyrgyzstan Republic (1990–2005), Doctor of Technical Sciences, Professor, doctor *honoris causa* and professor *honoris causa* of Moscow State University named after M. V. Lomonosov, the author of books: "Hard Way to Democracy – Memorable Decade" (2002), "History Piercing My Heart" (2003), "Thinking of the Future with Optimism" (2004), as well as more than 80 scientific publications and course books on information technologies.

I'm grateful for the opportunity to take my place on the platform. This is not the first time I've participated in Likhachov Conference, but every time I feel appreciation and admire the memory of the prominent Russian citizen Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov. I worship the role this scholar, philosopher, humanist of high moral and ability to foresee out future played in the life of peoples inhabiting vast European and Asia territories. Following the tradition, Likhachov Conference is devoted to the most challenging problems that appear in our society at transitive periods of its development. This conference is not an exception. I have long been interested in the problem of relations among civilizations and cultures. Many times I made presentations at international forums, and even from UNESCO platform, and I still deeply reflect on why we have to apply so much effort in struggling through confrontational views, to prove what seems to be absolute truth about necessity of partnership and dialogue among civilizations and cultures. It may mean only one thing – there still exist forces in the world that are concerned with imposing intolerant concepts upon us.

Allow me to illustrate my words and adjust my theory to present times using as an example the ideas of American politics researcher, Professor Samuel Huntington, whose name has already been mentioned at the conference and who some 12 years ago published a world-famous book "The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking the World Order". I'd like to emphasize how publication of this book correlates in time to controversial processes in the world, caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union and its vanishing from the world political life. Instead of the Empire of Evil as the Soviet Union was called, another monster was created – Islamic civilization. Many new threats were claimed to have appeared: hot battlefields, fracture lines and other apocalyptic threats. I wouldn't like to go further on in theoretical discussion, but I can't but be concerned with confrontation ulcers that express themselves at full length in the world.

Imposing confrontational views in relations among civilizations isn't just a theoretical exercise that can make no harm. Such ideas when rooted down in mentality of peoples, especially in the global era, can finally lead to very dangerous results. We have a saying in Russian: "An unloaded rifle may fire once a year". Sinister confrontational ideas must and will be opposed by common sense and historical optimism. I claim to withdraw the term "conflict of civilizations" from political vocabulary. World civilizations originally belong to one world, where they live and develop, though for some historical reasons, their rise and development has different rates. To underline a conflict component in their life circle is to twist the reality. Multinational world where people of different origins, cultural and traditional backgrounds co-exist together is a bright and attractive world with few challenging issues. Likhachov Conference is a perfect place to dethrone harmful myths in this sphere.

Being of Kyrgyz origin myself, I have lived in Russia for many years and have always been keen

and interested in processes, going on here. For me as a researcher, Russia provided multi civilizational system, sort of a cut of European and Asian community with its diversity of nations. It is well known, that on our planet cooperation among individuals, each characterized by uniqueness, can be accomplished within the family and ethnic group and is based on human moral and ethical norms. In humane genome there are no sections that are responsible for antagonistic relations with others. On a higher level of nations and multi national groups some norm are added, they are social conventions.

Positive levers of multinational relations have always been built in the mechanism of Russian home affairs. It has become out typical feature. Recounting to the early history makes it clear: at that time it was crucial to unite peoples and nations on the territory of Russia, and native Russians served as a liaison among them all.

One of the best examples in modern history, proving my words, is the Great Patriotic War. Russia has experienced many home turmoils such as peasantry rebellions, proletarian revolutions, bloody civil war conflict. The Civil War of 1917–1920 is still considered as a real national disaster. But in the Russian history there have never been any examples when national civil squabbling had ethnical background, using the modern political language "they didn't have inter-civilizational conflict nature".

Even rejecting Bolshevik's ideology, I can't but admit that in Soviet times the policy of international relations and friendship among people made a positive effect. For centuries Russia has attracted everyone by creating a home system of friendly relations among ethnical groups, and in the foreign policy it acted as a protector of its neighbours' interest from other countries invasion.

That's why in 1785 wise Kyrgyz rulers sent an ambassadorial delegation to the empress Catherine the Second with a request to accept their people as the subjects to the Russian crown. At the same time other peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia appealed with the same requests. The interest was mutual. Some leading public figures of Russia, especially its scholars and researchers were keen on studying peoples of the East. Prominent scientists like V. V. Radlov, V. V. Bartold, A. N. Bernstein and others contributed greatly to studying Kyrgyz history. Russian culture unveiled and made known our national poetic manuscript – heroic epical work "Manas" with its thousand-year history. Later this noble tradition concerning Oriental culture was continued by Leo Gumilev. It would be awfully unfair to suppose that relations among Russia and Central Asia at any stage were influenced by conflicts of civilizations, though in religion background they belong to completely different civilizational genotypes.

Inter-civilizational balance, as Soviet period showed, can't be gained without efforts, but only by centralized policy, targeted at enhancing friendship among nations and international tendencies. In modern world when xenophobia, race intolerance

and other negative processes display signs of inter-civilizational conflicts, it is only well-reasoned state policy in the field of international relations among our 2 countries or including all post-Soviet states that appears to be significant. For example, our national idea "Kyrgyzia is our common home" played a tremendous role in our republic.

Dear colleagues, we may ponder upon the question: how do conflicts in the world appear, if inter-civilizational relations are not bound to confrontational background.

What factor led to wars and still is promoting conflicts in the world? Historical process analysis reveals that, practically, there haven't been any large-scale wars at inter-civilizational fracture lines for the last couple of years.

Two bloody world wars of the 20th century and other events of the same level had inter-civilizational background and can be characterized as inter-state and inter-block events. Today in the world there are many acute conflicts, fraught with dangerous wars, but hardly can any of them be called having inter-civilizational roots. Those who refer to inter-civilizational controversy want to disguise or justify the usage of military forces to put into life their materialistic intentions, especially with a view to control oil and gas markets and other strategic fossils. The same roots and targets can be noticed in the policy of imposing democracy by external forces, initiating "colour" revolutions without taking into account national interests of the countries concerned. Do we have a guarantee that alarming events in Iraq, shadow-covered with the idea of democratization, or dangerously growing machinations about Iran will remain within the borders of that region. It's been 7 years that the West has waged military actions, propagating noble democratic ideas. The war hasn't come to the end yet, and the progress hasn't started yet either.

Analyzing the situation in my native region, Central Asia, and outside it, I begin to understand better and value higher humanistic spiritual attraction of Russia for Asian people. To begin with, in our common Soviet home the regulations were severe, and a slight mistake could lead to the punishment, but in that united and not always tender home republic grew mature. When the turbulent times came and Soviet Union appeared at the edge of collapse, Russia didn't force former republics to remain under its administrative control and allowed them to choose their destiny themselves. But it might have happened the other way round, on thorough consideration. In severe Soviet conditions Russia nested sister republics and in 1991 let them floating by themselves, after ensuring that they are powerful enough to lead their own life following their national traditions and interests. In post-Soviet years Moscow has never imposed its partners the ways of organizing political, social and economic life, ways of developing democratic process, and even in spite of being in straightened conditions, Moscow invested many resources in its neighbours in order to lessen the consequences of post Soviet system crisis. We have always treated it as might and glory of Russia.

Dear colleagues, I can't help mentioning today that not only territory, but cultural, literature and artistic heritage has become interconnected and interdependent, thanks to hundreds years of effort of many nations with Russians at the head in the East part of this continent. We have always had the right to be proud of common, united cultural masterpieces that included cultural heritage of all sister republics. Our ancient aesthetical treasury included, along with Slavonic "The Tale of the Host of Igor", that had been thoroughly studied by Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov, such literary works as Kyrgyzian epic "Manas", Georgian "The Knight in the Tiger Skin", Armenian "David of Sasun", Azerbaijanian "Kitabe dede Korkut" and many others. Our writers, poets, scholars, philosophers were not isolated, neither were their ideas. For me, a Kyrgyz, both Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin and Taras Grigorievich Shevchenko were as close as I well know, as to the Russians and Ukrainians.

Separation of states and countries doesn't mean separation of cultural spirit of our countries. I especially want to touch upon this problem, because all of us are growing worried for the destiny of vast humanitarian territory that had been formed for ages in the East of the continent. Even its existence has always positively and inspiringly influenced inter-civilizational relations in the world. With reference to it, I should say that attempts to involve Ukraine and Georgia into NATO and imposing on them a strange North Atlantic Culture can lead to more fractures in our mutual cultural temple. Had Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov been alive today, he would have raised his voice with us, protesting against vandalistic attempts to eliminate and break the united and common heritage, created by our ancestors, that is targeted at enhancing humanistic values linking our peoples forever. His guidelines are sacred for everybody present in this hall.

Dear colleagues, uniting process of post Soviet countries meets the requirements and interests of these countries. We should coordinate efforts to re-birth a common economical territory that had existed in past decades. It will serve as a material base for spiritual sphere. We also need a sustainable display of spiritual community for our peoples in the field of education, culture and humanitarian cooperation. Thus I consider it necessary to change to a large extent humanitarian activities of CIS. It could be a good idea to establish a humanitarian University of CIS, say, in St. Petersburg, where the new educational establishment could base upon vastly developed college infrastructure. Why all CIS countries have American and European universities, but there's no CIS University. Standards and traditions of Russian university education are high in our countries, they may well compete with best Western Universities.

I also think that the system of exchanging graduates, undergraduates, Doctors and Professors hasn't been worked out, however, it might be beneficial. CIS doesn't even have its own cultural centre, though such demand is urgent. This list could be continued. Cultural and spiritual links can't be enhanced in vacuum, they should receive



support. And as usual, we fully rely on Moscow in this process.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Thanks, Akar Akaevich. Colleagues, allow me to give the floor to Oleg Timofeevich Bogomolov, Academician of the Russian Academy of Science, doctor honoris causa of the International Economic and Political Research Institute at the Russian Academy of Science, Doctor of Economics, Professor.*

**O. T. BOGOMOLOV<sup>1</sup>:** I'm honoured by the invitation of Chairman to participate in this important Debate and to share some visions and ideas about the role and influence of democratic values in the dialogue of cultures and civilizations.

In the global world democracy has become a dominating form of social and legal order in the world, whereas regimes of dictatorship and autocracy are considered as an exception rather than a rule. It produces a positive effect on the world social and economic advancement, benefits for bringing the world close together and mutual understanding and cooperation of different ethnic groups. Yet we are well aware that democratic values have different formats in different countries, are disproportionately pursued and quite often happen to be neglected. There's hardly any politician who doesn't swear to follow loyally the principles of democracy, but in real life very often democratic scenery has nothing to do with democracy, but disguises tyrannies and autocratic regimes. But in the dialogue of peoples, nations, civilizations our primary interest is to call for international understanding in the aspect of how to formulate democratic values and why political, economic, social and cultural phenomena in all parts of the world demand endeavours to enhance democratic institutions and observe democratic norms.

I agree with what Mikhail Borisovich Piotrovsky said: we should call on developing dialogue among civilizations, but we have been involved in it for many years. Time has come to seek for more detailed and precise ways of discussing and cooperating. We should refer to the essence of many challenges, including advancement of democracy, that is a prerequisite for economic flourish, rather than confine ourselves to vague generalities.

Economics of the contemporary world, based on knowledge potential and results of innovations, requires democratic changes. It also needs free, educated leaders with a capacity to think clearly and independently. Democracy pursuing its fundamental principles tends to wield a high influence on economic growth and enhancing national com-

petition. More over, it makes prerequisites for establishing equal rights and justice in international relations, promotes peaceful ways of solving conflicts, contributes to cooperation and mutual understanding of civilizations.

In theory the main attribute of democracy is considered to be provision with human freedoms and rights, including freely and openly expressing their views, criticizing authorities, free will to elect leaders and authoritative bodies, and controlling their activities. This is a core of representative democracy. Facilitating these fundamentals implies freedom of the world, available information about problems of society and economy, transparency of authoritative bodies and country leaders activities. One of the binding terms of democracy is division of legislative, executive and judicial powers, independent courts and operating of non-subordinate mass media. Effective democracy relies on structurally developed civic society, multiple-party system, where the leading party of coalition is accompanied by the opposition, possessing equal rights. A developed civic society suggests an active work of non-governmental organizations. Referring to international relations, democratic values usually involve equal rights of countries to protect and provide their sovereignty and security, settling conflicts peacefully by reasonable compromising, fair distribution of advantages of economic globalization.

More and more people in many countries share democratic values, though there are still differences in treating and pursuing these values. That's why it is crucial to develop dialogue of different cultural and ethnic groups and to find a common ground to master democratic order on national and global scale.

Specific conditions of different countries, historical traditions, level of economic growth, culture of population, etc. can't but reflect ways of civil order and extent to which democratic fundamentals are put into life. We may more or less often see their limited displaying, and it usually happens that democratic scenery disguises autocratic regime. Besides, contemporary mass media and means of communication, administrative levers of influencing people behaviour enable to manipulate existing democratic institutions.

At low economic and cultural level of people's life and centuries of autocratic regimes influence, all attempts to accelerate transition to democratic order of West European or American type can turn out as perverse democracy. Uneducated people, obsessed with thoughts how to earn for living, are easy to manipulate. In such conditions freedom to act and speak can lead to violation or absence of legal rights; freedom to behave as one feels like; enhanced criminals, high-handedness; demagogic ideas; allowing rascals to set their rules.

Domain of representative democracy in an immature society must be achieved step by step in a long process, when the right to elect and be elected, freedom of word and will, access to mass media are regulated and controlled by authoritative bodies. Unfortunately, it might be done not to support

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stability and order in the society for preparing it to true democracy, but with sordid motives to gain the power for as long as possible.

Nowadays even in developed Western countries democracy doesn't correspond to its fundamental principles. Using levers of ideological influence and power pressure allows to direct the will of the electorate to any desirable direction. Lots of politics researchers and politicians in Europe and the USA claim to witness Western democracy crisis. They state, that elections with no real choice and taking opinion of the majority into account don't permit to organize optimal state regime, providing harmonious development in society and peaceful foreign policy.

Dialogue among intellectual communities of the world civilizations can facilitate search for ways and methods to overcome what destroys basic fundamental principles of democracy. First of all, it is necessary to represent and protect interests of major classes, communities and groups of population, to promote consensus and cooperation on vital challenges, to consolidate society and to harmonize diverse methods in politics, including foreign policy. Trust to authorities is based on social conventions. Trust in international relations is a crucial prerequisite to preserve peace and advance interconnected cooperation.

Unfortunately, polarization in property and ideology in the society is being enhanced in many parts of the world. Market and constitutional reforms in transitive societies are accompanied by property stratification and spiritual estrangement of society. Tough break of conventional way of living in Russia and many other countries contributed to segregation in behaviour and consciousness. Meanwhile, we don't have to prove that such state of mind and things is an obstacle to stable social and economic progress.

We can't achieve consolidation only by calling to it. It rarely happens that power and ideological pressure can turn opponents into associates. To my mind, the way to consolidation involves solving deep contradictions of social being, that mass consciousness perceives so diversely. It isn't a coincidence that some countries are trying to soften dangerous pitfalls of capitalism and market economy, supporting social orientation of state policy and enhancing democratization of social life. They consider eliminating of unfair segregation to be the basic prerequisite for providing social justice and harmonizing social relations.

There's a dual way out of the social forces conflict and of their deep ideological discord: either one of the wrestling parties wins and forces its will upon the other or they endeavour to come to reasonable compromise and required form of agreement about what to do and how to act. Unfortunately, instead of abolishing reasons for society stratification and looking for the ways of cooperation, today the most prevailing are attempts to argue and criticize, to prevent opponents from taking part in making decisions.

Meanwhile, in contemporary society there are enough examples of interconnection and synthesis

of diversities, that was achieved by compromising and, as they call it now, converging, rather than by conflicts and rejection. It makes no difference how to call it: resolving conflicts by political means or by voluntary deliberate agreement; what is really significant is that progress today is possible only with the basis created by flourish of democracy.

All this is true regarding to contradictions in international affairs. Using military force, especially weapons of mass distraction and precise high technological weapons, can lead to tremendous human and material losses.

Democracy coercing, implemented by American administration, as the example of Iraq shows, leads to unwarranted victims and breaks stable political and economic situation in the world. Dialogue of civilizations about democratic values is important to provide observation of international legal norms and to diminish temptation to neglect them for various reasons.

Another significant prerequisite for advance economic rise is to contribute to interconnection and interdependence of authorities and common people, and to involve citizens into political events through democratic public institutions. It is vital that representative bodies, elected leader, governmental officials bear responsibility and report not only to their supreme authorities, but to those, who elected them, who pay taxes to provide for their work, who is concerned with their activity.

Economy growth demands certain rules of state order, such as: free replacement of high governmental bodies and leaders, selection of most competent, just and incorruptible leaders that the majority of population can respect and rely on. It is well known, that personality and charisma of leaders, business and moral features of political elite greatly influence methods of implementing the politics. There's no better way to prevent errors and pitfalls of political and governmental activity, than a distinct division of legislative, executive and judicial powers, as well as appreciation of reasonable opinions of minority together with majority. We need independent controlling bodies in budget and financial affairs and in considering complaints. Conclusions of these bodies must be free to access, and those who are guilty in abuse of power and unjust actions must be called to account.

Russian government has always claimed that this country will be persistent in following democratic way of development and in graduate implementing fundamentals of democracy. But national features, historical heritage, political culture both of population and authoritative bodies must be taken into account. To overcome the crisis in social consciousness and behaviour, to seek for national self-identifying, to gain awareness of national interests, to rise culture and moral norms in society is a difficult and gradual process that takes a lot of time. We'd like to avoid even sporadic turning backwards.

We have to learn to find unity even in polar ideas and approaches. Hegel's principle of unity of opposites can be applied here. We should harmonize

relations. Grounds for cooperation require analysis and attention to challenging problems. Thank you.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Thank you, Oleg Timofeevich. Among the participants today is an outstanding Russian economist Evgeni Grigorievich Yasin, Scientific Research Adviser for State University Higher School of Economics, Doctor of Economics, Professor. I give him the floor now. Evgeni Grigorievich, you are welcome.*

**E. G. YASIN<sup>1</sup>:** Thank you. Chairman and dear friends, I'm delighted to be with you and I'm grateful for the opportunity to address you. I'm especially honoured as this Conference is devoted to memory and legacy of Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov. It isn't the first time I've been invited here, and the reason why I'm so willing to take part in this event is that Dmitry Sergeevich for me was a model of high moral principles. And I guess, not only for me, but for most people both in Russia and wherever he is known.

Very important persons whom all citizens of the country are proud of are military and political leaders, etc. But the time has come to consider important those figures of large moral influence, who support high ethical fundamental principles and make every other person think of responsibility.

A famous American researcher of Indian origin Deepak Lal analyzed the history of civilizations and an interesting fact attracted his attention: basic fundamental categories of each civilization are categories of shame and guilt, strange as it may seem. These categories stick human society together, allow people to co-exist, and moreover, help each other to enhance their prosperity.

I'd like to set my attention to relations among world cultures and the way they are pursued. We are living through a turbulent epoch, a period of tectonic shift in the world economy and relations among nations, countries, civilizations, world cultures. Here are objective reasons for it. Some 100–120 years ago all key points of world civilization were concentrated in a so-called “concerto of European countries”. Later the USA and Japan were added, which has always led to conflicts of their national interests since then.

The price that the humanity paid for it in the 20th century is a well-known fact. But now, if we look at European continent, we can notice that it looks completely differently. Actually, all these great countries of the past seem to be of minor importance, even though they have a large rate of world gross output and trade. But still, the leading actors on the world stage appear to be quite different countries. Firstly, it is the USA and European Union, then goes China, India, Islamic

world, and, perhaps, Latin America. Each of these units possesses approximately billion of population or even more. They are completely different countries than before.

Another important matter is that while Europe had conflicts among nations of the same culture, nowadays we come across interconnections of different countries. The situation we can witness is as follows: Western countries are losing their share in the world population and gross output. Many people feel deeply concerned with it. I suppose, presenting the book on the Clash of Civilizations, Professor Huntington meant exactly this situation. I'd also like to remind you another book that was issued long before it – “The Decline of Europe” by Oswald Spengler.

Huntington warned that the West should be weary of the other part of the world, because, though 13% of world population inhabits the West and though they produce 40% of gross output, there is no knowing what might happen in the future. Many deep concerns arise about this reason. It's a true fact that China economy rate is 10% annually; India with its lower rate of savings still has lately displayed 9% annually and it is growing steadfast in all aspects, including the world rating. Russia nowadays also has good results, compares to other countries. But taking into account only India and China we'll get 2.5 billion people – 4 times as large as the population of Europe.

Then a question may arise: what will happen when the centres of the world economic issues move to Beijing or Delhi? I would say, fears are exaggerated and contradictions may as well reveal themselves. I want everyone to understand what we are talking about, when we hear that “evil forces create threats and obstacles in relations among nations” or “all problems should be solved peacefully”. The real matter is that nowadays China and India are having the phase of late industrialization, and they rely on their strong competitive advantages: first of all, on cheap labour force, in China it is also highly qualified, disciplined, quick learning labour force. These countries have an opportunity to use Western technologies and massively adopt achievements in their industry (in China it happens violating legal rights of intellectual property).

As a conclusion we may say that a tremendous work on China advancement is made not only by the Chinese themselves, but also by Western transnational corporations that exploit Chinese large labour market and cheap labour force. Two thirds of Chinese export to the USA are production of joint venture companies, invested by American capital or using American licenses. At the same time, these transnational corporations lobby Chinese goods at American markets. A very strange position that is. Those who insist that developed countries exploit developing ones should realize that in contemporary world we witness the situation when largest developing countries may rise only due to developed ones.

There's another circumstance, so far favourable for the West. Since the Modern History began in

<sup>1</sup> Scientific Director of High School of Economics (University), Doctor of Economics, Professor, the author of works: “Economic Systems and Radical Reforms” (1989), “How to Rise Russian Economy” (1996), “Small Business in Russia: the past, the present and the future” (2003), “Can Democracy Survive in Russia” (2005) course book: “Russian Economy: Origin and Prospects of Market Reforms” (2002) and others.

Europe and capitalism was born, which led to economic growth, economy has always been innovative. **Capitalism is economy of innovations.** In Russia we now talk of innovational economy considering it to be a modern phenomenon. But actually, it has existed for some centuries already. Recounting to history of the Industrial Revolution, we can see that it was a flow of innovations that changed the situation dramatically. It became possible under one crucial condition: innovations were based on involving large reserves of natural fossils and primary recourses into economic production. Before that civilization had been agrarian, based on rehabilitative recourses. Nowadays the problem of the West is that it doesn't have advantages it used to exploit. There's no cheap labour force and there's no chance to surpass, for example, Indian textile industry in output.

The West still has one advantage. Western civilization, including both the USA and Russia, possesses a vital feature – it is able to generate innovations. Innovation doesn't mean sporadic inventions like atomic energy or space rockets. It means that home gross output should have at least 10–15% of innovative production on the market that can be adopted in other countries.

It's time we realize that European civilization has greatly changed over the past decade. Almost all countries of this civilization are democratic. I fully agree with what Oleg Timofeevich Bogomolov said, and consider his idea very significant. Democracy isn't just wishes of good luck. Democracy has become crucial to us because innovative principles and innovative society are becoming the only guarantee for economic growth in Russia. Oil is no longer a source of economic growth. Since 2004–2005 oil extraction hasn't risen. It is the price of extracted oil that rises. The same thing is with natural gas. Other factors that favour us are, for example, market reforms of 1990s, or foreign investments into Russian national economy. But these factors are either temporary or non-rehabilitative. They have to be replaced. We are European civilization, and producing innovation is important for us, taking into account the fact, that we won't have any more free labor resources.

To produce innovations we need certain conditions, first and foremost, a democratic system that allows to get rid of corruption and bring up free-thinking people, able to create, people, free from mental restrictions. The history of the world reveals a striking fact: among the Nobel Prize Laureates there are only 9 Chinese, and even they were either born in US or educated and lived there for 10–12 years. The same thing is about India, the only difference in that the Indians received British education. An Indian Parliament Member once addressed to the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi: "Why the Indians succeed in their career abroad and fail in their native country?" The reason is clear. It wasn't Indira Gandhi's fault: it was the matter of institutions and culture, formed in the country. For Russia today culture is the primary factor of advancement, including economical. There is a culture barrier in front of us in political,

economical and social spheres. It shouldn't be only the Government that settles these problems, we have to appeal to ourselves, to each of us. This is a challenging issue for us. If we succeeded in it, Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov would have been glad. Thank you.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Thank you, Evgeni Grigorievich. I give the floor to an outstanding participant of the 8th International Scientific Likhachov Conference, Chairman of the Russian Children Foundation, Academician of the Russian Academy of Education, doctor honoris causa of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Albert Anatolievich Likhachov.*

**A. A. LIKHANOV<sup>1</sup>:** Dear colleagues, I think that Likhachov Conference in St. Petersburg is the Forum to raise the problem of teaching literature at secondary school. Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov himself was a persistent advocate of ancient Russian literature and national Russian culture. St. Petersburg is the city of Pushkin, suffice it to say. Let me quote the words about Pushkin, said by Likhachov: "We have to follow Pushkin along the paths trodden by him in poetry. His poems are there for us in love, grieve, friendship, remembrance of the past, thought of death. He is the first poet in our childhood and remains with us until death".

The Ministry of Education and Science didn't acknowledge literature as a primary school subject and included it into so-called "humanitarian range" together with foreign language, geography, history, social sciences and art, while the subject of the Russian language remained on the primary list. However, language can't do without literature, as well as the other way round. Allow me to show some figures of statistical data: in summer of 2007 exams of National General Certificate of Education were taken by 869,000 students, and only 909 received 100 points, whereas exam on literature got 0.001% in the average national rate. Literature is driven out of the list of examination subjects. School teachers don't even dare to recommend learning Pushkin's poems by heart – they don't have ministry licenses.

I myself have witnessed that in many cities Russian schoolchildren can't say anything about Pushkin, while Likhachov wrote: "Russian classical literature is a great dialogue with people, it is an appeal to their consciousness". It turns out that somebody is building a wall between literature and

<sup>1</sup> Writer, Chairman of Russian Children Foundation, President of Scientific and Research Institute of the Juvenile at the Russian Children Foundation, doctor *honoris causa* of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Academician of the Russian Academy of Education, President of the International Association of Children Foundation. He is primarily concerned with issues, like: legal right of children and protecting the juvenile. His basic publications on the topic are: "Legal Rights of Children", "Social Portrait of the Juvenile in Russia", "Custody of orphaned children", a reference dictionary "The Juvenile", "Russian White Book of Childhood", "Adult Problems of Children's Fund", "Dramatic Pedagogic", "Letters to Protect Childhood", "The World of Childhood: Dialogues", "Philosophy of Childhood", "Before Childhood" and others.

people's consciousness. Did they ask our permission?

This spring Children Foundation pursuing the project "The World of Childhood: Literacy, Morality, Creation" held a competition of school essays "The history of my family and my native town". The competition was held in Belgorodskaya region. 90,000(!) children of 5–11 grades took part in it. On the first inter-school level there were 8000 winners, on the final level 500. I read some of the essays. You should have seen how tenderly they treat their parents, grandparents, remote kinsmen. It was like pure spring of childhood poured upon me, despite all those internet blogs and vulgar slang of cities. I can assure you, our children want to read, to sympathize with literature characters, to rise up their spirit, but they bump into bans, they feel like hobbled and collared foals that aren't let to move and are taught to neigh in a foreign manner.

Dear friends, I hope you will agree with me that there are no clearly set ideas without purely spoken language. The soul is empty unless it is filled with spiritual considerations of literature. Growing fools in the all country scale is equal to the threat of national security. Likhachov said: "Nation that doesn't value culture deserves destruction". I suggest that we send an appeal on behalf of Likhachov Conference to President and Prime Minister of the Russian Federation, protesting against driving literature out of the list of primary school subjects.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Thank you, Albert Anatolievich. I think we won't vote, and applauding can be considered as votes in favour of your proposal. I can see that school teachers are all unanimous.*

*Among the participants of the conference is one of the prominent European lawyers, Academician of the Russian Academy of Science, Academician of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, President of the Institute of State and Law named after Koretsky at the Ukrainian Academy of Science. I call upon Ury Sergeevich Shemshuchenko.*

**U. S. SHEMSHUCHENKO<sup>1</sup>:** Chairman, dear guests and participants, I'm grateful to have this opportunity to address you. I'd like to point out that humanistic ideas of Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov belong to phenomena of international culture, rather than Russian national culture. His ideas are widely-spread in the Ukraine. President of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, Boris Evgenievich Paton, is one of their numerous advocates. On his behalf I welcome the Conference and wish good luck and fruitful work.

At present preparations are being made at full length to celebrate 90th anniversary of the

Ukrainian National Academy of Science. Those friendly and strong links that have always existed among Russian and Ukrainian Academies can't be torn, and I'm sure they will only advance further, enhanced by humanistic ideas and humanistic traditions. It is politicians rather than nations promote conflicts, and nations reap negative consequences of these conflicts. I'm convinced that the reasons of the conflicts should be examined to the core, and I'm glad that the Conference is targeted at it. As far as researcher, scholars, scientists are concerned we don't experience any difficulties in communication. Now we also possess financial facilities to develop relations. I suppose that cooperation will further on in scientific community.

As a law researcher, I'd like to touch upon some issues mentioned above. Some time ago Fichte argued that we live in environment of void democracy. This statement can be extrapolated to contemporary conditions under which former Soviet Republics, now sovereign states, exist. Democracy is worn out to a large extent and is often used as a screen to cover incorrect political actions. The problem is how to reveal the core essence of democratic principles and analyze ways of pursuing them. To what extent does contemporary democracy meet the needs and requirements of nations? We are aware that democracy is people's power, but how is this power feasibly executed? It will take all achievements of theory to accomplish analysis of this challenge. I hope this matter will be discussed later at the Conference.

It is obvious, that the problem of culture, the problem of uniting nations is multi faceted. As a lawyer I'd like to point out that an integral part of any culture is legal culture. The level of legal culture is very low nowadays, and it is a problem of global civilization rather than separate states. Once I claimed the idea (which I hope to implement some time) to call on the World Congress "Law and Culture", it will be a professional congress to discuss the topic thoroughly because it is a global issue.

I'm delighted to announce that the Conference provides facilities to discuss legal matters. For example, in the agenda for tomorrow there is legal section work. In the field of global legal issues we can find plenty of pressing challenges. To my mind, one of the most important is Environment Law. I myself used to pay special attention to the matter. I'd like to emphasize that legal community of Russia, Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan, even at Soviet times, worked out a project of human rights on friendly environment. Later the results of out mutual cooperation were introduced in the Constitutions of these sovereign states.

Strange as it may seem, this result is not present in any conventions or agreements on global level. That's why national Russian Law advances international Law in this sphere, in spite of international law being prior to national one. In relation to it, I consider it vital to discuss the problem of creating and adopting Global Ecological Constitution of Earth (it can be called Global Ecological Code). It

<sup>1</sup> President of the Institute of State and Law named after V. M. Koretsky at the Ukrainian Academy of Science, Academician of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, a foreign member of the Russian Academy of Science, Doctor of Law, Professor. The author of publications: "State and Public Control in Protecting the Environment" (1988), "Legal Issues of Ecology" (1989), "Nature and Law" (1991) and others.

seems reasonable to state the human right on friendly, safe and healthy environment on global level in such a code. It may promote implementing norms of international right to national legal codes, hence it may facilitate solving the challenges of environment nowadays.

I also suppose that the results of our work at this Forum will be of some interest to other countries and we will be delighted to continue this discussion with them. Thank you for your attention.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Thank you, Ury Sergeevich. We will treat the work of your section as a rehearsal of the coming International Congress "Law and Culture". I hope in 2 years we will hold it in this Assembly Hall.*

*The floor is given to Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Azerbaijanian Republic to the Russian Federation, one of the most favourite actors of several generations of Soviet people, Polad Bul-Bul Ogli.*

**P. BUL-BUL OGLI<sup>1</sup>:** I'm honoured to take part in such an impressive scientific forum as Likhachov Conference. I was lucky to know Dmirty Sergeevich personally and had the pleasure to communicate with this great man.

I'm taking part in this high forum as a music composer and singer, which used to be my primary occupation and at the same time as a culture figure, for I headed the Ministry of Culture in Azerbaijan for 20 years, along with being now Ambassador to my country in the Russian Federation and serving Director General for the International Organization "Turksoy". I'm well aware how difficult it is in transitional periods of history to keep national ethical values together. It is even more difficult to go on promoting them in dialogue and partnership. I'm a determined advocate of the idea that culture of every nation is unique and valuable, but cultural field of Europe and of the whole world should be kept as a united community. My generation well remembers how "perestroika" started and what it led to. Each of us personally and civil society in general still painfully feel its results.

We are well aware that social and cultural phenomena of various ethnic groups in any part of the world can no longer be fully understood in isolation. But, regrettably, dialogue of cultures and civilizations is more and more often replaced by verbal declarations. Undoubtedly in the course of our discussion members of high academic elite will be able to give a professional scientific definition to the term "Dialogue of cultures". As an artistic person, as a civil servant in cultural sphere, I view global dialogue of cultures and civilizations as a living matter that can be experienced and perceived, rather than just as a philosophical category. I consider this term to involve interconnecting spiritual communication

among nations; persistent and conscious steps of nations and regional communities towards each other.

It makes sense to consider dialogue of cultures in its geopolitical, economical, social environment of contemporary world. At that, we shouldn't forget complicated inter-national, inter-religious processes of the world, even influence of some corporations' interests. Talking of it, I want to divert your attention to experience of my native country and make a review of a modern state of Azerbaijanian society, our ways to solve challenging aspects of international relations. I'll give as an example increasingly enhancing bilateral relations of Russia and Azerbaijan, that are of very high priority in my country.

It is well-known that Azerbaijan due to its geographical position for centuries has served as a crossroad, where diverse ethnic groups, religions, views and ideas of prominent poets, philosophers, geographical interests of many countries came into contact. It all formed the environment in which contemporary Azerbaijan nation appeared. The 20th century for Azerbaijan has been a time of most pressing historical challenges faced by the society along with increasing spiritual breakthrough of national culture. In a couple of days, May, 28 my country will be celebrating 90th anniversary of the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan. This date plays a vital role in the history and fate of all Turki-speaking nations, as the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan was the first oriental country based on widely declared principles of Western democracy. Historical experience of this republic, fallen after Bolsheviks attack, became a sample of true devotion for open civic society committed to political balance, tolerance, a sample that taught other generations an ethical lesson of devotion to national idea.

It might be good remembering today, that a larger part of national Azerbaijanian elite grew spiritually mature in Russia and was brought up on high principles of Russian patriotism. Analyzing ethical and moral atmosphere in Azerbaijan as a Soviet Republic, one can't but notice that the fate of my nation reflected both positive and negative results of the communistic regime – philosophical and moral ideals, ideological extremes of that social formation. Fast economical and industrial rise, advancement in many aspects of social life, culture, education and art were just a demonstration of social life. Bolsheviks persecutions based on ostentatious class and social status principle, followed by Stalin's mass repressions and repatriation on national principle occurred in Azerbaijan as well as in other parts of Soviet Union. They led to complete elimination of the best intellectual and cultural members of community. But Azerbaijan, and especially its capital the city of Baku still remained at the cross section of civilizations, bearing a responsible function of a "melting pot" to create new political culture. Here elements of oriental culture and features of mentality were closely tangled with classical European cultural heritage, innovative methods of

<sup>1</sup> Ambassador of Azerbaijan Republic to the Russian Federation, Doctor of Arts, Professor, artist emeritus of Azerbaijan, author of works "Cultural Policy of Azerbaijan" (2003, co-author) and some others.

artistic quest. It is notable, that during this controversial period Azerbaijanian literature, poetry, culture and visual arts experienced the highest rise.

Leaving aside political process, one should confess that proportion of Soviet and national Azerbaijanian features in culture, though having common principles with all other Soviet republics, still possessed some typical features. For example, in the 20th century Azerbaijan had 3 major reforms of the alphabet. In 1920s Arabian graphic was replaced by the Latin alphabet, in 1939 it was substituted by Cyrillic alphabet, and in the 1990s back transition to the Latin alphabet. It should be mentioned that alphabet reform into Latin had a transition period, while Stalin's reform was noted strict order, and instantaneous implement. All this couldn't but influence negatively on preserving literal and educational environment of national culture. The toughest pressure of totalitarian ideological regime was directed on literature, theatrical art, film-making, later TV broadcasting, as they were prior and the most available aspects of cultural life.

However, despite all voluntaristic extremes, typical for Soviet cultural policy, Azrbaijaniian culture at that difficult time managed to escape the danger of complete displacing and kept its national identity. In all artistic spheres were created masterpieces, pierced with humanistic ideal, of topical interest, with distinct national features, based on high examples of national classics. Especially it is well-noted in music. I guess, everyone is acquainted with work of a great national composer Uzeir Gadgibekov, the founder of national professional school, who created the first musical in the Muslim countries "Arshin Mal Alan". Later this musical was filmed and the songs became popular all over the Soviet Union. It's an interesting fact that Uzeir Gadgibekov if the author of the National Anthem for Both first Democratic Republic and the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan.

My father Bul-Bul was a popular folk singer, who performed "mugams", folk songs. In 1930s he went to study in Italy, where he spent 4 years in "La Scala" and got acquainted with European school of singing. After returning to Azerbaijan, he organized his own school for young talented singers, who combined Eastern and European vocal styles. Forever did I remember musical festivals in the name of a great genius maestro Mstislav Rostropovich, born in Baku. Having adopted national features of Azerbaijanian music since childhood he later became a bright representative of Russian culture, serving as a liaison between two national cultures. Among the natives of Baku were such prominent Figures as Leo Landau, Richard Zorge, Bella Davidovich, Nikolai Baibakov. Our legendary county-mate Farman Salomanov was the first person to develop virgin lands of Siberia in extracting oil and gas that contributed tremendously to success of modern Russian oil industry.

Recounting to all these facts, I'd like to state: "That is the way to genuine dialogue of cultures".

Some liberalization of the social system, known in the history of the Soviet Union as "The Thaw" gave an extra stimuli to advance artistic and cultural life. We may say that 1960s and 1970s were a significant period for Azerbaijanian national culture. A whole galaxy of Azerbaijanian novelists appeared. Some write books in both languages Azerbaijanian and Russian. They managed to combine common and specific national traits. In early 1990s the beginning of new cultural policy in Azerbaijan was accompanied by large difficulties, caused by national system crisis. But even under those circumstances my nation preserved the accumulated cultural potential.

Defining conceptual basis for its new cultural policy, Azerbaijan followed centenarian traditions of cultural diversity. Promoting cultural cooperation on international level is a primary task, one of its aspects is taking part in humanitarian projects of CIS. Azerbaijan tends to reflect upon its place and perspective of cultural development on global scale. Thus we bear responsibility to enrich and to contribute to cultural diversity of the contemporary world. We can declare that a unique experience of my country, open both to the East and the West, is one of interesting examples of practical ways to solve challenges of dialogue of cultures and partnership of civilizations. Tremendous experience of humankind, that serves the ideas of passionarity and open society, proves that culture along with art is one of the most important emotional means of communication. How to exploit this experience depends only on us – whether to use it reasonably or keep pushing the world to the chaos and confrontation.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Thanks. I give the floor to Vladimir Petrovich Kozlov, a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Science, Professor, President of the Federal Archives Agency of Russia.*

**V. P. KOZLOV<sup>1</sup>:** Thank you. Dear colleagues and friends, in multifaceted universal cultural legacy of Dmitry Sregeevich Likhachov there is a whole rang of works both scientific and publicistic, devoted to national historical and cultural heritage, where the problem of preserving it is primary. Fancy what courage it required to write about such things in Soviet times. The problem of saving historical and cultural heritage, formulated by Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov remains crucial in contemporary conditions not only in this country.

What has remained from ancient civilizations by nowadays? The Egyptians left pyramids and some hundred thousand of papyrus scripts; the Babylonians – sporadic clay boards, the Ancient

<sup>1</sup> President of the Federal Archives Agency of Russia, a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Science, Doctor of History, Professor. His scientific interest lies in the spheres like history of public ideas, archeographics, archive studies, he is the author of scientific works "The History of the Russian State by Karamzin in esteems of his contemporaries" (1989), "Russian Archive Work" (1999), "Society of M. I. Musin-Pushkin" and "The Tale of the Host of Igor, the new pages in the history of the Ancient Russian Poem in 18th century" (1988) and others.

Rome – manuscripts that were saved due to medieval references on them. Modern civilization tries its best to develop culture in new ways and formats. But at the same time it creates large threats to destroy historical and cultural heritage of the humanity. In the past few years we have witnessed many events when the most valuable items of historical and cultural heritage were destroyed for different reasons: human ignorance, war conflicts, technogenic disasters. The issue of saving historical documental national and international heritage should become a constant topic for discussion on the Conference in the memory of Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov. I suggest that the section on problems of preserving historical documental heritage should be included in the agenda of next Conference. Thank you for your attention.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Thank you for your report. The floor is given to Mr. Jagdish Chandra Kapur (India).*

**J. CH. KAPUR<sup>1</sup>:** Cultures as an expression of continuity progressively evolve out of the environment, faiths, metaphysics, aesthetics and science. The roots of some cultures go back many millennia, and are perennial, with belief in nature, the unity, oneness and interconnectedness of all its phenomenon. There is a continuous process of evolution of all parameters; which sustain the creativity and the continuity of the cultural streams in balance.

The creativity of many of the contemporary cultures has been largely conditioned and dominated by techno-economic and material factors. As culture is not a linear process; it does not follow the pathways of science and technology. The scientific evolutionary processes will not lead to the evolution of "universal values". Contemporary Science itself has now reached a stage of uncertainty, where it cannot harmonise with the metaphysical concerns of cultures. The new sciences are even questioning the very existence of material, because all material forms are structured on energy particles. That materiality is an illusion, is the foundation of belief in some of the traditional cultures. A rudderless monetised science must either take a step to the next level of consciousness and be disciplined and evolve an ethical and moral code or it will continue to drag cultures, into its own labyrinthine future and lead humankind into an aggregating and a continuing civilizational crisis of vast magnitude. The consequences of globalisation of an "Armament Protected Consumerist paradigm" are the manifestations of this process, and are an expression of the imperial ambitions. Its infrastructure and structure of values are designed to advance and protect an increasingly autonomous system. The Globalisation of consumerist values is also

undermining the continued evolution of millennia-old perennial values. All this to sustain an illusion of a new human future on earth, while in reality we are proliferating to their very end; our ecological, physical, cultural and human resources.

The understanding of the perennial cultural streams, and nature-based tribal cultures; and myths; with their reverence towards nature or ecology becomes the bridge between science and spirituality, can possibly provide us deep insights into the ecological, social, and psychic tragedies which are becoming a part of the twenty-first century. Some cultures of the East, with deep-seated restraints (as against the excesses of the consumer society), and Confucian hierarchical orderliness can play a role and help to trigger new, sustainable and compassionate lifestyles and make a much wider contribution to the human future. But to this, there is a very big question mark as to whether the aggression and violence in the international system will let this transformation take place in peace.

From the colonial times; behind the declared humanist objectives and civilising missions, of democracy freedom and human rights; there was an unstated agenda of integrating vulnerable Economics into a narrowly controlled financial system for the benefit of a few. Working under an illusion of the invincibility of their armed might; the dominant systems all along have been endeavouring to prevent the evolution of new paradigms of human development (Soviet Union was one such example). Civilizational parameters, where they are directly under human control as was in the case of pre-colonial crafts, evolve harmoniously. But when external, technological and colonial factors begin to intervene, such harmonisation recedes.

Many culturally advanced nations are now being obliged to step back; or down so as to be in step with the consumerist culture. The level of economic development of these countries gets conditioned by the closeness or the integrative potential of their culture with that of the role-model. Or in other words, transition from culturally based restraints and orderliness to media-promoted consumption and extravagance, and all the way to armament protection in an increasingly insecure world.

Should the psyche of the people of the perennial cultures that evolved over the millennia, be transformed for the acceptance of an alien technological culture and its vision of the world. Nirvana or salvation or realisation of the highest human potential – all belong to the realm of spirituality and are far away from mammon worship and its infrastructure of robots, mental capability limiting devices and big pressure media mind control; with inbuilt aversion to the spirit of religions. Mass moronisation, terrorism, genocide, poverty and wars are the consequences of such desensitisation of the finer human instincts. And this path is visibly leading us to great social upheavals and ecological disasters.

But an unplanned dismantling of the consumerist paradigm will not be possible without providing

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a humane and sustainable replacement. Millennia of human knowledge and experience within traditional cultures and religions needs to be protected. There is thus a need for a new world view. We have also to reflect on the mind sets of the 18th century that still prevail; and are being projected onto the twenty-first century issues. For example:

It was February 1835, a time when the British were striving to take control of the whole of India. Lord Macaulay, a historian and a politician, made a historic speech in the British Parliament, commonly referred to as The Minutes, which struck a blow at the centuries old system of Indian education. His words were to this effect: "I have travelled across the length and breadth of India and I have not seen one person who is a beggar, who is a thief. Such wealth I have seen in this country, such high moral values, people of such calibre, that I do not think we would ever conquer this country, unless we break the very backbone of this nation, which is her spiritual and cultural heritage, and, therefore, I propose that we replace her old and ancient education system, her culture, for if the Indians think that all that is foreign and English is good and greater than their own, they will lose their self-esteem, their native self-culture and they will become what we want them, a truly dominated nation".

How do nations save their cultural heritage from the increasing intensity of an onslaught by the forces of unreason?

How are we to preserve or safeguard the potential and the effectiveness of dialogue as a civilised instrument for a peaceful discourse? In the midst of fundamental concerns about the illusions and the aggressive intents of the major beneficiaries of the globalising world, who are not prepared to face the shifting realities of the changing world environment, and who through new social arrangements, are attempting to bring the entire world into a single civilizational model, with its own definition of democracy, human rights and justice.

Therefore we are standing at the crossroads, in a significant moment in the history of human civilizations i. e. between two worlds.

The whole world is now being pushed onto the path of uni-culturation of cultures, globalisation of consumption and is being brought physically closer, spiritually apart. It is changing with every scientific breakthrough and descending, uncontrolled to the lowest common denominator of human existence and survival.

Therefore, our only hope is to find ways for the creation of "Universal Values" through a dialogue. There is also a need to decelerate the consumerist paradigm and to re-examine the limits of the free market economy and enforcement of ethical, moral and policy constraints. This is exactly what the power system today is fighting against.

The socialist systems made a historic blunder by continuing to accept the Cartesian separation of matter and mind in policies. Also that of the basic structure of the physical universe and the unique

awakening into consciousness. Both exist but not independent of each other. One belongs to the realm of culture and the other to civilization.

The free market system to gain freedom in the service of capital and forgetting that labour and its work came before, chose the path of Cartesian Separation, and in this process became a body without soul, an ever-enlarging 'Rambo' in search of a more and more powerful gun, in an increasingly violent and complex world. We have therefore to give a soul to Rambo and seek new answers through a synthesis of more responsible and controlled free-market with a free spiritualised socialism. An attempt at a mixed economy in post-independent India was continuously under pressure and lost out after the retreat of the Soviet Union in 1990s.

As everything spelled mono translates into hegemony, a dialogue of cultures, presupposes plurality, and a desire to seek new and more harmonious and sustainable possibilities for the co-existence of diverse, material and metaphysical arrangements. So as to be able to absorb the emerging new knowledge, not only external, that of science, but also internal, that is spiritual. Because cultures, are the software around which civilizational forms are structured and the clash of civilizations transcended. Therefore, every step in the direction of containing, abridging or aborting the continuity of perennial nature-based cultures will be a step towards an uncontrolled chaos, and a rapid descent from the eternal to the temporal.

Some years ago, an academic called the retreat of the Soviet Union as the end of history. In reality, it may well be the beginning of the end of the Cartesian Separation of the body and the mind, materiality and spirituality.

The destruction by colonialism of traditional, largely self contained societies brought a great poverty to the world. By bringing about a still more radical break with old traditions that is now being attempted, all potential for creating a more humane order will be obliterated. We are already witnessing this breakdown being brought about by an unchangeable, Illusion of world domination and an urge to control and define all things and phenomenon. This has brought us to an uncertain world with an uncertain science, an uncontrolled economic and human crisis and a disrupted evolution of consciousness. A planned, controlled chaos is losing its control points.

Thus two different worlds with different basic experiences of reality, provide of two different values of feeling, thinking, and living. With one launched on a self-destructive path and the other struggling to reconnect its past with the new world of science and evolve sustainable lifestyle within their own cultural restraints and in harmony with nature. To safely transit from the present to the future and to restore sanity to the human system, we have to start with culture, and reconnect the realm of culture and civilization because through culture alone the dying human instincts can be restored and order directed towards a new stream of peace. Nations or ethnicities, faiths and cultures, needs and resources, need their own civilizational

forms to integrate with their own continuity. Thus the diversity of cultural continuities is the foundation for the potential for friendship at the level of the people.

Civilization can never be safe by confining the true culture to a small minority and converting the large mass into mere consumers, whereas consumption is transformed into a cultural expression. The consumer culture of senses is now being enlarged and globalised to save the "Armament Protected Consumerist Paradigm". Since the colonial period, partnership of civilizations has been and continues to be a partnership of interests. Now cultures are being abridged and peoples are the victims. When reasons and sensitivities are restored, it is the partnership of the peoples that will prevail.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Thank you, Mr. Kapur. The problems raised in your report are very challenging. They will be discussed at a section meeting, headed by Professor Yakovenko and Naumkin. I invite next speaker, Reverend Father Georgy Ryabykh, who represents the Russian Orthodox Church.*

**G. RYABYKH<sup>1</sup>:** Chairman, dear friends, I highly appreciate the opportunity to express some ideas on one dimension of intercultural dialogue – interreligious dialogue. I'm deeply concerned with this issue and now I'm researching it in the Department of External Relations in Moscow Patriarch Office that propagates general church ideas in this sphere.

It might often seem that interreligious dialogue is isolated from other spheres of social life, that religious figures gather to discuss issues that matter only in church, that they try to find common grounds not to conflict with each other and to promote peaceful living. Being aware that religious factor plays a vital role, society approves of these attempts, positively treating the idea of holding interreligious dialogue. But now little do we ponder on how interreligious dialogue correlates with general challenges of intercultural dialogue, to what extent it belongs to intercultural dialogue and why it is impossible to solve many issues of intercultural dialogue without referring to religion. I've made it my point to clarify some points about interreligious dialogue.

As a rule, people who are not deeply concerned with the issue, suppose that church leaders have many controversial points they can't agree upon, that interreligious dialogue turns into conflicts of different opinions. But in fact, nowadays, as never before, church leaders can find mutual grounds easily and quickly, because they all agree upon one common issue, uniting them. This issue is realizing the role of religion in contemporary society and

contemporary culture in all senses, including material and spiritual life of humanity. Church figures are well aware that religion nowadays should play much more significant role in the public sphere and culture than it does.

In the 20th century on international level the dominant was Project Modern that actually withdrew religion from active public sphere. Advocates of this project consider it necessary to pursue revolutionary or evolutionary withdrawal of religion from social life, when religion as an outdated form of social consciousness will come to the end. Evolutionary trend was more in the way of the Western society of the 20th century. Religion wasn't paid much attention to, as it was expected to decline sooner or later. In Russia and some other countries a revolutionary, aggressive variant of Modernity was adopted: exile and repressions of religion. Intellectual roots of such approach are common both for Western world and Russian culture. We still have to deal with remains of this trend that trod national culture with its heavy boots.

Unfortunately, we can still come across the fact that among members of religious communities and culture figures of Russia there arise conflicts, sharp objections can be heard from culture figures or museum keepers about position of some religious organizations.

This conflict has a long-dated background. Culture and religion are not antagonistic institutions, but the approach dominating in Modernity led to the situation when people forgot how to treat religion in social life. It seems that circulation of religion is just a symbol, like TV broadcasting of a church ceremony or other church symbols or a press release made afterwards. In reality, interconnection of religion and culture is much deeper, all the way down to the bottom where there are no storms and conflicts.

I'd like to illustrate my point with a life example. I teach a course "Politics and Religion" in one of Moscow colleges. The other day I was holding a credit test on the subject, and one of the students asked me very carefully: "You, as a priest, conduct classes and estimate our knowledge. But the Gospel says: judge not, that ye be not judged. How can you evaluate our knowledge?" I was glad to hear the question. Summarizing my answer, I explained that I evaluated knowledge, but not the student as a personality and ethical category. That's why there is no conflict with principles of Christianity. Later this incident made me reflect upon the question "to what extent contemporary society and culture can decode ethical norms of religious traditions that formed the basis of the modern national culture. To what extent do we really understand that religion penetrates into ethical sphere and deals with ethical norms, first and foremost, that it how a person behaves in different situations and how he should behave. This is the field where religion and culture interconnect and interdependent.

Here can be a rich array of issues for the dialogue. We have already heard today the quotation

<sup>1</sup> Priest of the Russian Orthodox Church, the acting Secretary for Public Relations of the Department of External Relations at Moscow Patriarch Office, Master of Political Sciences, the author of works: "Will Atheism Return to Russian Schools?" (2005) "Freedom as Christian Category" (2006) and others.

from Likhachov's work, that human is both material and spiritual creature. This means that culture as well as religion tends to enhance spiritual side. So we have a solid ground for cooperation and dialogue. The aim of our generation, to my mind, is to make a creative effort, a spurt to build an infrastructure of relations for social life and religious communities and organizations. Future of our country and global civilization depends much on it.

One contemporary philosopher argued that for Europe to integrate Islamic minorities and communities it should seek for its Christian roots. When Europe remembers about its Christian origin, it will find ways to integrate Islamic community to European society.

These were some ideas and consideration I wanted to share with you and underline the urgent issues of interreligious dialogue. Thank you.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Thank you. The address of Reverend Father Georgy proves one more time that there are no questions to which we can't find answers in Russian Orthodox Church tradition. Now, with your permission, I invite Vadim Lvovich Rabinovich, Doctor of Philosophy, Professor, who represents here the Russian Institute of Culture Studies.*

**V. L. RABINOVICH<sup>1</sup>:** What I'm going to say will go counter to what has been already said here. Let me explain it. Adbusalam Abdulkerimovich Guseinov argued that dialogue among civilizations and cultures is impossible as they are not subjects. I can't agree more, because it is only people who can have a dialogue. I would call this Conference "Listenings" rather than "Readings". Every orator wants to be listened to, that's why everyone is extremely monological. Every speaker wants to be heard, that's why he asks for the floor. It reminds me one song that opens like: "Hey, people, listen to me". It is the voice crying in the wilderness, that nobody wants to listen to. Another poem by Evgeni Evtushenko goes on "I fear when there's nobody to hear me. / What if my song is petty?" But even when they start to listen to you, fear will rise again. What to say next, what to do? Both ways are risky and it facilitates monologue in every cultural or creative activity and for every person of art. Thus culture consists of monologues.

It may be strange to hear, especially from me, because I myself kept repeating "dialogue, we need dialogue" and supported tolerance. Now I support monologue. My teacher was a prominent philosopher Vladimir Solomonovich Bibler, who all his life said monologues about necessity of

<sup>1</sup> Head of the section "Languages of Culture" of Russian Institute of Culture Studies, Doctor of Philosophy, Professor, Master of Chemistry, a member of Russian Novelists Union, a member of the International Pen-Club and of the Russian Pen-Centre. Among his publications are: "The Vision of the World in Alchemy: From Natures Atoms of the Ancient Times to Boyle's Elements" (1981), "Confessions of a book-lover, who taught the letter, and strengthen the spirit" (1991), "Languages of Culture: Their Interaction" (2002) and others.

dialogue, but still, these were monologues, that's why they were wonderful, beautiful and eternal.

If to transfer the issue into the field of monologue, I will claim that culture is an orchestra of monologues, where all violins play a leading part and each wants to be heard. Other relations are impossible. Quoting Isaac Babel, one of his characters Benya Crick said: "They spread semolina porridge over the white table". Everything else is stuff. Only monological idea can be understood by another person.

And the closing quote will be from Boris Pasternak. I like to cite it, as this wonderful poem was written in the 3d year of the war, when people were awfully separated and disunited. This poem is called "Down in the valley":

Ah, how the plough misses the field,  
The field misses the plough.  
How the Sea misses the river Bug,  
The North misses the South.  
How everyone misses each other.

Imagine, what might happen if the field and its plough come united, North and South merge together – in this case both partner will disappear. South must remain as South, North as North, monologue as monologue. No dialogues at all, especially dialogue of cultures and dialogue of civilizations, that can't really exist, as Adbusalam Abdulkerimovich Guseinov said.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Vadim Lvovich, I'm grateful to you for your address. It seems pessimistic in the plot, but listening to you we felt very light-hearted and cheerful, like students singing their song: "Down with all Professors, they are sneaks and bores". If I find time tomorrow to visit your section (the trouble is that I want to come to all sections) we may dispute my reciprocal theses: dialogue consists of monologues of people who have something to say. I guess, there is no problem about it? As far as this Conference is concerned, let's call it "Readings", because later we will publish volumes of reports that are available for reading.*

*There is only one address left. I call upon Grishanova Lubov Dmitrievna, a student of the 11th grade in secondary school 550 of St. Petersburg, who won the first prize in the competition of essays in the memory of Likhachov. It's the second time this University has held National Competition of essays for high school students "Likhachov's ideas in contemporary world". This year the Jury Panel received 359 essays from 20 regions of Russia and Lithuania. Tomorrow 700 students of high schools will come to this Assembly Hall to discuss the best works. The Panel highly estimated the work of Lubov Dmitrievna. You are welcome.*

**L. D. GRIGORIEVA:** Thank you very much. To tell the truth, I worried a lot, going here. Today first of all I'd like to thank you for the opportunity to be present at the 8th International Scientific Likhachov Conference. I was delighted to take

part in the Competition, it was both exiting and interesting. The name of Likhachov plays an important role in my life. Teachers at school like to repeat that we can find answers to all vital problems we face in his works. It is true I find all the answers in a wonderful book, very capacious. This is Likhachov's book "Letter about the good". In our country the year 2006 was announced the year of Likhachov. Different organizations held many competitions in his memory. I took part in one of them and won.

That was just the beginning of my work, during which I read a lot of Likhachov's works, surfed the Internet, where I found the site "Likhachov's square" of St. Petersburg Universities of the Humanities and Social Sciences, got to know about the competition and decided to take part in it. My essay was highly estimated by the Jury Panel, and I'm grateful for it.

I also want to thank my favourite teacher Irina Alexandrovna, who is here today and my family who taught me to love literature and home library,

where books by Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov occupy an important place.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Thank you, Lubov Dmitrievna. I give the floor to Irina Alexandrovna Nikiforova.*

**I. A. NIKIFOROVA:** My speech will be the shortest. When I'm asked: "Why do you work at school?" I answer: "Because such students as Luba Grigorieva study there".

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** *Irina Alexandrovna, we appreciate your work. Together we are engaged in the same profession, if school students don't read Likhachov's works and don't reflect on his ideas, all our world will be in vain. Such children as your students help us to believe in the future.*

*Dear colleagues, plenary meeting of the 8th International Scientific Likhachov Conference is closed. Tomorrow we meet again at the sections. I wish all of us good luck. Thank you for coming here.*

## REPORTS

Daniil Granin<sup>1</sup>

### REFLECTIONS

I like Karl Popper's idea that the course of human history depends to a large extent on advancement of human knowledge. Knowledge and discoveries can't be predicted, hence the course of history is unpredictable. The era of computer technologies has been unpredictable too. It has made instantaneous communication and world globalization possible. The driving force of history is science and technologies rather than ideology or religion. There is no stopping development, it has been following humankind since the first act of thinking appeared. What is the role of culture or humanitarian sciences, then? Could humanity create anything without them? Is it possible to live without ideals, gods, music? Is correlation of sciences to culture necessary? How has the Internet influenced contemporary history of the world? What was the influence of space exploration? Mobile phones? TV broadcasting? Etc. The world has become communicative, it is living on-line now. Does all this determine our life? Is it true that more and more seldom we do perceive life with human senses, and virtual reality more and more substitutes immediate emotions? Does Art live without tears now? Without excitement? Without shock?

<sup>1</sup> Writer, the founding member of St. Petersburg Congress of Intelligentsia, doctor *honoris causa* of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, the Honorary citizen of St. Petersburg, Hero of the Socialist Labour. The author of the fiction novels: "Searchers", "Attack the thunderstorm", "This strange life", "Claudia Vilor", "The Siege Book" (co-author with A. Adamovich), "Picture", "Pundit", "Escape to Russia", "Evenings with Peter the Great" and others.

I think that the greatest value of human life that gives it some sense (as life seems absolutely meaningless, no matter how many attempts have been made to find the life meaning that may relieve the burden of death and our complete elimination, all such attempts failed), so the only thing that lightens and sanctifies human life is love. When someone makes a scientific discovery, another one writes a book, a third one shoots a film or composes a musical play – they are not fully absorbed in all this. The only thing the man is completely obsessed with is love. In love the man totally reveals his traits and features. All arts were born and brought up on love, namely love of different kinds: love and admiration to a woman, to nature, to the miracle of life. For many of us to love this world and to love God is the same. If a person hasn't experienced the feeling of love yet, he leads an inferior life. I'm not sure, whether love is a gift of Heaven or it is a human ability possessed by everyone, but the fact is that not everyone can implement it, because there are many fakes or surrogates. There is sex instead of love, there are other values that seem more significant. All of them bring quick disappointment. But it is interesting to note: what did poetry arise from? From love. What did prose spring up from? From love. What did visual arts, sculpture and all world culture originate from? From love. The background of the most wonderful masterpieces of culture and art is love.

I have never been and will never be concerned with newest avangardian trends, where reality, moral and ethical norms, love are denied; where the essence of being, normative pure language are

rejected; where ideals are abolished. I have my own fundamental values that help me, that I admire, that make me believe in art and power of art. Let me illustrate it with an example of a well-known incident with Sholokhov. For many years they have been fierce arguing whether Sholokhov is the real author of "The Quiet Don" or not, how he could create such a multifaceted, multiplotted literary work at such a young age, as he didn't have any experience of life or sufficient knowledge. They made computer researches on his authorship, many books were issued on this topic. I have been interviewed many times on this matter, but it doesn't interest me. Of course, I'm curious about it the same way as I'm curious about who Shakespeare really was. But anyway, Shakespeare, whoever he may have been, did write his plays and we can read them now. It is just the same with "The Quiet Don". It is a great marvellous work, it is the best story about love. Where else can we read about such a passionate and tragic love than in Sholokhov's story about love of Grigory and Aksinia? What other book in Russian literature can be compared to "The Quiet Don"? Even titanic novels by Tolstoy and Dostoevsky can't be ranked together with Sholokhov's depiction of love. This book touches me to the core. This is what is really important. And as far as researches on the authorship are concerned, I don't care who wrote it. "The Quiet Don" is a cultural value that I don't want to reject despite its author. The same thing is about Shakespeare. Human history has created unshakable artistic values, similar to science that formulated fundamental laws of human development. These laws can be broadened or amplified, but basic ones remain unchanged: in science the law of the conservation of energy; in art the law of love. No avanguardian trends can make me deny it. Literature is not electric current that constantly flows in the circuit. The great national literature is being sand-drifted with pulp fiction; there are no geniuses in Russian literature now, let's hope they may appear tomorrow. For example, high achievement of Soviet culture don't seem nowadays as significant as they did in Soviet times. It's difficult to judge them now, without clear understanding what figures Tendryakov, Tvardovsky of Tovstonogov were in artistic career. It is only the text or remembrance that remained. Nowadays the story "Peasant Woman Steep Bank" can't impress the reader as much as it did in the 70s. However, the tragedy "Oedipus the King" by Sophocles can still be seen and sympathized with to tears, along with Pasternak's poems such as "At hospital". Hence, literary works have a temporary component and an eternal one. The question which of them is more important and required is senseless. Since the time of Archimedes and Diogenes humanity hasn't changed. There is no difference between the modern or medieval man. The man hasn't become wiser or cleverer. Both 200 and 400 years ago society had its reasonable traditions, morality, its code of honour and relationships. If we are still interested in what was written by Sophocles and Euripides, it means people of that and present time do not differ.

In ancient times, before Christ, there lived a galaxy of talented and dexterous figures, gifted artists and sculptors, we still admire their works. None of the whims in modern art, which occur quite often, can belittle the beauty of Venice. The artist has to be a free person, free from fashions, from trends, from manifests. The artist has been awarded with talent, an outstanding and inimitable means to say his words, to follow his own views and ideals rather than fashions. If we look on the list of the Nobel Prize winners for literature for the last 100 years, we'll find both names completely unknown or forgotten by now and names of marvellous authors who are still the adornment of the world literature for us.

The artist has to have his personal opinion. This is how I called one of my short stories: "My Personal Opinion", the story that Molotov strongly disliked. The artist always has complicated tangled relations with the world and the authorities. I don't know any artist who would think highly and respectfully of authorities. Artists have always tried to make power more humane. Such a tendency was in favour of, say, Derzhavin, as well as Pushkin. Goethe served as a Privy Councillor in Weimar at a small prince court. There is a wonderful scene in "Talking with Goethe" by Ekman: Goethe and Beethoven go talking. Towards them the Royal Family are approaching. Goethe stepped aside and made a bow, while Beethoven went straight through the dignified crowd. My support has always been on Beethoven's side, though Goethe was right in his own way. He was trying to achieve something and succeeded in many things. "To create something you should be something" would repeat Goethe. I guess, that in different epochs, in different periods of history a country may receive authorities and power with different levels of justice – sometimes more, sometimes less. Authorities might make mistakes in some periods more, in some less. But "the era of mercy" still remains just a utopia. It means, that every new generation of honest people again and again will face the same challenges risen, answers to which were given by Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov, by his life experience. "Even at a deadlock, when everything is desperate, when you are not heard, don't keep silent, say your opinion, speak on. I make myself speak to have at least one voice raised" would say Dmitry Sergeevich. Likhachov created an ideal of culture guard.

Everything in the Universe is settled and arranged for the human, all physical constants are adjusted for human beings, but what is the human for? There is no answer and no hope to receive it. There's a tragedy of absence of meaning in life. For example, Chekhov never concealed his ignorance on this matter. "I've no idea", he would reply, avoiding superficial answers. After I had been operated on, I asked the surgeon "What is human's heart? You have held so many hearts in your hands." "Heart is just a pomp, nothing more. A pomp with valves". Then I asked: "Why do we say 'kind-hearted' or 'heartless' man?" And he said: "It's all only in your literature". So for doctors such ideas

of heart are taboo. Heart is a pomp and they treat it as a pomp. They are right as they don't need all that stuff about heart, it only disturbs them. "No matter how many times we made an autopsy, we have never seen a soul fly out", say doctors. There's no accounting for some things. A great artist can penetrate into the gist of matter much further than common people. He sees things differently, and can percept what we can not. This is his merit, a feature of a genius, the way how his talent differs from mediocrity. A genius can see stars, undiscovered yet. Art shouldn't fear to portray impassable appalling situations, as well as literature shouldn't avoid them, because we face them in life regularly.

Schoolchildren and students should be taught literature on its highest models. I would chose to educational purposes only 4 outstanding works in all Russian literature: "The Post-station Keeper" by Pushkin, "The Great Coat" by Gogol, "Taman" by Lermontov, "The Student" by Chekhov. They comprise both strength and depth of Russian literature. They stand aside of all other literary works due to mystery, love to human, beauty, miracle of language, ambiguousness. To study "War and Peace" or "Idiot" at school is impossible. Literature analysis at school can be made only at a small work, to feel it better, to understand its candid meaning. What sort of story is "The Student"? It takes just 3 pages, still Chekhov considered it his best short story. Why so? Why does it charm readers? Nothing special happens in the story. Student tells peasant women how Peter the Apostle denied Christ 3 times, as he couldn't succumb, denied, but later wept with tears. Listening to the student, women were moved to

tears and couldn't but burst out crying, because what had occurred in Peter's soul was very close to them. The student went along, thinking how the past was closely connected with the present by a long chain of events- no sooner do you touch one end of the chain than the other quivers. It's an interesting idea. I think that school pupils as all other people should sometimes be put in a spot, to make them understand that human nature is a mystery. We can't understand why we act on way or another. Much is left beyond logic and sense. We worship too much the rational, the scientific, the reasonable, leaving no place for miracles. Life is a miracle, and human should feel it.

"Enlightenment without ethical and moral ideal is venom" used to say N. Novikov. Referring to it, I should say that St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Studies is one in a short list of establishments worth calling University. Many St. Petersburg and Moscow Universities lack one crucial feature. University is a community, (community from the word "communicate"). If we take St. Petersburg University from this point of view? The quality of education is high, but departments have no chance to communicate. Meanwhile historically universities were started to get a chance of intercommunication. It is obvious, everybody knew it, but it happened that contemporary Universities (University of culture, State University, LITMO and others) have no opportunity to communicate. St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Studies possesses this chance, and it is perfectly pursued. This is, to my mind, a very significant feature for university.

**Federico Mayor<sup>1</sup>**

## DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION INSTEAD OF CONFRONTATION

Transition from the cult of force, imposing other's will and violence towards the culture of dialogue, mutual understanding, smoothening conflicts, and peaceful co-existence manifested itself in the following international pacts:

- Declaration on the Principles of Tolerance (UNESCO, 1995);
- Declaration and Follow-up Plan of Actions for "Alliance of Civilizations" (UN General Assembly, 1998);
- Declaration and Follow-up Plan of Actions on the World Culture (UN General Assembly, 1999).

The key word here is exchange (experience and knowledge exchange).

This is how the UN planned the development: universal, endogenous, stable and... humane.

The time has come to act. At the edge of the 21st century the humankind faced a great many of

crisis: financial, economic, ecological, crisis of culture, and the most dangerous of all food supplies crisis, that demands to be solved urgently. Failure of economical "globalization" will become more evident, if people living below poverty mobilize at the threat of hunger.

The right solution is to transit from economy of war to economy of global development (that is investments into bio-fuel energy infrastructures, food production, water supply and so on.) But this solution may become possible only when the reason to apply force will transform into the force of reason, when the power is substituted with words, confrontation with dialogue and its fruit, integration.

However, it happened in the world that grants were altered with loans.

Power increasing can occur due to exploiting (as an example, remember the recent incident in the mines of Congo Republic). Universal human principles of justice, freedom, equality and solidarity are violated by the laws of the market. The UN system as "international democracy system" is constantly revised by the G7 and G8

<sup>1</sup> The founder and President of World Culture Fund, Director General of UNESCO (1987-1999), Doctor of Pharmacology, Professor, the author of books: "Scientific Research and Social Goals: toward a new development model" (1982); "Letters to Future Generation" (1999); "L'enseignement superieur au XXIe siecle" (2000); "La fuerza de la palabra" (2005) and others.

countries, by international plutocracy, where the World Monetary Fund and the World Bank failed to achieve their initial missions, and the World Trade Organization was withdrawn beyond the UN system.

In 2005 all member countries of the UN signed the pact “Millennium Goals”. But because of terroristic acts in the USA (11, September, 2001) and the response avenging measures, which led to totally illegitimate invasion in Iraq, the Goals failed to be put into life.

In September, 2004 the Chair of the Government of Spain during his unplanned presentation at the UN General Assembly appealed to integrate efforts to oppose poverty and to set out the “Alliance of Civilizations”.

In 2005 at the summit on the “Millennium Goals” 15 heads of states and governments claimed: “We confirm our position on the Declaration and Activity Plan on the world culture as well as on the Global Agenda for the “Alliance of Civilizations” and its Activity Plan, adopted by the UN General Assembly, and the importance of various initiatives in the dialogue of cultures and civilizations, including inter-confessional cooperation dialogue. We commit to promoting the world culture and dialogue on local, national, regional and international levels. We appeal to Secretary General of the UN to find vehicles to advance and complete these initiatives. We want to extend our approval to the initiative “the Alliance of

Civilizations” claimed by Secretary General of the UN on 14, July, 2005”.

On 13, November 2006 in Istanbul the report of the UN High Group “The Alliance of Civilizations” submitted to the UN Secretary General defined practical measures and recommended as follows:

- Bridging the divides;
- Promote encounter and dialogue;
- Education: student’s exchange and access to Internet;
- The media, to avoid stereotypes and misperceptions of the different cultures;
- Special emphasis should be placed in youth activities...

It’s time for action. At the dawn of the 21st century, Humanity is facing many crisis (financial, economical, environmental, cultural and particularly a food crisis), which is the most dangerous and must be immediately corrected. The failure of the economic “globalization” would be more evident if the threat of hunger mobilizes peoples who are living below poverty levels.

The solution is to move from an economy of war to an economy of global development (within important investments in renewable energies infrastructures; food production; water production and conduction);

But this solution will only be feasible if the reason of the force turns into the force of reason; if force is substituted by word, if confrontation by dialogue and its fruit, the alliance.

N. N. Skatov<sup>1</sup>

## CRUCIAL FACTORS FOR HUMANITY SURVIVAL: OVERCOMING CRISIS OF CULTURE

The declared topic of the plenary meeting is “Dialogue of Cultures and Partnership of Civilizations”. Using the terms like dialogue and partnership implies finding a basis for them. Partnership can occur under the condition of mutual benefit. Dialogue starts when there is a topic concerning every member.

The topic of the meeting is global, as we talk about “civilizations”, that is a scale for all human beings in general. Do we really have grounds for partnership of different ethnical and national groups, for dialogue of every community that makes humankind at the present moment of our history?

I guess, we do have the ground. It is common threats facing all people and nationalities nowadays, first of all, it is the threat of nuclear and environmental disasters. These tow “external” threats are closely linked with the third “internal” crisis of culture, which has become global and involved all civilizations and nations. This is why

humanity is undertaking frantic but not all fruitless and stolid attempts to save themselves through saving culture, which will become the crucial factor for humanity survival.

Culture is universal institution that facilitates self-organization of human life. As long as this “mechanism” gives way, life lacks coordination, too, it might be observed on every level – personal, family, ethnic or sub-ethnic scale. What is culture? It is a hierarchy, system, cult of positive values. Nowadays this tremendous pyramid, created by generations of artistic efforts has constantly been ruined in Russia, as well as in Western Europe, the USA and even in the conservative East for the last century. This process still keeps going on. There exist inner fundamental basic principles of culture, that serve as a background for changing economic formations, there exist cultural traditions that remain stable for centuries. They are basics, as they provide spiritual health or moral disease of every person and the whole ethnic or national group, as well as the whole humanity. To ignore this postulate is equal to breaking nature laws.

The point is that diminishing of culture in every person and humanity in general implies constant progression of boorishness, such progression is destructive. It can be stated, that the level of will for creation is proportionate to the level of culture

<sup>1</sup> Counsellor of the Russian Academy of Science, editor-in-chief of the journal “Russian Literature”, a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Science, Doctor of Philology, the author of more than 200 scientific publications on Russian literature, among which are: “Nekrasov and Russian lyrics of the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries” (1971); “The Poet and the Citizen” (1982); “Koltsov” (1983); “Literature Reviews” (1985); “Pushkin, the Russian genius” (1999) and others.

for every person and for ethnic group. *Visa versa*, level of will for destruction is proportionate to the level of boorishness. There are no "absolute" cultural people and nations, as well as absolutely "boorish". These are two polar concepts, confronting each other like space and chaos, good and evil, life and death. Supremacy of culture can be temporary, so relatively cultural person or nation can lose their cultural values and grow "spiritually wild". Such people and nations become dangerous both for others and for themselves: will for creation is substituted by will for destruction. There is no golden mean here. "Anti-culture" always replaces "culture", leaving no vacuum.

Mass anti-human culture, or "anti-culture" is a constant constituent part of any society, but never in all history has it been so aggressive, claiming for world domination, for the only one true and authentic as nowadays. To my mind, getting "spiritually wild" on global scale in the 20th–21st centuries bore global threats facing the humanity: nuclear self-destruction and suicidal ecological unlimitness.

That is the reason for dialogue and partnership of any civilization. In modern world, I guess, the dialogue should become sort of exchanging experience how to guide and protect culture in your native country. We should also bear in mind that it isn't going to be abstract ideas about high values, genuine culture costs much. The institution of patrons of the arts has existed for many centuries and might be vital. Culture receives money from the system of fund raising, charity, culture-friendly taxation policy of the government. To support this cultural level we need a solid social and governmental program on culture, balanced and multifaceted, drawn out by various best professional groups concerned. It's necessary to mobilize cultural potential of all people, all intelligentsia.

What role could contemporary Russia play in such a dialogue, being a country where 3 main threats of humanity (nuclear and ecological disasters and crisis of culture) concentrated and revealed themselves at the edge of the 20th–21st centuries?

Firstly, I'd like to repeat what I have said many times, standing here. Guiding and saving culture requires thoroughly considered tactics, flexibly adjusted to every specific ethnic case. Every ethnic group has its, as it were, "pillars of culture", supporting the whole design and structure of the institution. On destroying these pillars, all roofing of the building will fall in. So when we talk about "saving culture", the most challenging task is to save national pillars of culture, it can be considered as national cultural self-determination.

As far as Russia is concerned, our pillar of culture is classical Russian literature. We are the nation that can't exist without literature, so-called literature-generating nation. Among fundamentals of the Russian classical literature there is wholistic apprehension of being and existence, based on one of the greatest phenomena of the world art. Our classical literature is our past. It may be great,

decent, wonderful, but it's nothing but the past, just a remembrance. However it is a remembrance about the future. Trying to ignore or even oust Russian classics, we deprive young generation, entrusted to us, both of the past and the future. As to the present, it is obvious that classics confronts the present vigorously. Classical works proclaim eternal moral norms like "thou shalt do no murder, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not commit an adultery", but the course of real events in life and contemporary literature glorifies the contrary, sometimes on the vast scale. This is where the line of defence is situated at the Russian front in the global fight for culture: protecting Russian classical literature, making its traditions and values popular.

Secondly, Russia should raise its voice in modern methods of teaching. The last and the main citadel of culture is school. I suppose, there is no more significant ministry in any country of the civilized world as the ministry of education, because it is the place where crucial decisions are taken, that will influence quite complicated processes in the structure. The issue about school is pressing not only for us, but for Europe too. However, in the last decade in this challenging problem (as well as in numerous others) we have just copied examples of others, and a bad copy it was, we behaved like a pupil cheating and copying from a scribe - note at the exam.

We should consider thoroughly and work out our personal opinion on problems of school and European type of schools, it is the only way to succeed in solving this issue. I want to remind you the wise words, said by D. I. Mendeleev, that "To advance secondary education we need to start preparing qualified teachers, rather than to change curriculum". No matter, how good, sound, complete curriculum we may have, pedagogical issues are solved by educator's personality. To promote prestige of teachers' job it's necessary to provide better facilities for work and life, to attract best active qualified professionals, who has avoided it so far because of nonsufficient payment and lack of respect.

Thirdly, it's necessary to bear in mind, that universal character of human culture as of general technology of human activity found a capacious form to visualize and materialize itself, such form is University. It is University that facilitates in the full extent one fundamental feature of culture, I mean its dynamic process character. Because science itself isn't just a regulated system of definite laws and postulates, science is a progress. Scholastic and dogmatic repeating of fundamental laws differs from scientific and critical search for knowledge. To teach a row of truths and to quest for truth are not the same things. It would be of practical interest to study the history of originating and developing Universities with reference to global processes of cultural development.

To conclude, I'd like you to pay attention to the fact that this regular forum, devoted to the issues of modern culture, is hosted by the Russian University which has become a symbol and



embodiment of contemporary national pedagogical “modernism” in its best sense – by St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences. Here national cultural traditions, the Russian

University pedagogic and science are filled with new modern content. I wish the hosts of the conference good luck and success in keeping and enhancing culture.

**A. A. Guseinov**

## **DIALOGUE OF CULTURES: OPPORTUNITIES AND LIMITS**

Material sphere of human life and existence in contemporary world is growing more integrated and unique on global scale, while ethnical, cultural, spiritual sphere remains separated, and even more: traditional, first and foremost, religious and national frontiers became more intensified and strained. Such is fundamental contradiction of the modern epoch.

1. Two controversial scenarios have been proposed as most possible ways to smooth over contradictions between social and emotional globalism and cultural and civilizational particularism.

The first pattern involves promoting ethnical and cultural globalization, in addition to political and economical one, and to westernize all humankind. Such plan is based on the presumption taken for granted and seldom proclaimed openly that the leading role of the West in material sphere is resulted and derived from advantages in its lifestyle.

The second pattern is targeted at dialogue of cultures. In methodological aspect it implies autonomy of cultures (which means their independence both from other cultures and technical and economical aspects of society), in axiological aspect it is committed to cultures' equality.

There are a lot of arguments against the first type of scenario. It leads to monotonous undiversified, and hence, diminutive aggregative cultural treasures of the humanity. One of the most crucial objections to it – other non-western cultures will never agree to it, to say nothing of the fact that it collides with western positions of democracy and humanism. Thus this pattern can be pursued only with violent methods, leading to unpredictable, apocalyptic results.

Objections to one pattern can't serve as convincing arguments in favour of the other. Statements about catachresis committed to western cultural dominance do not suggest verity of cultures dialogue idea. Such idea should be based on its productiveness and feasible potential. Dialogue of cultures treated in the principle meaning, born by the concepts “dialogue” and “culture”, isn't self-evident. This dialogue is a dramatically controversial process and a challenge for every culture involved in it.

2. On the other hand, dialogue of cultures suggests a special sort of unity. It can't be considered as just mutual tolerance, cooperation, acknowledgement, even if these relations are not coerced, they are voluntary and every nation is strongly convinced in their necessity. Dialogue

implies much more: it should be based on such sort of interconnection and interdependence of cultures concerned, when they are united with similar targets of life, mutually add to and require each other's lifestyle, can't exist without each other. Dialogue of cultures involves common fundamental principles that can provide adequate grounds for such dialogue. All great cultures of contemporary world, that are backed by great religious, philosophical and ethical traditions, that have survived in the course of many centuries history, that have proved their right to exist in the world, that might clash nowadays, have common principles mentioned above. They all possess the principle of truth and justice. Moreover, in the most general abstract notion, these cultures treat truth and justice in the same way, embodying the golden mean of morality upon truth and justice. Such ideas were advocated by L. N. Tolstoy. The same position was championed by Mahatma Ghandi, who came to the conclusion that all religions are unified in their core principle, and wary in outer manifestations. As to prospects of perfecting a human and society, all of them are targeted at the ideal of non-violence, which is the core essence and practical manifestation of the golden mean of morality.

On the other hand, dialogue of cultures is derived from their diversity. Principle diversity of cultures isn't only a prerequisite and base for the dialogue. It is also the result of the dialogue, because dialogue of cultures sharpens diversities rather than lessens them. Every culture is closed circuited on itself and is based on certain, more or less, individualized cultural fundamentals (“national epic stories”, “sacred place”, “historical battles”, “legendary person” etc.). All cultures possess their own epic story as Iliad, their own sacred place as Mecca, their own legendary poet as Pushkin, their own origin that is especially valuable only for this culture, and in this sense is untranslatable to the language of other cultures. Every culture has its own symbols, patterns of activities, models of behaviour, moral norms, means of self-disciplining etc. Moreover, cultures (no matter to what category they may belong – ethical, religious, social and historical) constitute themselves through opposition to each other, through duality “they – us”. One culture doesn't look in the other like a mirror just to be reflected in it and to regard the other. The true reason is to distinguish itself, to confront the other, to realize deeply its own identity and uniqueness. Dialogue of cultures can't be treated as a process in the end of which new universal syntheses appears.

The borders and limits of the dialogue are cultural diversities and distinctive originality. For example, even if a person speaks several foreign languages fluently, which can be considered as an evidence of his belonging to different cultures, this fact doesn't bring in a new quality to his speech, compared to those who speak one of these languages. No matter how many languages a person may know, he can't use all of them simultaneously. Every time he will speak one of them, representing only one culture. Cultures can't be treated as definite units, like in arithmetic. Every culture is a universe in itself. They can't be added or distracted. Every culture equals only itself.

Identity of most general ethical and humanistic fundamentals of culture and diversity of particular forms of their existence are the basic points in two controversial and equally destructive strategies in the issue of relations among cultures. These strategies can be called cosmopolitan and chauvinistic. The first ignores diversity of cultures, the second absolutizes them. A priori both strategies exclude dialogue, in the case of cosmopolitan strategy dialogue appears to be senseless and excessive, in the case of chauvinistic impossible and unnecessary. These dangerous tendencies, however, are useful to the extent that they determine edges of the abyss, leaving which we may reach the much wanted golden mean. Let me quote authors of the International Intellectual Project under the UN "Overcoming barriers": "The distance between anonymous universalism and ethnical centred chauvinism is vast and open. It has become the field where inter-civilizational dialogue may take place"<sup>1</sup>.

3. Wisdom of every dialogue, especially the dialogue of cultures is to combine the universal and the original. At that it is very important to define precisely, which of the two components is primary for the dialogue. There are hardly any universal recipes for all sorts of dialogue. In every particular case productive can only be the intention based on originality of cultures thus resulted from inner sources of every culture. No dialogue can occur without mutual respect, acknowledging prior equality of cultural values, hence recognizing sovereignty in postulating their own value criteria and priorities.

Cultures claim to be self-sufficient, each of them considered itself at least not worse than another one, aspires to being complete and perfect. How such claims are laid in various individuals, forms, events and objects most vividly, how cultural integrity is composed, what typical forms of its manifestation are – these questions are complicated and challenging, they demand special study and examination of the problem. However, despite any ways of answering them, the questions themselves do not abolish claims of culture. Even if we admit that such claims have no real ground at all, the fact of laying claims is a crucial point in cross-cultural communication. Dialogue of cultures is not, for sure, the core subject of claims, but still

dialogue may not occur and may lose its point if these claims are not considered or not treated seriously and with respect.

The main theoretical difficulties and practical collisions concerning the dialogue of cultures and resulting from cultures being self-circuited and having exceptional claims on adequate perception of its fundamental values can be settled, to my mind, if the dialogue of cultures is compared to and treated like interpersonal dialogue. This analogy allows to overcome obstacles that may arise to hinder efficient dialogue. The obstacles involve a) difference in cultures "weight category" or incommensurability; b) their claims to exclusiveness.

a) Cultures differ immensely in the level of development, covered territory, degree of self-differentiation, achievements on global scale, influence on other cultures, to say nothing of other, small-scale factors. A question arises: how feasible and just may relations among them be, relations that don't take their differences into account? Is it possible (and to what extent we may do it) to treat equally such different cultures, because without it we can't even talk about a dialogue. To imagine how serious this matter is, it is enough to compare world religions that millions of people profess with some local pagan cults; or great literature works of highly developed nations with verbal folklore of small ethnical groups. Attempts to ignore these differences, pretending that cultures are equal in actual state of affairs will lead to lowering standards and are anti-cultural in their essence.

b) The problem becomes especially acute and tense in human relations, because though cultures differ (and differ tremendously), they still have pretensions on equality or lay claims about their superiority. Minor cultures, as a rule, don't want to yield over major ones.

This aspect of cross-cultural communication looks alike to cross-personal communication, where individuals also differ in financial and social status, level of education, moral and other features. Yet individuals are treated equally in their moral dignity, political rights, personalities are considered adequate, which makes the dialogue among them possible. The same way cultures can be considered equal, not de facto, but in potential opportunities. Thus, if we can't talk about equality of cultures, we may well use the term "presumption of equality" (S. Ben Khabib). This term concerning cultures might mean the following: developed, advanced cultures and underdeveloped, backward ones reached high level or remained at the foot not because the first were initially perfect and the second inferior, not because anthropological differences in culture representatives. They became polar due to circumstances, historical fate. Each of them could appear in the place of the others. Hence, cultures that are de facto backward, possess potential allowing to rise to advanced level. Following the example of developed cultures, receiving their support and assistance backward cultures can do it quicker and easier. Thus the

<sup>1</sup> Преодолевая барьеры. Диалог между цивилизациями: пер. с англ. / под ред. С. П. Капицы. М., 2002. С. 59.

situation described shows that cooperation of inadequate cultures is feasible, dialogue can be morally acceptable on both sides.

c) Every culture claims to possess the gospel truth. In major cultures, laying global civilizational claims, the fervour of verity gets absolute accented character. Self-determination of such cultures can't but become pursuing their exceptional mission in the world. If cultures in their relationships to each other are guarded with conviction that only they bear the light of gospel truth, such relations will inevitably turn into permanent severe confrontation. All history of idea-motivated (including, first and foremost, religious-motivated) wars proves it.

Dialogue among people, groups of people is not feasible to the extent how each of them appeals to absolute verity, talks in the name of God, or historical truth or whatever. To put it in other words: for making the dialogue of cultures open and free, we should withdraw pretensions for gospel truth from the agenda, from the list of discussion points.

Dialogue of cultures can touch upon any issues but the questions of their own value and epistemological status. Say, Islam followers consider their religion to be the only true one. Christians think the same about their religion. Every conviction is backed by self-sufficient truth – the truth of belief. A typical feature of belief is that, though it uses rational arguments, it never proclaims dependence on rational critique. So if Muslims and Christians want to conduct a dialogue they will have to leave aside their religious convictions for home use.

In this case as well as in the previous case of culture equality, ethics of interpersonal relations can serve as a model. When people confront in opinions so radically that the good for one party is the evil for the other and visa versa, the only condition to avoid violence and conflict in their relationships is mutually reject pretensions on exclusive right to bear moral truth.

4. To keep cooperation and dialogue among cultures in progress, we have to block potential possibilities for confrontation. Here I can name, at least, three interconnected bans, indisputable, implicit, strong in their essence.

The first ban, that may block culture confrontation, should be the ban of confrontation itself on cultural reasons. It means that cultural diversities and tradition can't be sound reasons for any violent actions.

Next, following the presumption of cultures equality, we should withdraw from the dialogue, exclude from any public discourse any comparison and especially opposition of cultures on values criteria, and ban all words, actions or any other verbal and symbolic manifestations that can be treated as offensive by any culture. To include any of these topics in the agenda of the dialogue means to bring it in questions, to doubt in it, to discredit it. That's why the following statement may seem exaggerated, but revealing the core essence of the issue: the dialogue of cultures can cover all topics but moral and ethical principles, fundamental values that form the basis of culture.

Last, but not least, the third undisputable ban, which is an essential condition allowing dialogue of cultures go freely, is the ban for all absolutistic pretensions to claim the cultures concerned as adequate total embodiment of gospel truth and supreme missions they are targeted at.

Obvious in their humanistic position and universally recognized in their indisputability, these bans create favourable conditions for the dialogue of cultures. But can't make the basis for mutual understanding both because they are bans and because they just set general limits of cross-cultural communication.

Nowadays we can witness culture isolationism, perceptible and deliberate escalation of idea-motivated group (communities, ethnical, confessional) conflicts. On the one hand, it is an evidence that globalization can't be considered and pursued as just external, informational and technological unity. It should simultaneously be treated as an integral space for ethical and cultural community. On the other hand, it may explicit that social, political, spiritual and moral integration into one unit of various human communities of different cultural and civilizational origin can't be based just on common fundamental principles. Because in addition to this another significant point is required, such as unified outer manifestations and forms, certain symbols of spiritual life and public behaviour. Thus the issue on ways of globalization, possibilities of transforming informational and technological prerequisites of human integrity to feasible unity is closely connected with the issue on global ethos existence, backed by universal cultural synthesis. The matter is whether the humanity in general is able to form a unified ethos, the same way as separate nations and cultures did it, whether common fundamental moral principles can be supported by common behaviour and usual ways of everyday life.

5. The concept of ethos was originated in ancient science and so far it hasn't been widely used in publications or everyday speech. It can be defined as man's temper or character, established in the process of active being, as well as common temper of people's community established in the process of their common social being. In means integrity of social behaviour based on common values, it characterizes a person and social community as unity of intellectual ideas, life patterns, social customs that manifest themselves in everyday culture. We can use the term ethos, talking about personal, national, aristocratic, bourgeois ethos etc. A question arises: can we use this term talking of global ethos, that will be integrate as ethos in both general principles and symbolic structure, norms of moral, ways of functioning, stereotypes of behaviour.

Among participants of the dialogue of cultures we may point out one more participant, besides cultures concerned. This participant is the process of the dialogue itself. Globalization in economics, communication, politics creates a network of institutions and relations within which human relations are built on over-national and over-confessional basis. With reference to it, it is crucial

to study more thoroughly extremely efficient phenomenon, which is referred to in the literature as "global city". Constituents of this city are trans-national flow of capitals, life and work in it is maintained by migrate labour. Global (over-national) forms of communication are being established around the Internet, a widely infra-structured and standard (on the global scale) sphere of: consumption (supermarkets, fast food, etc.); recreation activities; all sorts of international organizations; world forums; large educational centres etc. So, it can be called a special global world, sociologically detected and analysis feasible, in which hundreds of millions people are involved, the world in which people function and communicate over national, state, confession, ethnical and other traditional borders. Moreover, this world is autonomous to the present social structure and it arranges a new basis for social differentiation. Sociologists widely use the term of global elite consisted of international businesses, managerial and intellectual communities, this global elite is not rooted in any nation or state society, and doesn't tend to, its representatives like an ancient Greek philosopher, could say that they are strangers everywhere.

What processes are going in cross-cultural communication, in the field where people of diverse cultures are towed to by global process in economy, information exchange, politics and so on. Integrate norms of behaviour, free from traditional religious and philosophical regulations have appeared. Only because of emancipating and liberating practical moral from metaphysics and religion can large modern multicultural institutions exist – cities, airports, malls, multinational companies, even city apartment houses, where people of different religious, cultural and ethnic origin live next door. New culture of behaviour and communication appears. It isn't brought to human community from outside, it is born inside the community. No other ground for existence does it need but stable and complete community. In all over-confessional over-ideological situations of communication people show a high degree of mutual respect, ethical restrain, of even higher degree that communicating with their political, religious, national, cultural fellows. If we look closely, how people behave at airports, supermarkets, other grounds of "global world", how they manifest themselves, greet each other, talk, what clothes they use, we can easily see a certain ethical moral infrastructure, that can be viewed as global-scaled, universally significant, commonly understood, communicatively purposeful and meaningful. Such infrastructure is a model of global ethos, and it is being formed in all countries and regions, actively involved in global process not only in western countries.

6. Global ethos is not a dream or fantasy. It is a reality that is originated from modern experience in international cross cultural cooperation, in the case when cooperation is held in a dialogical form.

I'd like to emphasize that global ethos arises over nation forms of being rather than instead of them. It proves unsoundness of one of the main widely spread objections to globalization in cultural

sphere: that globalization may demolish diversity of cultural landscape and lead to unification of all cultures. Undoubtedly, globalization, on the one hand, always bears the idea of unified standards, it is based on and manifested with common values, common symbols and regulations of behaviour, common schemes of life pattern. But we are considering another, completely different integrity of social traditions, that doesn't exclude individual or community differences. Even within the same ethos there are plenty of differences, still these are differences framed in the united ethos. The same is true in the case of global ethos, it is a standard rule in ethical and cultural sense. For example, there is Russian national ethos (national character, if to put it in more plain words). Many author described it, such as V. O. Kluchevsky, N. O. Lossky and others. But we can't deny that within Russian ethos there are lots of smaller sub-ethoses: Siberian, Northern, Moscow etc. Another historical example. Once people lived in tribes, a tribe consisted of kins, a kin meant a family or a large family. Later tribal way of life was substituted by national, kin way of regulating public life was changed into territorial. But families didn't vanish because style of life changed and people's outlook became broader. Each of us has a family, our own little universe of kin relations. The family plays significant, motivating, primary role in our life. Family values today are fundamental values. For everyone family is dear and important, because leaving public space of politics or economic space of business activities, we hide in the family. Diversity of family communities is well combined with unity of ethnic group, in its turn ethnical diversity doesn't abolish national and state unity. Global ethos suggests variety of national ethoses, the same way within nation ethos there exist smaller sub-ethoses: ethnical, religious or family. Integrate global ethos permits a great cultural diversity but possesses behaviour unity. It doesn't exclude cultural pluralism. Like astronomic space involves geographical space, global cultural space involves national cultural space.

In the elements of the new forms for interpersonal relations which are universally (independently from national, religious or other traditional differences) practiced nowadays in global world, we may see an embryo of global ethos, just a faint hint that it is feasible. It is so vague not because there are too few new forms. To make them grow into a full-sized global ethos, to have them turn into a new moral characteristic that can motivate public behaviour, to have them being communicatively purposeful and necessary is not enough. There is one more thing required, spiritually organizing basis for activity. Human traditions are always placed in a certain ground for quest of meaning in life. Strange as it may seem, such quest in the global world is often undefined or ignored (even in philosophical discussions). It means that global ethos with its spiritual reflections, public morality hasn't defined its meaning of life either. This point comprises ethical investigation of global ethos possibilities with philosophical and historical research of humankind future.

A. V. Smirnov<sup>1</sup>

## HOW DO CULTURES DIFFER?

The phrase “dialogue of cultures” was unfamiliar to us some 3–4 decades ago, nowadays it has turned to a popular cliché. Dialogue of cultures is spoken about as of obvious, feasible and easy to perform, as if the only real obstacle to overcome in the process of the dialogue had personal subjective nature (like parties unwilling to start the dialogue and to conduct it openly).

In the essay I set as a goal to formulate the problem with “dialogue of cultures” and to outline possible solutions in this area. I divided my presentation into some paragraphs to make it easier to follow my ideas.

1. “Dialogue of cultures” as a social term suggests that cultures, firstly, exist and, secondly, differ. It would be a trivial affirmation of a fact, but for two questions 1) What is culture and 2) How do cultures differ the answers do not lay on the surface. Both of the questions are difficult to answer, however, this idea may seem obvious only in the first case. As far as the second question is concerned, it is usually taken for granted that cultures differ in their content issues. Comparing two cultures in their elements, structures or sub-structures, we suggest distinction in their constituent elements. I don’t consider such approach sufficient. That’s why the core topic of my report has become the second question.

However, to find a sound and satisfactory answer to the second question (“How do cultures differ?”) is impossible without answering the first (“What is culture?”).

2. No two cultures (as well as people) look alike. This statement implies the idea of principle similarity of cultures, otherwise there would be no reason to distinguish them. For example, we don’t claim that stones and people are different (the statement is true, but senseless).

To put it shortly: difference of cultures assumes their notable identity as species. Thus, we can’t do without answering the question “What is culture?”

3. We can notice two strategies of the quest for true answer to the question. They can be defined as: universalistic and particularistic.

On the one hand, culture comprises in itself everything that a man creates in the world he lives in. That’s why culture can be treated as the sum of material and spiritual production results.

At the same time culture is treated as a segment of an integrate unit encircling human social medium. This strategy axiologically distinguishes such categories as cultural – non-cultural, or high-cultural – low-cultural within a community or among several communities.

So, every phenomenon in society belongs to cultural sphere (as it is provided by culture, originated from it). However we can’t identify all phenomena in human life with culture.

4. It is interesting to note how this problem is solved by the Academician V. S. Stepin. He suggested interpreting culture as “genetic code” of a social body. This biological metaphor is very vivid: it explains that all cultures origin from the same species (like people belong to the same group due to common genome), but at the same time cultures diverse (because the same genome can be potentially realized differently).

Thus we can say that everything in the human world is a part of culture, the same way as everything in a human body is determined by genes). In that sense, culture is our world. However, genes are a tiny part of human body, and in this sense culture is a part of the world.

I’d like to add that this metaphor happily explains fundamental unity of culture. I mean the idea, noticed by N. Y. Danilevsky and O. Spengler: very close and wonderful links, mutual coordination of fitted segments of culture. Such adjustment can’t be explained from “genetic” or causalistic points of view. The idea I’m talking about was proved by multiple researches of so-called “oriental” cultures. Oriental studies achieved great success last century, and plenty of researchers supported this idea.

5. So, theoretical conclusions, based on the term “categories of culture” (A. Y. Gurevich), “universals of culture” (V. S. Stepin) involve significant concepts. Let’s go further now and investigate to what extent we can adjust this intuition, the metaphor of “integrated body of culture” to contrastive or comparative research of several cultures rather than one culture or culture in itself.

So, we’ll try to apply the answer to the first question (“What is culture?”) to the second question (“How do cultures differ?”).

6. Can we fruitfully adapt the idea formulated above in comparative cultural investigations? The principle consideration that forbids undoubted positive answer is as follows: It has been proved by various examinations that a set of fundamental categories and key concepts differs in cultures. We can’t a priori draw out a matrix on concepts and fill it in with different content while studying cultures.

Meanwhile such approach for cultural comparison is so widely spread that it is taken for granted. Very few people object to the program of content comparison. I want to emphasize one more time that this program is based on making a set of notional categories and their combination beforehand, as the first step, and then analyzing content differences of the categories of their manifestations in cultures concerned. This attempt also suggests (even if it isn’t said openly) that such comparison

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may find out significant features, similarities or differences of cultures under question.

7. Let me explain the matter. The object for comparative analysis is cultures that differ to some extent. The term "extent of difference" is feasible to be introduced in such analysis, but we will leave it aside, for our purpose it is quite enough to discuss only one controversial argument. This argument goes as follows: most critical differences may be noticed while 1) comparing an "eastern" culture with "western" one or 2) comparing several "eastern" cultures. (This argument suggests a principal yet not very well understood role of oriental studies to analyze the issue of what culture is and how cultures differ). As the second type of investigation two or more eastern cultures hasn't been thoroughly worked out yet, we'll take the first as a better and more vivid example. The first type of research results in some points:

Firstly, studying another culture we will detect concepts that may look alike with the ones we got accustomed to, but in the core essence they will contrast polarly. It may deny all sort of comparison at all.

Secondly. In cultures under research we will come across untranslatable concepts, which can never appear on the list mentioned above, because categories to the list are always taken from background culture of the researcher. It is this culture that the strange one is compared to. Still, untranslatable concepts may be key notions of the culture. Hence, a priori drawn nominal list of basic cultural categories that facilitates comparative analysis of cultures is principally incomplete. Incompleteness results in both rough approximation that can be ignored and fatal error of the whole process.

Thirdly. We have to bear in mind that some categories fundamental, obvious and significant for the culture in the question may remain undetected, invisible for representatives of another culture, may not be included into any catalogues or matrix of categories, thus may not appear on the a priori list.

Contrast polarity of key concepts in cultures under research, their untranslatable or undetected concepts are three pitfalls in the optimistic undoubted statement of feasible comparing cultures.

8. Such are principal challenges, proving that biological metaphor of culture as "social genome" works to a certain extent. The point is, we can't examine society under microscope and find the required object, its genome of culture. The problem of detecting and interpreting such genome arises, because the tool for analysis (i. e. out mental analytical abilities) that plays the role of the microscope, is predisposed, concerned, non-neutral toward the object of study.

Microscope to discover genes (in biological sense) is not a part of living body, it doesn't contain genes to investigate. In contrast to it, the tool for studying culture, for making comparative cultural analysis belongs to the culture (that is to one of the cultures under comparison), it is determined by

"genes" of this culture. Hence biological metaphor of culture is hardly to be applied in this case, though it is very apparent in some others.

9. Such is the first factor promoting further analysis of treating culture as "genome". Such idea implies more or less preset list of fundamental cultural categories that will totally describe the culture itself. We have already proved, that such list is impossible to draw for a culture as a general category.

There is another factor. The set of universal categories or cultural "genes" has to be structured and arranged in a certain order. Fundamental categories do not go in a chain one by one as items in a catalogue, as well as culture is not a dictionary to explain and interpret a row of categories. On the contrary, categories are tangled over, like in a net, and the tangle has its own regulations and rules of interaction.

The source of difficulties in studying a strange culture is unfamiliar laws of categories interaction, unawareness of the tangle structure in a strange culture. (As far as our own culture is concerned, we use intuitive recognition, as we are a part of the culture). That's why acquisition of the own and strange culture are principally different, as in the second case we have no hints of intuition that we don't even notice in our own culture.

10. The key issue is what are the rules of structuring cultural categories, how do they form the tangle?

In other words: what turns a set of universal cultural categories into sense-producing mechanism, what makes the set follow the rules of inner interaction, what brings life into inert set of universals and makes it a semiotic text of culture?

11. There are two driving forces, that play fundamental role in it. They are 1) opposites – unity and 2) relations of part – single whole. They are in charge of how categories of culture operate, how they are distinguished and combined, etc. Let me not go into further details here. Its complete version and results of applying these forces to comparative analysis of cultures you may find in my works.

12. The first conclusion can be made as follows: set of cultural categories isn't homogeneous, (hence it can't be called a linear set). It includes supreme categories that provide integrity of all categories into an operating "mechanism", into a "tangle". (If you permit me to use this metaphor).

I call them meta-categories of culture. They manifest themselves in concepts opposites-unity and part-whole.

13. The second conclusion is that "mechanisms" of manifesting "opposites-unity" and "part-whole" can vary. It means they can act differently in different cultures. Preserving their nominal integrity, they may appear completely incompatible.

You may find definition of variability, mechanisms' constituents, their influence on the core essence of culture in my works.

14. All this explains the source of difficulties mentioned in paragraphs 6 and 7 in comparative cultural analysis.

Differences between cultures can be caused by different content of the same set of universal cultural categories. I call it “content difference”.

On the other hand, differences between cultures can be caused by variability of the two mechanisms mentioned above, i. e. differences in functioning. I call it “logic and sense differences”. Such distinction is deeper, as logic and sense mechanisms are in charge of holistic functioning of the essential core in culture. It is they that tangle the set of cultural categories and make them work as sense producing mechanism.

Outlining and distinguishing two types of differences allows to make a quick progress in understanding culture, hence in arranging an efficient dialogue with it.

15. Let me emphasize that “logic and sense” differences facilitate “content” differences, but never the other way round. “Logic and sense” difference can be observed not in all cultures. His

difference is most likely to be noticed when we take contrastive cultures (comparing two oriental cultures of oriental and western ones).

If two cultures in question have “logic and sense” difference, it will influence the content of any categories, notions and terms. However, there are some most probable spheres to manifest the effect of this difference clearly and vividly. Such spheres are, first and foremost, attitude to others, the concept “Ego – the Outer World”, hence it is ethics, politics, structure of power, relations with the world, quest for meaning in life, perception of real and transcendent worlds. In studying philosophy and other fields of knowledge, based on categorial systems, “logic and sense” difference will result in both different categorial systems and their different content.

It makes no sense comparing two cultures without taking into account both “concept” and “logic and sense” differences.

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## RUSSIA COULD BECOME A LINK BETWEEN WESTERN AND ISLAMIC WORLDS

We are living in a fast changing world, its basic principles hasn't been formed yet. Contemporary situation can be defined as a transition process from the system existed in the second half of the 20th century, when two established rival poles of international relations determined world development. Transition leads up to a completely new system.

The world arena has experienced large shifts. The west is constantly losing its positions in various spheres, and the process may keep going, accompanied by economical crisis, hazardous Iraq campaign and especially by astonishing rise of China, India, some other Asian and Latin American countries.

The role of the West in world economy is declining: in 2006 joint gross output of developing countries for the first time in history exceeded gross output of developed countries. The USA share in the world production and export is decreasing. For example, the share of gross home production of the USA in the world gross output lowered from 35.4% in 1966 to 26.5% in 1993. In mid 1990s the share of gross output re-invested in economics, a key determinate factor of future flourish, was 15% in the USA, while in Germany it was 22%, and in Japan 31%. In 2005, as estimated by the World Bank experts, in the USA gross per capita production was 41.6 thousand dollars at 22.5% share in the world gross output.

Western countries are facing the crisis of traditional values: the level of moral norms is rapidly going down. Everyone, even the Pope of Rome, is constantly talking of family crisis,

problems of paedophilia, drug-abuse, etc. The quest for new European identity is growing more and more alarming, enhanced by de-Christianization process. Increasing cultural differences add to the destructive situation. To crown it all, symptoms of decline of the major power pole, the dominant country USA, have lately become more evident as they are losing leadership in the world economy. Due to geopolitical changes in the late 20th century the USA became the only hegemonian super country. But they couldn't cope with their new role of monopolian force, the leading dominion. In different parts of the world anti-American propagation is steadily rising. The USA policy is rapidly wasting its credit, and even such an “optimistic apologist” of the West as Z. Brzezinski admitted that the only dominion country is experiencing a deep crisis now.

The sphere where the USA still manage to keep its superiority is military. Though their military superiority is arguable, as it can be clearly manifested in Iraq drama.

However, the primary factor of Western role declining is demographic. Almost all European countries experience negative increment of population. Percentage of immigrants from other countries and civilizations is rising obviously high. It was declared most vividly in the book “The Death of the West” by an American politics researcher P. Buchanan. It is officially prognosticated that by 2050 the share of white European (Caucasian) Americans will be 46% of the total population. Old centres of power are gradually and confidently replaced by the new ones: China, India, as well as Muslim countries. The process of the new power distribution in the world may be very painful.

Clash of the Western and Muslim worlds is nowadays turning into the basic axe concentrating

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all events in contemporary international affairs. Despite some pessimistic predictions, it will not turn into a battlefield, in the coming 5–10 years we won't witness open conflicts of civilizations. However the cold war between Western and Islamic world will keep going and growing stronger. Many factors result in it.

Firstly, it is influenced by various "frozen" unsettled and unregulated regional conflicts, among which is Palestine and Israel conflict. Not only does it poison all system of international relations, but serves as the principal irritant of Western and Islamic worlds. Iraq military campaign is still in progress, and there is no optimistic scenario of solving this crisis. A large tangle of contradictions can be observed in Afghanistan versus Pakistan duel. The number of terroristic acts in the world is constantly rising (only in Iraq about 2 thousand men, willing to kill themselves, were detected). Regions suffering from terrorism most of all are Middle East and South Asia, and most victims are among the Muslims. Annual statistics report of the USA State Department published in April, 2008, gives the following data on terrorism: in 2007 14.5 thousand terroristic acts were committed in the world with 22 thousand victims.

Secondly, demographic laws can't be neglected, and the demographic situation now is favourable to Muslims. Carnegie Foundation data states that by 2023 the number of Islam adherents will exceed the number of Christians, thus Muslim religion will become superior in number. If present tendencies remain the same, Europe, where annual increment of Muslims equals 1 million, by 2025 will number 40 million people professing Islam. In a couple of generations European Christians will become minority.

In reflection to all this the new role of Middle East region and all Muslim countries in general becomes evident. It is facilitated by a number of reasons.

Firstly, the role of Islam is getting more significant than ever. The factors that contribute to it are as follows: 1) Islamic communities co-operation. Islamic Conference Organization (ICO), which is the only inter-state organization on religious basis, unites 57 countries and make frantic attempts to increase efficiency of its operations. The new Charter of ICO claims the necessity to establish the leading role of Islam in the world. 2) In the wrestle against Islamophobia Muslims hold energetic attacking position, as we can see it every day on TV screens and newspapers articles.

Secondly, about two thirds of the world oil and gas resources are extracted in Muslim countries (by the way, most of OPEC members belong to this category). At that prime cost of extracting "black gold" in Saudi Arabia is 15 times lower than, for example, in Russia. Taking into account that 1 barrel of oil costs \$ 117, and we can hardly expect that the price will reduce in the nearest future, it is obvious that the share of Muslim countries in the world economy will keep growing. Developed

countries will grow dependent on oil-extracting and oil-refining countries.

Thirdly, the new financial power of the above-mentioned countries will add to the list of reasons. At the most moderate preliminary calculations, in 7 years their income will exceed \$ 5 trillion, to say nothing of tremendous amount of money kept on accounts in different funds and banks (only joint capital of Islamic banks exceeded the point of \$ 300 billion a year ago).

Last, but not least, demographic factor. At present the number of Islam adherents all over the world counts 1.5 billion people. In particular, 60% of population in the Middle East are juvenility under 25. It is no secret that compared to West European aged population, Muslim countries are in more favourable and perspective position.

It would be natural to expect that along with withdrawing American troops from Iraq, which might become a formal end of uni-polar world, we may as well anticipate extremists forces enhancing, that will contribute to serious large-scale turmoils, both for Middle East and the whole world.

In such situation Russia with its growing influence on the international arena could serve as sort of a liaison between the West and Islamic worlds, especially taking into account established relations with many Muslim states, as well as Russia's membership in ICO as an observer. A large percent of Muslims inhabit Russia. Rough statistic calculations give figures up to 10% of the total population in Russia. As birth-rate in Muslim regions is relatively high and more and more immigrants are Muslim countries residents, by 2020–2025 the number of Muslim population in Russia will total one third of the nation.

However, politicians do not always adequately realize the progress of situation, to my mind, they can't always foresee growing tendencies, meanwhile the idea of governing is that they should forecast the course of events. It is lack of strategic analysis that is one of the weakest points of modern politicians. The aim of a scientist is to assist them in anticipating most possible variants of further development.

Russia, geographically belonging both to the East and the West, is sort of "Eastern West" (quotation after N. A. Berdyaev) and forms a separate civilization. Thus it could play the role of damper, or "pacifier" (quotation after D. I. Mendeleev), with all its difficulties of the present time, Russia has never had religious wars, and our experience in solving conflicts and establishing friendly relations among peoples of different religious origin can be very useful for other countries. (Note, that due to historical traditions, Russian Orthodoxy has always been closer to Islam, than Catholicism or other Christian confessions.)

One of the most urgent challenges nowadays is to prevent the world from civilizations disuniting because of religious contradictions. It wasn't by chance that in late 20th early 21st centuries Iran followed by Spain suggested 2 world projects the "Dialogue of Civilizations" and the "Alliance of Civilizations". Unfortunately, these 2 projects



can't be pursued at full scale, as the USA and some other Western countries strongly oppose to them. Russia could play a significant role in preventing civilizational split. Such factors as specific geographical position and historical development of Russia, as well as strong scientific school dealing with problems of civilizations and cultures co-operation can contribute to our role.

That's why we established "Centre for Partnership of Civilizations". We suppose, that such terms as "partnership of civilizations" fully express the necessity to build the paradigm of international relations that we are now targeted at.

We would like the movement for partnership of civilizations to gain more power in Russia and then spread in the world. The basis of the movement should be new principles of countries co-operation. I'd like to mention some of them.

There are no "supreme" and "inferior" civilizations as well as superior and inferior cultures, races, peoples. All of them should be considered absolutely equal partners. Only at keeping the balance of parties interests, it is feasible to have a productive way of solving all issues of international relations, that exist nowadays. There is no solving problems by force. It is necessary to create world and regional centres of preventive diplomacy, aimed at preventing all possible conflicts from growing into crisis-scale. Under such circumstances as increasing shortage of resources, first and foremost, energy resources, growing competition and rivalry for using the resources, the utmost goal is to enhance old and work out new mechanisms of solving these problems by economical, financial and legal methods. We have to make the fruits of scientific and technological progress accessible to humankind. And, finally, a primary task is solving the problem of climate change and global warmth.

We have to create a new world together, a world acceptable to life of all civilizations, and leave the world to the coming generations safe and sound.

It is no surprise that we are discussing such problems here, at the International Likhachov

Conference. Dialogue of cultures and civilizations on the one hand keeps ideas of Dmitry Sergeevich on the flow, and on the other hand, it furthers them and can be called the next stage in studying the legacy of the academician, who considered that preserving culture as a whole unit is the global task, because development of culture is not only a step forward, it is also a global-scale selection of the best things, created by humanity.

Dmitry Sergeevich thought that the present stage of civilization promoted working out and adopting general principles, providing further keeping and preserving culture as property of all humanity. In the project "Declaration of Culture Rights", created by him, a principally new approach to define the place and role of culture in the life of society is formulated. He treated culture as the core essence and value of human existence, a condition for leading a meaningful life. Without culture life of peoples and states has no sense. The right on culture actually equals the right on life. The academician treated globalization, that at present state can undoubtedly bring both good and evil to the humankind, as a process, facilitated by cultural rather than by economical interests. Likhachov claimed that globalization should be pursued for the sake of all humanity rather than "gold billion" of citizens in some countries. It is essential to create a concept of globalization as a harmonic process for world cultural development at keeping the balance between great cultures and cultures of small ethnical groups, trying to preserve their unique features as well as mutually benefiting from each other.

For many centuries our culture has accumulated various foreign tendencies, and it only served to benefit of Russia and its culture.

In the contemporary global world, where the problem of the gap between the rich and the poor, the prosperous and non-prosperous is becoming especially acute, targeting at culture can become a uniting process that will enable to overcome crisis in spiritual sphere, will influence ideas, emotions, and hence, people activities.

Stephen White<sup>1</sup>

## RUSSIA AND THE WEST – CONFLICT OR DIALOGUE OF CIVILIZATIONS?

It is a pleasure and an honour to take part in these proceedings. The name of Dmitri Likhachov is synonymous everywhere with the values of

humanism and personal integrity, based on a belief that what unites us is much more important than what separates us. Likhachov himself defended these values in the most difficult of personal circumstances and in a manner that was an example to all of us, outside as well as inside the country of his birth. Scotland, where I work, is not an exception, and Likhachov's many achievements were recognised not only by the University of Edinburgh, where he received an honorary doctorate in 1964, but also by the University of Glasgow, where he was a visitor in the 1980s. I regret only that I had no opportunity to meet Likhachov in person during his visit, for instance, when he was looking round our wonderful library.

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We meet at a time when Likhachov's belief in the essential unity of our civilization is under challenge, and when the promise of the end of the Cold War is turning into disillusionment. The world's most powerful country, and I am afraid the British government, have taken advantage of these new circumstances to abandon the framework of international law, and above all the principle that the affairs of an individual state are a matter – other than in exceptional circumstances – for that state alone. The experience of the war in Iraq has shown us once again how dangerous it is to depart from that framework, and how it can have results that are the direct opposite of the intentions of those who initiate this kind of unilateral military action. In fairness, the world already faced a terrorist threat before the invasion of Iraq, and before the attack on New York and Washington in September 2001. But it is difficult to believe it will be convincingly addressed without the kind of respect for other cultures, and for the sanctity of human life, that were so eloquently advocated by Dmitri Likhachov. In addition, we face new challenges to life itself: in the depletion of natural resources, climatic change, large-scale migration and food shortages.

If we are to have the kind of united action that is necessary to deal with such threats to humanity as a whole, we will need a common purpose and ideally a common understanding of the need to defend the values that matter to all of us. But do we have that kind of common understanding? Or do we have essentially different values, of a kind that separate us and provide a basis for conflict, rather than cooperation?

As you will know, at least one very influential thesis has suggested that our values are indeed essentially different, such as to provide the basis for a "clash of civilizations" rather than cooperation or even a common understanding. For Samuel Huntington, there are seven (or possibly eight) world civilizations, marked out by language, religion and history. The sharpest differences are those between Islam and the West, along a "bloody border" that has existed since at least the time of the Crusades. It is less often noticed that Huntington also identified a "Slavic-Orthodox" civilization, different from the civilization of Western Christianity, and informed by rather different values. In the Western Christian world, church and state had long ago been separated. The concept of private property had been established by Roman law, and it provided a material basis for the concept of individual liberties. There was, and is, a commercial capitalism, independent of the state. And Western religions, especially in the Protestant and Lutheran countries, gave a role to ordinary people in the management of their churches that provided a basis for them, at a later stage, to take a part in the management of their own affairs.

Things were rather different, Huntington suggested, in the Slavic-Orthodox world. The Orthodox countries were based on the traditions of Eastern Christianity, in which church and state were closely associated. They had experienced long periods of

foreign domination. Indeed, he might have added, climate and geography made it difficult for them to develop a rich and autonomous capitalism. The result, Huntington suggested, was a society that "had little resemblance to those developed in Western Europe under the influence of very different forces", and one that was "much less likely to develop stable democratic political systems". For many on the Slavic side of this division, their own societies were of course not just different from but superior to the materialist individualism of their Western counterparts. Russian nationalists today have taken their inspiration from these different values, reflecting a different history and culture; others, usually called "Westernisers", have taken a very different view, arguing that Russia can learn from the experience of the West without losing its own distinctive qualities.

On the face of it, in the early years of a new century, we are closer together than ever before. The Cold War, officially, is over. There are no longer two armed camps, separated from each other by a line of barbed wire through Central Europe. Russia, these days, does more than half of its foreign trade with the countries of the European Union. The United Kingdom is its biggest foreign investor. Increasing numbers of Russians, though only the very rich, own apartments in Mayfair, villas in the south of France, and football teams. Millions of ordinary Russians take their holidays abroad, in Western Europe as well as Turkey and Cyprus. Russians are even learning to play 'regbi', though not yet, I think, cricket. We share Christian values. We speak languages that are part of the Indo-European family. We were allies in both world wars. Our royal families are closely related.

But it is hardly a secret that this common foundation has not led, in the early years of a new century, to the kinds of cooperation in pursuit of a common goal that at one time appeared likely. NATO still exists, its membership already includes some of the former Soviet republics, and its recent Bucharest summit made clear that it would in principle continue to expand, perhaps in due course to include Georgia and Ukraine. New governments have come to power in Central and Eastern Europe, following what were (in the view of the Russian leadership) far from spontaneous popular movements intended to shift these countries permanently into the Western sphere of influence. The West, for its part, has regarded Russia's use of energy resources in its dealings with Belarus and Ukraine as a crude attempt to hold other countries to ransom, suggesting in turn that they should diversify their sources of supply as quickly as possible. More generally, Western countries have become increasingly critical of the direction of Russian domestic politics, and (as they see it) its increasingly authoritarian nature. Perhaps, for many Westerners, there IS no common understanding of a kind that can serve as a basis for East-West cooperation. Perhaps your values, and ours, are just too far apart.

I take a different view, and I would like to present some evidence that supports it. The evi-

dence I have in mind is taken from the World Values Survey, a cooperative project that began at the University of Tilburg in the early 1980s and has since been taken further by the University of Michigan and an international network of associates. There have, so far, been four coordinated “waves” of the Survey, each of which has included more countries than the one before it. There were 62 countries in the fourth wave, including Russia, and a fifth wave is in progress at the moment. Already, something like 85 per cent of the world’s population is included. There is no more comprehensive and authoritative guide to the values that unite or divide us. And it is a guide that is available, without charge, to anyone who can access the internet.

The Survey is organised around a common questionnaire, which covers the whole range of human activity. It deals with religion and the family. With work and employment. With the environment. And with something as elusive as human happiness – which has been falling, apparently, in Russia and some other East European countries – by the end of the 1990s only 6 per cent of Russians were “very happy”, compared with 39 per cent of Americans. No single question, of course, can summarise “values”, and there is no “hierarchy”. But if a succession of questions leads to responses that agree with each other, we can be reasonably sure the result is more than a coincidence.

If there is a single conclusion that is relevant to our theme, it is perhaps diversity. On some dimensions, Russian values are distinctive, if not unique. This is particularly true of “moral” issues, such as the acceptability of drugs or suicide. And it is also true of strong leadership, and law and order: a reaction, presumably, to the collapse of state authority during the 1990s.

But there are also many values on which Americans stand alone, or almost alone. They are far more likely to express a belief in God, and to attend a church service. And they are two or three times as likely to support the private ownership of business as their counterparts in Japan, Russia or the United Kingdom.

At the same time there are many values on which the peoples of our different countries take a very similar view: for instance, it is very widely agreed that marriage is not an outdated institution.

And there are some issues on which Russia and Japan take a similar view, as compared with Britain and the United States: one of these is protest behaviour of various kinds, which finds much less support in the first two, perhaps more traditional societies than in the two societies on either side of the Atlantic.

I have said enough, I hope, to suggest that diversity is the most reasonable conclusion that can be drawn from this and a great deal of related evidence. There is much that unites us. There is also a great deal that divides us. But where we are divided, it is not necessarily the case that Russia stands apart, with values that are at odds with those of other members of the world community. Rather, in many respects Russian values are close to those of other European countries, such as Britain, but different from those of the United States. And in other respects Russian values are closer to those of developed countries in other parts of the world with a very different cultural background, such as Japan.

I would like to suggest that we not just recognise, but celebrate this diversity. And respect the legitimacy of the different answers that our different civilizations have suggested to the questions that confront all of us. If we respect that diversity, we can maximise the areas in which we can cooperate. And in others, we can learn something from the different answers that are given to questions that are relevant to all of us, in this continuing “dialogue of civilizations”. All of it based on a respect for our common humanity, and an acknowledgement that the world is too small and fragile for any of us to attempt to impose our own prescriptions on anybody else.

I would like to think that if Likhachov had been present, he would not have disagreed with this conclusion.

Fabio Petito<sup>1</sup>

## DIALOGUE AMONG CIVILIZATIONS AS AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL FOR WORLD ORDER

‘Dialogue among Civilizations’ as a global political discourse has emerged in the 1990s in the context of the political debate on world order and against the background of the two competing and powerful discourses of the “Clash of Civilizations” and the “Globalization of Liberalism”. In the post

9/11 context and after five years from the designation of the UN Year of the Dialogue among Civilizations, this political discourse has been increasingly the object of a double movement of scepticism and hope. Unfortunately, very little attention has been devoted by International Relations and Political theorists to clarify and articulate its possible meaning as a normative framework for the future of international relations. Within this normative horizon, I would like to sketch the contours of “Dialogue of Civilizations as an Alternative Model for World Order”.

Seen from the perspective of the “Dialogue among Civilizations”, the “globalization of liberalism’ and the ‘clash of civilizations”, if indeed

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representing analytically and normatively two different set assumptions and images of the post-89 international order, they nevertheless share a practical/political commitment to what I call an essentially Western-centric and Liberal Global order. They appear as two faces of the same coin (the "thick and thin" versions), two variants on the same theme: the overwhelming political and ideological dominance of a US-centred Western and Liberal world Dialogue among Civilizations articulates an argument for the moral basis of the contemporary globalised and multicultural international society that is not simply a middle way between a fully fledged "thick" cosmopolitanism and a minimal "thin" communitarian-based international ethics of coexistence; rather it calls first of all for the reopening and re-discussion of the core Western-centric and Liberal assumptions upon which the normative structure of the contemporary international society is today based. In other words, it is not a matter of intellectually mediating between a "thin" or "thick" — but essentially Western-centric and mainly liberal — international society but to practically enter into this inter-civilizational dialogical encounter to create, in Gadamer's words, these "new normative and common solidarities that let practical reason speak again" in a way that is appropriate to the new global polis.

From this perspective, the call for a 'dialogue of civilizations' is not wishful thinking but a realistic political need to create the intellectual and practical precondition of a future *jus gentium* grounded in a pluralistic world order whose primary aim is not to create a paradise on earth, but, rather and in first instance, to avoid that the earth becomes a hell. The contours of the political discourse of "Dialogue among Civilizations" as a more clearly visible and less vague alternative model for world order are therefore to be delineated at the intersection of the following political discourses: supporting dialogue as political and a non-violent strategy at different levels; an alliance of the great world-wide religious traditions against the violent instrumentalisation of religion on the ground that "Peace is the name of God"; a critique of a predatory and economic versions of globalization; and, more importantly, a call for a dialogical intellectual encounter among

all the great cultural and religious traditions to design a common path for a new humanism.

But if the political discourse of dialogue of civilizations indeed represents a radical critique of the overwhelming political and ideological dominance of a US-centred Western and Liberal world, one finds unsurprising the recent association of this discourse with a clear normative resistance against the idea of a unipolar world order — often accompanied by the conviction that we are gradually but ineluctably moving towards a multipolar world. The question which is therefore posed is the following: does an international political theory of dialogue of civilizations endorse the idea of a multipolar world order?

The risk here is that a multicivilizational world order would look very much like the model of multipolar multicivilizational order put forward by Huntington as the antidote to what he sees as the greatest threat to world peace, the clashes of civilizations. The problem with such a model of order is its being constructed only on the grounds of a material structure of power, which might well represent the spatial orientation of the global order but does not make for the normative structure of such an order.

The alternative model of world order inspired by dialogue of civilizations that I will argue for has multipolarity as its spatial orientation, a new cross-cultural *jus gentium* as its normative order. An active politics of dialogue of civilizations represents the combination mechanism of connection between multipolarity and the new cross-cultural *jus gentium*, both as a way to mitigate the risk of a "culturalist enclosure" in the former and to dialogically inscribe plurality in the latter. Concretely, this neo-regionalist, multipolar and cross-cultural model of greater spaces is different from the Huntingtonian model of multipolar multicivilizational order as: 1) it is not shaped by civilizational-culturalist lines but by a dialogical multiculturalism; 2) its conflicts are neutralised by a "thick" dialogically-constituted normative order (a new cross-cultural *jus gentium*) based on a "genuine" and "enriched" universality; 3) it is committed to a widespread process of "inter-civilizational mutual understanding" at multiple levels.

**Eberhard Schneider<sup>1</sup>**

## EUROPEAN CULTURE

complex tangles and criss-cross of various cultures on the European continent, such as Greek, Roman, French, English, Italian, Spanish, German, Russian and others. The basis of European culture doesn't contain any certain national culture, it encompasses a range of national cultures of peoples that are geographical neighbors, that became very close due to centenarian common history. The cooperation of the cultures throughout their history turned out crucial.

Forming European culture for ages didn't mean the end of national cultures. On the contrary,

### *European culture as transcultural phenomenon*

European culture belongs to the sphere of trans-culture. This concept means multiple cultural identity that overwhelms national culture. European culture originated as the result of close and

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meeting the neighbouring cultures, on the one hand, led to realizing peculiarities and values of the national culture, and on the other hand it led to perceiving common values, which enabled co-existence with other cultures of European continent, provided chauvinistic forces didn't feed rival authoritative and economical interests with national differences. What is *differentia specifica* of European culture, and how does it differ from other cultures?

### **Democracy**

The first thing to mention is democracy. Even if it isn't the direct offspring of democracy in Greek policies based on the opinion of the population majority, still the basic concept remained the same: sovereignty originates in the population, while executive power is temporary and should be controlled by the population. It is taken for granted that democracies differ. French democracy differs from British, for example, Swiss democracy differs from German one. These sovereign manifestations of democracy follow the fundamental principles of democracy, namely: political pluralism, free and correct elections, law state and freedom to speak. Appealing to the sovereign form of democracy can't result in claiming these basic elements of democracy as inefficient and in trying to dispose of sovereign democracy ideas.

### **Human rights**

Another constituent of European culture in the principle of human right, as every person has their dignity and personal inviolability, which is originated in their spiritual nature. Human rights and a political form of democracy are triumphantly marching the world, and they manifest themselves in the Declaration on Human Rights of the UN and provided for the International Court in the Hague. The basis of human rights is the principle of natural right, possessed from the birth, it can't be deprived of or granted with by the state. Even if the state violates the human rights, they still have legal force, and the state is considered guilty for violating them. He state has the right to issue laws only on the basis of acknowledgement human rights.

### **Christianity**

The next element of European culture is its Christian religious tradition. For centuries Christianity experienced two great Schisms, that resulted in significant cultural differences, however, the basic Christian principles remain unchanged for the three Christian confessions. Secularization led to separating the church and the state, but the basic Christian principles were encompassed by the state legal acts without deliberate emphasis on this necessity, and are taken for granted by the majority. Because of historical development and migration Islam came to Europe. Sometimes it causes problems provided this religion doesn't accept the principle of secular state in Europe.

### **Social state**

A relatively new element of European culture is social form of market economy. Firstly,

political democracy has to correlate to economical democracy, as both provide for each other. It is only a comparatively developed economy that makes political competition democracy effective as the process of putting home interests into life. On the other hand, democracy is a prerequisite for economic liberalization. We may try to ignore this link, but only to a certain extent and for some time. Either politics adapts to economical system, or economical development will slow down. If autocratic regimes happen to advance, they will easily work out their own dynamics. Who will try to stop them when the development follows the path of dictatorship, if there is no democratic alternative? Who, when, and by what criteria will define that the time for autocracy has come to the end and that democracy will be restored?

Secondly, European form of capitalism is socially oriented in different way depending on the country. There should be a balance between freedom and justice. One hundred percent manifestation of the former means one hundred percent rejection of the latter. Absolute freedom to make entrepreneur decisions leads to large social injustice. Absolute social justice prevents from making entrepreneur decisions. The state has to provide legal regulating social, taxation and other issues, as practical balance of these values prevents social turmoil.

### **Political conclusion**

Being aware of the common European culture and tendency to exclude a slightest chance of wars in relations among European countries led to setting up the European Union, that at present has 27 member countries with the total population of half a billion people. The EU is a powerful pole that attracts many countries left outside the EU. After admitting 12 new member countries into the community within the last four years, the EU faces a serious challenge of obligatory deepening the integration, if it doesn't want to become just another type of OSCE. The European Union can do it only following the principle of subsidiarity and integrity within diversity.

What perspective can the EU offer to Russia, whose foreign trade with the EU is more than 50% of its total European trade turnover, who supplies 80% of energy export to the EU, and receives 75% of total foreign investments of the EU? It won't be a perspective of membership, as it would change the structure of the European Union. Russia itself doesn't want this perspective. The partnership in the form of new type associating would be possible. This sort of associating would be larger than a new agreement on partnership and cooperation, according to which both parties have to conduct new negotiations. The elements of the associating agreement could be, for example, gradual creating the free trade zone with the EU and advancing political dialogue on topical issues.

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## POST-GLOBALIZATION "PERESTROIKA" OF THE GLOBAL MARKETS AND CONTRACT OF CIVILIZATIONS

This presentation has three goals. The first is to show the structural shift of economic and regional power within the global economy from the "old West" countries toward emerging economies. The second goal is to document the fact that globalization at first triggered a positive expansion of the US's economic might and allowed it to capture world markets, but with time the US economy has become simultaneously a "winner" and "loser" facing increasing pressure from emerging economies. Thirdly the presentation will argue that quite radical shifts in the global markets will have an impact of the level of collaboration of different macro-regions. Thus we shall move from a dialogue of civilization into a new phase of "contract of among civilizations" by finding the common base on which we can build future political and economic relations. The paper starts with a discussion on What is New in Post-Globalization? There are at least five "turning points" that makes the last twenty years different in the speed of globalization. The second section analyses the issue of Emerging Economies versus the Old West. While in the first part of this article, I was trying to prove that the recent 20 years was marked by the rapid development of processes that, combined, were labelled as "globalization". The main mover behind globalization was the United States, as it was the principal benefactor of this process for quite a long time. But the US is becoming the victim of the monster it created. Not in the sense of corporate profit, which is the highest in many decades, but in the sense of national socio-economic development. A tectonic shift in power relations has positioned so-called emerging economies as the most dynamic force within the world market system. In that section I argue that:

- In terms of population (in real terms – cheap reservoir of highly competitive and mobile labour) and foreign exchange reserves, emerging economies are overpowering western economies.

- One can argue that this is simply the revenge of the emerging economies that, historically speaking, were more powerful until the 19th century than their Western counterparts.

- The statistical evidence shows that the emerging economies have already outpaced the developed economies in the dynamism of their GDP, and the gap is still growing. If the world system continues to develop according to the trajectory established during the last years, and if it will not be subject to any unpredicted, dramatic change, then the "perestroika" of economic relations will dramatically alter the current balance of

economic power. This will have obvious geopolitical and military consequences by the mid-21st century. The new situation will alter current alliances, undermine even stronger existing international political and economic institutions, create new conflict zones. It will press European national politicians to answer the question of what went wrong with their economies but also will test the abilities of the new leaders (such as China and India) to be responsible for the world system as well as test US leadership to enter a massive "dialogue of civilization" on power sharing arrangements on a global scale .

- One of the results of this shift, which is already being seen, is a change in the purchasing power of Western populations as competitive pressure from the emerging economies pushes salaries in Western countries down. In other words, workers in developed countries are earning less and sections of the middle class are moving downwards economically.

- There are significant consequences in the OECD labour markets where – in general – "good" jobs are becoming less available, less stable and less paid (except the extraordinary increase of salaries of the top companies' CEOs almost regardless of their performance as leaders).

- Also emerging economies create the material conditions for the social stability in the West while undermining their long-term capacity as world economic leaders.

In conclusions I am presenting a four-fold argument. First, that US hegemony is diminishing, if not outright over. At the same time, US domination, thanks to the size and dynamism of its economy – and in particular its military power – as well as the continuing power of the dollar as a world currency, will persist for at least a decade or two to come. Second, I have presented evidence (as one of many scholars recently) that the shift of economic power has already taken place to emerging economies. There are already visible social and economic consequences of this process for Western countries. Cracks in the main international institutions also serve as evidence of this process. Third, the still unknown factor is to what extent Asia – including south-east and east Asia – will be able to build strong economic and political intra-Asian relations that would place them as key socio-political / economic world players. Fourth, we are entering crucial years in which the West is faced with a subversion of the global hierarchy of wealth and power and two possible scenarios: one is to actively compete and attempt to "win the power struggle"; the other is to enter into power-sharing relations and collaboration with Asia that would secure them at least a stable place in the global structure of domination. Hopefully, through true dialogue of civilization, the West will choose the second option, which will spare humanity from more economic and armed conflicts.

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V. V. Naumkin<sup>1</sup>**WORLD CIVILIZATIONAL SYSTEM AND WORLD POLITICAL SET-UP**

Civilizational system and world political set-up are 2 different sides, 2 attributes forming structure of contemporary world. Relations between them are both historically stable and momentary controversial. World political set-up at all stages of spasmodic evolution more and more tended to adjust itself to civilizational system, keeping from too dangerous misbalance. Long ago, when the basis of now accepted world order didn't form yet, civilizational gigantic hegemony often vanished as states, but left cultural heritage that would influence and direct development of humankind for many years ahead. Later world and other large-scale wars, revolutions and colonization and conquering other countries blew up inter-civilizational balance from inside. Genocide as an utmost manifestation of anti civilizational policy threatened to preserving even small cultural and civilizational evidences of peoples who became victims of genocide. Collapse of empires in present time is a phenomenon both global political and cultural civilizational.

Nowadays turmoils in world political set, on the one hand, result from contradictions among cultures and civilizations, on the other hand, facilitate them great. To a certain extent, politics has become more powerful than civilization. But civilization as an exponent of stability in the eternal fight with inconstancy resists too strong pressure of politics.

Under such conditions, it is getting more and more traditional to use civilizational tools to set up world politics. Politically conflicting relations

between Islamic world and the West have civilizational ground, the concept "civilization" (though there is no unified definition of it) is becoming the primary idea in political theories and international political projects. At that the concept of "modernity" in relation to civilization is treated as sort of watershed. While religion (and attitude towards religion) and ethnical unity remain their role as 2 most significant markers in civilizational system as well as 2 most convenient instruments of political modernization. In relation to all this, it is worth-noting that in the Western discourse there has appeared a new theses: there exists a "world of faith" that is opposed to the "modernity" world secularity and freedom.

However, religious framing of politics is used by secular state political systems. Active exploiting of non-governmental factors is treated as a beneficial argument by authors forecasting apocalyptic inter-civilizational wars. Such factors also enhance the concept of withering away national statehood and sovereignty. Unsettled issues of correlating the right of nation on self-determination and the principle of keeping integrity of states is a sign of possible conflicts in both concerned dimensions of contemporary world.

Harmonizing relations between civilizational structure of the world and world political set-up, each of which experiences the crisis of identity, is hardened by doomed to failure attempts of unipolar domination along with too long period of creating multipolarity.

Megawati Soekarnoputri<sup>2</sup>**WE NEED COOPERATION OF ALL NATIONS AND CIVILIZATIONS**

First of all, allow me to express my thanks for invitation to attend the International Likhachov Scientific Conference (Readings). I feel honoured to be able to attend this forum with the theme "Dialogue of cultures and partnership of civilizations". This forum's theme has an important and strategic meaning, because of two reasons. The first reason. In the last decade there are so many discourses and predictions amongst academia, politician and strategic thinkers on the clash of civilization. The book of Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilization", has triggered those discourse and predictions. This forum can become

one of the useful mediums to find positive answers on the problems around. Also finding ways to prevent or reduce the impact of the possible clash of the civilization. The second reason. Globalization in the field of communication and information has intensively push interaction between cultures and civilizations itself. Globalization is a reality that must be faced by nations, with all its positive and negative aspects.

As I have mentioned before, globalization brought an intensive interaction between cultures and civilizations. Globalization, primarily push by information and communication has brought big changes in economy, politics and strategy. One of the main questions is how far the global interaction will bring more just and fair welfare, as well as world peace. There are some nations that have abundance natural resources but still limited on their human resources quality. There are nations that does not have abundance natural resources but have good quality human resources. There are also nations that have enough of both resources. All of

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them interacted in what we call globalization phenomenon. Competition is a reality in global interaction. In the same time we also realize the need for cooperation. Competition that has happened will continue and might change in many forms. Competition that will happen in the future is hoped to be fairer for all and produce welfare and peace for all as well. When future competition produces a fair welfare for all, then conflict and clash can be reduced. On the other hand, if competition give birth a larger injustice, then conflict and clash will also grow larger in many forms. It is also the case in the need for cooperation. When the future cooperation will give mutual benefit among nations, then it will enhance world peace. If the cooperation will only widen the gap on injustice, then the potential of conflict and clash will also grew and wider. Basically there lies the clash of civilization.

Every nation surely has a specific quality respond to the interaction that happens in globalization. Specific quality respond can be seen from the values that each nation follows. Also from those values, the nation's culture and civilization can be seen. In Indonesia, we have basic values as our fundamental norm, the philosophy of our nation and national ideology that we call Pancasila (Five Principles). Those principles are "Believe in one God, Just and Civilized humanism, Indonesia (National) Unity, Deliberative Democracy, and Social Justice for all".

Pancasila, or Five Principles, was refined by one of our Founding Fathers and our first President, Soekarno or popularly known as Bung Karno. Pancasila is most valuable for us in Indonesia because of our geography and demography configuration. Geographically, Indonesia is an archipelago consist of more than 22,000 big and small islands. The largest archipelago in the world. Demographically, Indonesia is a pluralistic society in term of culture, ethnics, and religions. Those five principles are our basic values in responding to globalization. Bung Karno mentioned that Pancasila could be our contribution to the world, because Pancasila can be used in shaping the world's welfare and peace. Why? The first reason. We implement Pancasila by fully realizing that we are a pluralistic society in terms of culture, ethnics, and religions. We realize and believe that we can live as a nation within that pluralism. That is why we also realize and believe that the world can live together in peace, even with the differences present. One of the most important things is a continuum dialogue and partnership among the existing cultures and civilizations. The dialogue and partnership become important, because we realize that every culture and civilization has its own positive and negative aspects. That sort of acknowledgement is important to nurture cooperation in humanity and human race. The second reason. Pancasila is an open ideology and philosophy. Pancasila as values and philosophy that we follow is open for continuum improvement in its application, which will work through dialogue and partnership.

Nowadays the impact of globalization is huge. For an example, the shortage of world food supply due to bio-fuel policy. Bio-fuel is assumed to be the answer to the shortage and increasing price of oil. We also know that oil shortage can trigger conflict and tragedy on humanity. However, shortage of world food supply can even trigger a larger humanity conflict. How will globalization face these problems? How will dialogue and partnership in globalization face these problems? How will cultures and civilizations face these problems? Cultures and civilizations will the serious decay when the shortage of world food supply happens in a long period of time. It is our collective responsibility to face this problem in the future. One of the ways is to direct the dialogue and partnership to the continuity of human race. The same thing can also be seen in the phenomena of global warming that will affect human life everywhere. Global warming will affect food production and also the quality of water and air. In this context, dialogue and partnership between cultures and civilizations is also needed. The issues of food shortage, energy shortage and global warming are not only economic problems but more importantly are humanity and human race problems. Therefore dialogue between cultures and partnership between civilizations involve nations that have abundance natural resources but still limited on their human resources quality, nations that do not have abundance natural resources but have human resources good quality, and also nations that have enough of both resources. Therefore reconstruction of cultures and civilizations are needed to face challenges in the continuity of resolving humanity problems. What I mean by reconstruction, concern at least several following dimensions. First, appreciation and tolerance to the various cultures and civilizations in the world, with the basic principle that every nation has the right to choose their own way of life to seek for their welfare and happiness. The chance to choose a way of life does not mean to eliminate other nation way of life. The chosen way of life correlates to universal humanity. It means that particular way of life must be correlated with universal humanity. Appreciation and tolerance will be intensified by dialogue and partnership among cultures and civilizations. The second dimension is the improvement and adaptability dimension because every culture and civilization has its own positive and negative aspects. Continuum improvement will enable the culture to serve the humanity and its complex problems. While adaptability is needed because the world is changing in a wide and fast pace with the increase in world's population, the growing complexity of human needs, harder competition, etc. That is why continuum adaptation is needed.

In order for all of those to succeed, nations of the world should stand at equal ground. Dialogue and partnership between cultures and civilizations will not work if feelings and perceptions of superiority and inferiority are present. Despite of different economic or social conditions of every



nation, we all face the same human race problems. World food supply shortage, global warming, shortage and increasing oil price, affect all of us. Therefore we should also eliminate discrimination from our minds when conducting dialogue of

cultures and partnership of civilizations. Equality will improve the quality and results from the dialogue and partnership. This is important because people will be more receptive to this effort if positive results are apparent.

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## THE CONTEMPORARY ROLE OF ASIAN CIVILIZATIONAL PROJECTS: TOWARDS OVERCOMING NEO-COLONIALIST CLAIMS IN THE AGE OF THE WAR ON TERROR

### *1. The Global Civilizational Crisis and Asia:*

In spite of the homogenizing impacts of global economy, Asia has developed itself into a region different from the “West” in economic, political and cultural terms. Historically, this region has always played the role of a matrix of non-Western civilizational projects. Now, when the World has entered into a global age where Westernization = modernization = industrialization has reached a global scale, and shows different alarming symptoms of a global civilizational crisis, this world region may exercise some collective manifestations of intellectual creativity. The present paper proposes a few ideas in order to initiate a critical dialogue on this subject.

Our discussion is based on the assumption that we are experiencing now a civilizational crisis, i. e. a crisis covering different issue areas with political, economic social and cultural dimensions, sharing common historical roots related to the fact that the global Western modern civilization has entered into a phase of decline, and is in itself in crisis. Modern civilization, developed in the West since the Renaissance and the Age of Enlightenment followed by the North Atlantic revolutions, succeeded in developing a modern civilization which contributed to provide humankind with new material, technical and institutional possibilities to increase the wellbeing of all its members.

Such “progress” was made possible by new economic, political and cultural developments; a Capitalist economy, a modern-state based international political order and a secular universalist culture. This Western modern civilization has globalized, following the colonial expansion of the Western major states, engulfing practically all non-Western regions. The decolonization which followed the Second World War enabled the peoples of the non-Western colonized regions to have access to the material, institutional and cultural capital generated by the modern West. The global civilization was thus the final phase of the Western modern age. This stage was, however, a declining phase of this civilization, when its very success has been accompanied by an explosion of its inherent

contradictions. Capitalism which combined the expansion of markets through competition, seemed to guarantee a limitless growth, but proved to become unsustainable, when Capitalism lost its productive power and turned into a global market of financial speculation, turning nature and humans into mere commodities.

Entering into the global age, Capitalism had shifted from an economic system revolutionizing production into one where finance prevails over production and market competition generates heightened speculation rather than more efficient production, leading to an excessive polarization of the global economy dividing rich and poor, growth and stagnation, with unsustainable regimes of surplus accumulation.

The international institutions for peace and security were built in the modern West since the Treaty of Westphalia were based on the monopoly of violent means, military and police, by the modern nation states. Their “contract” with the citizens who had renounce to their rights to arm in exchange with the state’s promises to guarantee their security and wellbeing had been successful to bring to the West a certain amount of peace within which the citizens could develop democratic institutions controlling the states. The Westphalian states, especially the powerful ones developed a system of “balance of power” among themselves, and a domestic public order where the states played the role of distributors of public goods, according to the regime chosen by the citizens. This balance of power system was, however, based on the possibility of the great powers to expand outside of the West, acquiring colonial markets, as they propagated the emancipator ideas of freedom and democracy to the non-Western world. This missionary civilization helped the non-West to “modernize” but generated growing gaps between the universalistic messages and the “colonized” and the “minorities” discriminated in the name of these messages.

The global age was characterized by two major contradictions of the Westphalian system hidden behind the façade of democracy and international security. On the one hand, the multi-polar balance of power was broken by the emergence of a single hegemon following the demise of the Soviet Union ending the bi-polarity of the Cold War, and the states ceased to balance each-other and ended-up in supporting a War on Terror waged against rogue states and terrorists by the uni-polar hegemon.

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In this "War" the universal values of the modern West became a pretext for intervention into the non-Western world, returning to the colonial age which had been abolished in the 1950s. The monopoly by the states over military and police forces, which was the precondition of the Westphalian order was made unsustainable by human insecurity polarizing the societies especially in the impoverished non-Western societies.

Under these circumstances, the positive role played by Western Modernity cannot continue to lead the World, and this is why a dialogue between the Western modern civilization and other civilizations, especially the Asian civilization become extremely important. It is so because to emulate the West is no more a guarantee of progress, and the so-called "clash of Civilizations" leads to economic polarization between rich and poor, and political polarization under the name of the "War on Terror". Western civilization which combined a beneficial aspect, generating human rights and democracy, liberating and equalizing, with negative aspects, segregating and exploiting, through different types of colonialism, post-colonialism, and global colonialism, requires some reinvigorating inputs from non-Western civilizations to overcome the prevalence of its negative features causing the present global civilizational crisis.

This is where the anti-colonial civilizational projects of the non-West, especially of Asia can play a positive role to overcome the present global civilizational crisis by complementing the positive aspects of Western modern civilization, surmounting the negative effects of the decaying West. Asia already tried to play such a complementary role to the West during the process of decolonization, following the Second World War. It initiated the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian anti-colonial solidarity together with Africa. Bandung became a symbolic event representing the thirty years from 1950s through 1970s which was a period of international development led by the forces of decolonization. The Non-Aligned Movement and the G77 were activating during this period a process of decolonization and development in the United Nations. The project of the New International Economic Order followed by other projects on new international orders were proposed in the 1970s following the mounting tide of anti-colonialism and democratization of the 1960s.

As a matter of fact, the process of decolonization did not limit itself to the states, but reached out to all the social groups and strata so far exclude or discriminated in the Capitalist, Westphalian political economic systems of the modern West. The 1960s Civil rights movement in the United States was followed by human rights, gender, anti-racist, anti-war and anti-pollution movements in the whole world.

This process of decolonization and democratization was however short-lived. A phase of global neo-liberal economy followed the debt crises in the South, and the stagnation of the global economy in the North. All the achievements of the

1960s and 70s were put into question by the global North which initiated an age of global crisis called by Mikado Warshavski a period of "recolonization". This phase of the global civilizational crisis became fully active after the fall of the Soviet Union and continues since then under the project of the "new world order" of President Bush (Senior).

In the 1980s, the Socialist State project disappeared from the international scene and a period of paucity of projects continued until the beginning of the 21st century when the World Social Forum began to act, in opposition to the World Economic Forum which was trying to unite the forces of recolonization, as a new rallying point for alternative projects such as Samir Amin's "Fifth International" project which followed Bandung after Fifty Years.

Asia was thus reentering into the dialogical space of civilizational projects following Bandung. This world region was, however, defined at the beginning of the 21st century, in the hegemonic project, as the "Arc of Insecurity", the core region of the "War on Terror". This Arc is proposed to be turned into an "Arc of Prosperity" by some Japanese political leaders, trying to exercise an economic leadership among the forces of recolonization in view of the richness of this "Arc". India and China are the main targets, as they form new poles of development, together with the oil-rich Islamic world.

There is, in this way, an Asian neoliberal project supported by the subaltern neo-liberal classes, multinational and national technocrats who are not true believers in neoliberalism but only give it lip service so long as it is beneficial to them. The subaltern neoliberal project creates a polarization of the communities into the beneficiaries and the maleficiaries of global economy, and the excluded states and social strata begin to develop alternative projects which emphasize decolonization and democratization.

Partially alternative state projects against neoliberalism existed already since the 1980s in the form of Confucian Capitalism of Singapore and "Look East" project of Malaysia supporting what was defined in the West as development despotism and chorny Capitalism. Better accepted in the West are the regional integration projects, SARC in South Asia, ASEAN (plus Three) in South East Asia. Among them, the ASEAN project of an East Asian Community, excluding the United States and including India and Australia, is a key non-hegemonic inter-state project.

Our interest in Asia must be tempered by the realization that new civilizational projects of the non-Western regions originate also from outside of Asia. In the tri-continental region, the most advanced anti-colonial region is Latin America where "Bolivarismo" has become a project supported both by peoples and states. We must not forget, also, the existence of international projects supported by the international community through the United Nations. There are, for example, non-hegemonic projects developed by the United Nations such as "Millennium Development Goals",

“human security” and “sustainable development (including Education for Sustainable Development)”.

Without claiming monopoly, Asia is still undoubtedly a rich matrix for civilizational projects, especially for anti-colonial Projects. This world region has generated two major anti-colonial civilizational projects, Ghandiism and Maoism, and their offshoots may be activated and give birth to new anti-colonial/anti-hegemonic projects. Covering a broader area and still originating in Asia, Islam is a matrix of projects which include the so-called “fundamentalist” projects as well as neoliberal modernist ones. Asian intellectuals play also their specific role in the world arena of global citizenry. On the non-state intellectual level we can identify projects such as “endogenous development”, “post-modernist” projects, gender egalitarian projects (including neo-Gramscian feminism), and cultural projects based on reflexive thinking which have Asian intellectuals among their key supporters.

A critical revisiting of the past and contemporary civilizational projects in Asia tracing a genealogy discriminating the counterproductive from the productive ones is what the proposed Project endeavors. For example, the sad experience of Rasbihari and Chandra Both with the Japanese militarists must not be judged only as a negative encounter, and the dialectical interactions of violence and non-violence, between colonialism and anti-colonialism, between counter-hegemony and democracy, should be the object of careful reanalysis.

The task ahead is voluminous and we will be only capable of opening a new field of inquiry in search of what Gramsci calls the “Blocco Storico”, an anti-colonial and counter-hegemonic bloc, which is currently in the process of formation, through dialogues of civilizations as proposed by UThant and Hatami.

## *2. Asia as a matrix of Civilizational Projects and Its Role in a Dialogue of Civilizations*

It is clear from the above considerations that the present global civilizational crisis can be defined as a consequence of the process of re-colonization which is based on a hegemonic civilizational project characterized by a misuse of the Western universal values, democracy, human rights and freedom, making them the pretext for a recolonization process strengthening the negative aspects of the Western modern civilizational project. It is in facing such hegemonic civilization strategy that the civilizational projects of Asia can play an important role in overcoming the present civilizational crisis.

An anti-Recolonization common front must combat the prevalent hegemonic process of recolonization by forming a new historic bloc, with a clear civilizational project which aims at building a multi-cultural world where the negative aspects of the Western modern civilization is modified by the non-Western civilizational contributions. The project must formulate an alternative civilization, based on a reflexive critique of Western modernity.

It must identify and support actively the constructive trends of Western modernity generated as a consequence of the Western historical process of human liberation originating in the Enlightenment. This includes universalistic demands for equality, in terms of gender, class, and cultural identity. The NGOs involved in the United Nations process from the 1992 Rio Summit to the 2001 World Conference on Racism could provide an initial group which can expand to include the large community of peoples and multitude without access to the United Nation process.

The anti-colonial common front has to base itself on mobilizing the voice of the voiceless peoples and multitudes, who have been marginalized and “occulted” by the Western modernity, especially its terminal form of the global age. Colonialism has been a safety valve absorbing the basic contradictions existing between the universalistic values of the Enlightenment and the two ideal types of the homo economicus and homo politicus, which provided the grounds for Capitalism, the modern political-economic ethical base of the modern world order, or disorder.

Homo economicus commodifies everything and everybody, and homo politicus legitimizes might as a guardian of rights. Progress was thus made possible by the legitimization of greed and thirst for power, which have been proclaimed as unethical by the axial religions. Secularism was a process, which enabled the States to become the regulatory agencies taming these un-ethical virtues under the universal rule of human rights.

This combination of the two secular human types with the secular ethics based on individual dignity has permitted the modern world system to develop a material civilization without comparison in the traditional world empires. This prosperity was, nevertheless, based on a colonialist exploitation of the multitude, i. e. the discriminated peoples unprotected by the States, in terms of gender, class and cultural identity<sup>1</sup>. This globalizing situation, which we may call “colonial” as we saw already, however, was believed to be only a transitory stage in a process of progress and/or revolution, which was assumed to lead to an egalitarian world, at the end of “development” = “modernization”.

Now that the casino global economy combined with the War on Terror military hegemony come to negate such expectations, it is essential to develop a global process of dialogue, involving the transformative political economic movements representing the Western modern civil societies, in their search for equality in terms of gender, class and cultural identity, and the cultural-civilizational movements of the colonized non-Western societies.

Through this process of multi-ideological and multi-cultural dialogue, we must oppose, on one hand, the global “rogue” hegemon attempts to nullify the achievements of the modern Western civilization, the fruit of such an elaborate fight for

<sup>1</sup> Mushakoji K. *Global Issues and Interparadigmatic Dialogue: Essays on Multipolar Politics*. Torino, 1988. P. 65–83.

freedom and equality conducted so elaborately during the past centuries. On the other hand, we must develop a multi-cultural process where the negative aspects of the Western modern civilization, e.g. its xenophobic colonialism, excluding and exploiting the multitudes, can be overcome by the contribution of the non-Western civilizations. An end should be put to the occultation of the non-Western values treated, for so long, as pre-modern, through a global dialogue between the citizens and multitudes of different religions and cultural traditions. This dialogue should provide an occasion for the different civilizations to exchange and share their respective values and principles, and initiate a civilizational process which opens a new era, the age of a multi-cultural modernity.

Dialogues of civilizations can simply aim at contributing to the mutual understanding among them. In view of the present global crisis generated by the unilateralist hegemon, we must, however, be more interested in a dialogue which purpose is to develop a common front against the global recolonization hegemony<sup>1</sup>. As we have seen above, the present global crisis is a consequence of the fact that the modernity which has originated in the West during the long 16th century has reached a stage of decay when the best universal values it created are contradicted by the global hegemony, which bases itself, formally, on these Enlightenment values, but give to them an exclusionary interpretation which meets the hegemonic neo-liberal and neo-conservative disciplinary context within which they are contextualized.

We must take into full account, at the present phase of neo-liberal and neo-conservative globalization, the recent "backlash" of anti-modern, fundamentalist tendencies originating in the United States, but tending nowadays to cover the whole world. This "backlash" is supported by a large sector of the traditional middle class which has seen eroding the "good old" values of patriarchal family, authoritarian communalism, and State-centered individualism denied legitimacy by the universal values of human rights, gender equality, and ecological ethics.

The social forces, which supported George W. Bush may not continue to rule the United States, but even enlightened candidates can become softer leaders less unilateral than him, but cannot avoid following the path of recolonization to the extent that the hegemony of the United States cannot recognize fully the European attempt to revitalize the Western modern civilizational project in its present form as promoted by the European Union unless it accepts to become the younger sister of Europe. It cannot, either accept the anti-colonial and radical democratic projects from the South, unless it accepts to renounce to its uni-polar hegemony. Even opposing the neo-conservative stance of President Bush, whoever follows him will have to exercise a hegemonic tolerance vis-à-vis the

anti-modernist "fundamentalism" rampant in the United States. There will always be a part of the American public who cannot accept that the United States play into the hands of the revivalist social forces in Islam, called in the West "fundamentalists".

In order to promote its global fundamentalist civilizational project, the United States has chosen to use the United Nations only to the extent it meets its neo-conservative purposes, and subjugate the multilateral institutions so elaborately developed by them after the end of the Second World War. Under these conditions, we must support the multilateral political forces within and without the United Nations, and build with their cooperation an anti-hegemonic front in view of protecting and promoting the universal values infringed by the global "backlash".

This "backlash", however, cannot be overcome only by reasserting the legitimacy of the universal values of the Western modern Enlightenment. This is not possible, simply because the same values are proclaimed by the neo-conservative hegemon himself, who declares that his "War on Terror" is fought to establish freedom and democracy, all around the world. His assertion denies the legitimacy of the non-western civilizations, with so many of their precious values occluded in spite of their possible contribution in overcoming the present global civilizational crisis. These values must be identified, re-assessed and applied to overcoming the present contradictions of Western modernity.

However, before they can play any positive role, they must first be liberated from the prejudices they are frequently submitted to, in the present intellectual milieu dominated by the modern values, where they are occluded and occulted by the development of the Euro-centric, or Americano-centred, modern values covering now the whole world as a consequence of globalization.

This process of occultation, has been legitimized in the name of modernization. However, this modernization has been conducted by the general legitimization of commodification and colonialism, as we have seen before. To overcome the direct or indirect influence of these two trends on the growing human insecurity in the excluded sectors of the global political economy, i.e. the two basic orientations of the present neo-liberal economy and neo-conservative politics, it is indispensable to reactivate and re-legitimize the many occulted values of the non-West, reinterpreting them, when their traditional contents do not fit our purpose to promote the universal values, which face the danger of being occulted in their turn by the present hegemonic backlash<sup>2</sup>.

We will give a few examples of some products of the intellectual creativity concealed in the different Asian civilizational projects which can be introduced in a civilizational dialogue by the social

<sup>1</sup> About the epistemological structure of dialogue among cultures and paradigms cf. *Mushakoji K.* Global Issues and Interparadigmatic Dialogue: Essays on Multipolar Politics, Albert Meyer. Torino, 1988.

<sup>2</sup> On "occultation" or "occlusion" cf. *Mushakoji K.* Multilateralism in a Multi-Cultural World: Notes for a Theory of Occultation // *The New Realism: Perspectives on Multilateralism and World Order* / ed. by Robert Cox. MacMillan, 1996.

forces engaged in the process of counter-hegemonic common front building. The selection of the examples is quite arbitrary, and are mentioned only because the author of these lines had found them useful in his dialogues with researchers and practitioners who share with him a common interest in identifying Western and non-Western concepts which can help a critical assessment of the now predominant global discourse. The concepts are proposed as an object of a critical dialogue and need to be reassessed and cleansed from the various negative implications they have received during their use in the different patriarchal, feudalistic, or colonial contexts.

The proposed process of civilizational dialogue is an indispensable prerequisite of a cross-civilizational anti-colonial common front building. This front is not a simple utopia, since it is already represented in an embryonic form in the World Social Forum, where many problems of the neoliberal and neoconservative global process of recolonization are critically assessed by a multi-civilizational intellectual community in and around the WSF. The diverse social forces could develop a new civilizational project, if they succeed in expressing themselves the projects they believe in, overcoming the discourse barriers of their civilization – specific discourses, listening to each other.

Let us begin by a reference to Bandung, as an example of a non-Western forum where such dialogue across civilizations took place among the non-Western countries. Bandung was chosen as a common ground for renewed dialogues among the peoples who met at the WSF. The Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference of fifty years ago, was a civilizational event where the emerging non-Western nations affirmed, for the first time in the history of human kind, their common decision to bring about a new modernity beyond its Eurocentric expression, represented by the United Nations<sup>1</sup>. U-Thant reaffirmed the necessity to enrich this multilateral institution by the input from the different non-Western civilizations, when he proposed the creation of the United Nations University in 1969, immediately after the 1968 worldwide student protest movement, which he interpreted to be a generational critique of the West-dominated civilizational project of modernity<sup>2</sup>. The Hatami proposal of a dialogue of civilizations follows this line of a dialogical process initiated in Bandung.

Bandung, we must recall, adopted ten principles, which were based on the Panchashila (five principles of Peaceful Coexistence) adopted by Chos En-Lai and Nehru, representing China and India, two of the major non-Western civilizations of Asia. We wish to mention two of these principles, which are especially meaningful in contradicting and delegitimizing the present global rule of neo-

liberalism and neo-conservatism. These are the principles of “equal-mutual benefit” and “peaceful coexistence”. The former is diametrically opposed to the generalization of market competition of neo-liberalism, stressing the survival of the fittest rather than mutual benefit, in a neo-colonial situation of inequality and exploitation, which ignores “mutuality” and “equal mutual benefit”. The latter, proposes the coexistence of different cultures and civilizations in opposition to the neo-conservative division of the world into civilized and terrorist nations.

The agreements reached between China and India is of key interest from an historical point of view, since it is a common agreement reached between two ancient civilizations, both claiming supremacy over the less civilized neighbours, to renounce to their traditional self-centered hierarchical civilizations. China agreed to renounce its Central Kingdom tributary state order, where barbarian tributary states were admitted to receive the protection of the Emperor, composing around Him a concentric hierarchy. India renounced to its “Mandala” order where the Emperor was the central figure surrounded by the big and small kings, as described by Kautilia.

The principle of equal economic benefit and cultural coexistence were adopted by them and by the Bandung emerging nations, which included the ancient empires of Egypt and Ethiopia. It is interesting to trace back to the respective civilizational projects the concepts of “peaceful coexistence” and “equal mutual benefit” which had quite independent roots, the Guandian concepts of *satiagraha* and *ahinsa* on the Indian side, and the concepts of *no-war* (*bu-zhan*) and *mutual benefit* (*jiao-xiang-li*) of Mozi on the Chinese side. We will not enter here into the genealogical description of the Indian and Chinese antecedents to these two key concepts. Suffice it to point out the fact that these two concepts could also be understood within the Western modern discourses, but had a quite different meaning from “peaceful coexistence” used by Stalin, and “mutual benefit” based on Capitalist exchange, both lacking the communitarian and interaction-based ethics of both India and China. The example of the two principles enables us to realize the importance of Asia as a matrix of civilizational projects which allowed the two countries to find a common ground for their cooperation in their anti-colonial fight.

The world has evolved during the fifty years following the Bandung Conference. The international admission of the enlightenment values of human rights and of equal participation of the peoples in the decision of their lives, in terms of gender, ethnic origin and class and cast belonging, requires that the principles of equal mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence be applied not just among States, but between the different communities composing the world system. “Equal mutual benefit” can, nowadays, be reinterpreted to support solidary economies. “Peaceful coexistence” must cover the relationships between industrial centres and rural peripheries, as well as citizens and

<sup>1</sup> On Bandung and its contemporary significance cf. *Mushakoji K.* Bandung Pluse 50: appel a un dialogue tricontinental face a l'hegemonie mondiale // *Alternatives Sud*. 2001. Vol. 8. P. 141–156.

<sup>2</sup> *Mushakoji K.*, 1988. Chapt. 7. P. 147–177.

"illegal" migrants. An expanded interpretation of Bandung qualified by the Western values of gender equality and the respect of minority rights can become a key pillar of a civilizational common-front against the neo-liberal and neo conservative global hegemony. This can be a major contribution of the Chinese and Indian civilizations in this joint process in search of a multi-cultural modernity.

Now, let us turn to other examples of possible contribution by the different non-western civilizations, which can join in with self critical trends developed in the West, including Latin America, which constitutes a major source of counter-hegemonic thoughts within the Western tradition of Enlightenment. We will follow the categorization of the different aspects of the present global crisis, global colonialism, global militarization, and global anti-democratic backlash, and mention some examples of possible contributions by the Islamic, Indian, Chinese and Animist civilizations complementing self-critical currents in the West itself. As discussed already by Gramsci, we must build a counter-hegemonic historical bloc, which strength will come from the combination of different civilizational streams of anti-colonial and counter-hegemonic thoughts. The new myth of a multi-civilizational "Prince" has to be multi-faceted<sup>1</sup>. We will only propose a few possible facets which could be brought into a process of civilizational dialogue by the counter-hegemonic common front in its search for an alternative modernity, replacing the present Euro-centric, or rather the North-Americano-centric global modernity.

Let us consider the possible combination of Western critical, and non-Western trends in combating global colonialism. On the side of the self critical West, we must associate the different emerging currents of the critical social sciences. Their reflexive critique of the contemporary global Euro-centric trends are well suited in engaging into a mutually beneficial process of reflexive dialogue about modernity, against the present global capitalist process of universal commodification and the global hegemonic process of western domination. This intellectual process needs a myth which mobilizes the critical anti-colonial West, and this is where the Theology of Liberation developed in Latin America, the periphery of the West, first colonized and hence the first anti-colonial territory belonging to the West, can serve the role of a new myth. In the dialogue with the West, we find the best interlocutor on the side of the non-West to be the critique of "orientalism" developed in the Islamic world by Anouar Abdel-Malek and Edward Said<sup>2</sup>.

This critique of Euro-centric social science can be complemented by the development of a non-Western social thought following the path of the

"Dong Hak" or Eastern Thought movement which promoted gender equality and the respect of minority rights in the 19 century Korea<sup>3</sup>. An important complement to the theology of liberation can be found in the Guandhian philosophy of "swadesh" and "satiagraha", as a counter colonial ethical position combining an endogenous praxis of production with an anti-colonial epistemology in search of truth through liberation, not only of the colonized but of the colonizers.

The animist civilization, frequently ignored by the colonizers and forgotten by the anti-colonialist force, must be recognized their constructive messages. For many indigenous peoples, both concepts of the "State" and of "private property", two components of both the positive values of enlightenment and of its negative colonial manifestations, are negated by their concept of "mother earth" which rejects both the "territoriality" of the States and the "private ownership" of land.

As to militarization, we must first point out the rich critical tradition of anti-militarism which has been developed in the West itself. Pacifism has been gradually accepted as a minority position in spite of its fundamental contradiction with the Western logic of the "security State", and conscientious objection is nowadays accepted as an individual position which right to refuse participation in military violence has to be recognized.

The concept of "people's security", developed in the 1980s in Latin America, stresses the need of the people to defend its security against the military dictatorships. It is a powerful logic opposing the principles of the "security State" and of "state security" which constitute the base of the Westphalian State system.

On the non-Western side, the concept of the "right to live in peace" has been complemented by "human security" broadening "people's security". Both concepts developed in Japan find their epistemological root in the concept of "wa" or consensus based on difference. Although it is impossible to enter into a detailed explanation of this pair of concepts, we can find in the Confucian concepts of Zong and He ("wa" in Japanese), an epistemological and ethical base, where the principles of human rights to peace, through acceptance of universal norms, are complemented by a situation-specific ethics, accepting differences, providing oppositions indispensable for any dialectical processes<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Byung-Sun Oh. Cultural Values and Human Rights: the Korean Perspective // Human Rights in Asian Cultures: Continuity and Change / eds. Jefferson R. Plantilla, Sebastia L. Raj. Hurights Osaka, 1997. P. 230-231.

<sup>4</sup> On the application of the concept "Wa" in Japan, its distortion caused by the need to build a strongly unified nation in opposing western colonial pressures, and its original content of multi-culturalism cf. *Mushakoji K.* (2004) op. cit. P. 245-257, and *Mushakoji K.* 'Wa' no Saikouchiku to Jinken no Saikiteki Naihatsuka (The Reconstruction of 'Wa' and the Reflexive Endogenization of Human Rights) // Global-Ka to Paradox (Globalization and Paradox) / ed. by K. Miyayaga. Sekai-Shiso-Sha, 2007. P. 107-148.

<sup>1</sup> On the "post-modern prince" cf. *Gill S.* Power and Resistance in the New World Order. Pelgrave, 2003. P. 211-221.

<sup>2</sup> The critique of "orientalism" has been first developed by Anouar Abdel-Malek. Cf. *Abdel-Malek A.* La dialectique sociale. P.: Seuil, 1972. P. 79-113.

A search for a solution to militarized conflicts not through State agreements, as foreseen in the Westphalian system, but by the “metanoia” of the conflicting parties has been initiated in South Africa and then applied in Central America and elsewhere. This is the non-Westphalian institution of “truth and reconciliation”. This search for a non-violent solution accepting the recognition of refusal to compromise has an ethical and theological counterpart in the Islamic theology which stresses the complementary of the attributes of God, who is both an almighty enforcer of justice and an absolute protector all merciful and compassionate. This dual aspect of God is ignored by the Western image of an Islam, which wants to conquer the world through military might.

Militarisation, controlling and exploiting both the human societies and the natural environment surrounding them, is fundamentally negated by the indigenous values of “symbiosis”, finding in all aspects of human and natural realities the presence of forces caring for each other and composing a symbiotic universe.

In face of global colonialism, we can best learn from Gramsci how best to fight against this enemy of humankind. It is, however, important to identify the historical carriers of the anti-fascist fight. The analysis of the process of dynastic change in the Islamic world by Ibn Khaldun can provide a useful hint to identify such agents as holders of “asabyia”, a strong sense of identity and dedication to the security of one’s own community which characterizes the dwellers of the desert in their deprivation of wealth and sophisticated stratification, which gives them a power which cannot be opposed by the city dwellers in their comfort and divisions<sup>1</sup>. Obviously, these characteristics of the Bedouin peoples cannot find any comparable agents in the global society of today. We may, nevertheless, try to develop an understanding of how the “multitude” with their respective versions of “asbyia”, dedicated to their own identity communities, can become the key agents in an anti-fascist common front, learning from the analysis of Ibn-Khaldun.

Such emphasis on the role of the “multitude” can find an ethical legitimization through the Gandhian concept of “antodaya”, the rise of the most discriminated. According to this concept originating in the Jain tradition, what is good for the weakest child walking on the earth is good for the whole community, and for humankind. To give, in this way, priority to the most vulnerable peoples, is an ethical principle diametrically opposed to the neo-liberal and/or fascist belief in the priority of the strong heroes and successful actors in life<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On “asabyia” cf. *Ibn Khaldun*. The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History / translated from the Arabic by F. Rosenthal; ed. & abridged by N. J. Dawood. Princeton, 1970. P. 123–142. See also a study on the contemporary meaning of this concept cf. *Robert W. Approached to World Order* / Robert W. Cox with Timothy J. Sinclair. Cambridge, 1996. P. 144–173.

<sup>2</sup> On a broader understanding of the vision of Gandhi, it is useful to consult Rajni Kpithari. Cf. *Kothari R. Transformation and Survival: In search of humane World Order*. Ajnata Publication, 1988. P. 56–58.

The anti-colonial fight must not only identify its key agents but also develop a strategic perspective identifying the dynamic relationships between friends and enemies. This is where the Maoist theory of contradictions distinguishing major and minor contradictions can be introduced to enrich the Gramscian analysis of hegemony and counter-hegemony. The Maoist theory is but an adaptation of the Yin-Yang epistemology of the traditional Chinese philosophy, which should be taken into consideration as a whole, and not only in its Maoist version<sup>3</sup>.

The historical bloc formation, however, cannot be grasped only through an abstract yin-yang analysis. The rich mythical discourse of animist cosmogonies may be adapted usefully to the contemporary crisis in terms of determining the new discourse required in proposing an anti-colonial and anti-Fascist myth shared by the civilizational common front against global fascism<sup>4</sup>.

Such myth could borrow from the wisdom of the indigenous peoples a trans-cognitive “spiritual” logic which embodies the totality of human experiences in the eco-cultural universe, summarizing them through a spiritual discourse, which does not distinguish corporality from the spiritual, encompassing the subjective aspects (cognitive and affective), and the objective reality (physical and ecological) of the world peoples live in. The contemporary rule of power, greed and “commodification”, as well as the human insecurities it generates can be overcome only through the introduction of an alternative holistic discourse, which has been transmitted through the ages among different indigenous animist civilizations.

The above examples are not at all representative, and have been selected, more or less, arbitrarily by the author of this paper. They are meant only to give some hints as to the possibilities hidden in a civilizational dialogue, in face of the present global crisis, and in preparation of a new multicultural modernity. Asia is a matrix of civilizational projects which can provide some insights into alternative possibilities to develop a multicultural global civilization beyond the present phase of recolonization of the global civilizational crisis.

<sup>3</sup> It is useful to go back to the sources of the Chinese notion of Yin and Yang, which is the “Book of Change”. Cf. *The I Ching or Book of Changes* / translator Cary F. Baynes (translation from Chinese into German R. Wilhelm). Princeton, 1977.

<sup>4</sup> The animistic cosmogonies are narratives which put in amythical = historical contexts without detaching the individuals from the world, visible and invisible. The individual partakes in the flux of life of a multi-actors’ world where the self identifies himself or herself with all of them in a process. This enables the projection in the future of a “utopia” shared by different identity communities, in a quite different way to the Western modern individualistic cognitive universe based on the opposition between the “self” and the “others”. Cf. *Mushakoji K.*, 1988. Chapt. 6: The Role of the Individual in Cosmologies: Equality and Solidarity. P. 89–95.

**Georgy Ryabikh**

## INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOGUE: ITS TARGETS AND IMPORTANCE

Interreligious dialogue isn't a phenomenon isolated from cross-cultural or cross-civilizational dialogues that are held among nations in the modern world. One of the crucial questions of contemporary cross-civilizational multi-level dialogue is discussing the role of religion in public social processes. Throughout its history the humanity has been trying to set up reliable mechanisms and invent efficient ways to oppose the destructive tendencies and manifestations of violence in the society. The prospects of solving the matter are duplex: some consider, that religion may enhance intolerance and lead to violence, others suppose that religion, on the contrary, may provide with ethical norms and a whole set of morality landmarks that will direct humanity along a constructive way of development. Depending on choosing one or the other strategy, the role of interreligious dialogue can be differently defined (especially for political and social processes).

Negative attitude towards religion is a phenomenon as old as the hills. However, it is only in Modern History that such negative perception became an integral part of a large social project "Modern". But the Modern itself has split into 2 trends: revolutionary and evolutionary ways of withdrawing religion from social life. There appeared a firm conviction that religion would withdraw from people's life as an outdated form of consciousness, that's why either it should be assisted to step aside or people should wait until it dies out as a natural course of events. While in the Western world evolutionary way was chose in respect to religion, in Soviet Russia and other socialist countries the way to persistent wrestle with religion was adopted.

Late 20th and early 21st centuries demonstrated that in various parts of the world, including Western countries, which are treated as a model for Modernity, religion is gradually rising and is restored to life. Referring to all this the role of religious factor in the world politics is also advancing. However, during the period of secular theories domination, so typical to the Modern, the leading world countries, as it were, forgot how to deal with religious communities, striving to operate actively in public sphere. That's why old methods happen to be applied to new tendencies. These methods proved to be effective in the Modern epoch, when social commitment to religion grew lower, but such methods don't match the new world of reviving religion. The New Testament says: "No one can put new wine into old wine-skin" (Mk., 2, 22).

What sort of old wine skin do I refer to? It is an old and outdated position of the Modern, advocating the necessity to guard public sphere against religious influence even more strongly in pluralistic society. Such position is justified by the necessity to hold its negative potential. Under these circumstances, interreligious dialogue is treated only as a means for the believers to adopt secular

rules as the only undoubted and salvational reality to establish public social relations. In the narrow views of politicians as well as common citizens, this approach is promoted by referring to terroristic acts made in the name of religious convictions and asocial behavior of some religious groups.

However, religious figures, as a rule, aim interreligious dialogues at overcoming stereotypes of Modern epoch as far as religion is concerned, and at working out a pattern of religious communities active operating both in private and in public life, keeping positive ideas of the Modern safe.

They often state that it is the system, rejecting religious influence on establishing public social relations that bears most of responsibility for promoting violence and morality degradation in the world. **IN THE PAST CENTURY SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS POSITIVE REGIMES COUNTED THE LARGEST NUMBER OF PEOPLE'S** victims. In contemporary world the largest-scale military campaigns are held by countries that claim their religious neutrality as the core element of their social and political system. However, interreligious system can't stand against the primary reason of violence and chaos – human propensity to sin.

It was noticed by adherents of different religions, that the main source of violence and abuse nowadays is a liberal secular strategy, that strives to impose its hegemony in social sphere both at national and international level.

As an example, let's consider withdrawing religious symbols from public institutions in Western countries, public humiliation of religious symbols and faiths, imposing the society standards of ethics rivalry to religious ideas.

The society doesn't become righteous at that.

Today there are lots of claims that human dignity has devaluated, especially in the countries that have always guided it. I fear to imagine that in the civilized western world slave-trading has been progressing and we can witness many cases of glaring unjust and inhuman attitude to people in different spheres of life. Indicators of people's asocial behavior and physical disturbance are growing in number.

That's why for members of various religious communities the core essence of interreligious dialogue is the necessity to unite efforts for upholding general notion of religion's role in contemporary society.

We are talking about adjusting the content of secular system of state institutions to the requirements of the present day and its practical implementation, rather than breaking the whole system. By the way, Russian Orthodox Church doesn't reject secular principle, but interprets it within the frames of Social Conception Essentials as segregation of state and religious organizations in functions and institutions. Such interpretation directly results from Orthodoxal symphonic principle (in the spirit and the letter).



The problem raised by representatives of various religions is more complicated than its opponents sometimes try to present it, when they accuse political circles (in particular, in Russia) of attempting to clericalize public life, that is establishing monopoly of religious views on life. Religious communities advocate building a mechanism of their legal influence on social progress in proportion to their rate in the society. But they are deprived of this right both on national and international levels.

Even prominent scholars that can't be suspected in being partial towards religious circles, admit that such problem exists. For example, a world-famous German philosopher Jurgen Habermas contributed a lot to theoretical analysis and searching for the ways to solve the matter. In his latest publications and presentations he states that the Modern Project emancipated various spheres of life, but at that it established ideological intolerance, in particular, towards religion. To remain loyal to its own principles, this system has to give up monopoly and grant religion with the adequate right to influence socially important processes. In his opinion, secular model has chances to be renewed only if it leaves off animosity towards religion and enables religion to influence socially significant decisions (in relation to religious rating in the society). It is high time the secularization formula stopped being negatively defined as equidistant from all religious institutions, but transformed into the formula of equi-accessible for various views on the world. It sounds without any claims of religious communities to the monopoly in the world outlook.

Habermas also formulates a set of conditions, after adopting which, religious organizations can be integrated in contemporary democratic systems. In his opinion, the only organizations that can influence public sphere, are the ones that, "supported by their own views, have enough authority to ban: compulsory introducing their principles of faith, bellicose and violent treating consciousness of their adherents; manipulation aimed at driving to suicide" (*Habermas J. Faith and Knowledge*. P. 120). Such claims are quite reasonable. But it will be fair that religious organizations, in their turn, should make a list of principles for secular state to follow. If Habermas's claims correspond to the nature of democracy, than religion's conditions should take into account the nature of religion. Firstly, religion can't be deprived of the right to characterize its doctrine as the truth. Secondly, religion can't be deprived of the right to influence both private and public life of people. Thirdly, religion can't be deprived of the right to acknowledge primacy of spiritual world related to material.

After stating claims of both parties, it is important to draw certain frames of a modified secular system that can establish at pursuing mutual claims mentioned above. As the state plays the leading role nowadays in the sphere of public social relations, first of all, it is a primary aim to set up a system of cooperation among religious

organizations and international institutions. The state and religious organizations should remain independent from each other in functions and institutions. But they can follow partnership in mutually beneficial areas. In "Social Conception Essentials" Russian Orthodox Church confirmed the areas of cooperation: peacemaking; education and bringing up children; social work; culture; science; mass media, etc. In addition to this, partnership assumes that every party will invest in cooperation all resources and the opportunities at their disposal.

According to classical view on religious freedom, all religions, traced in the country concerned, have equal rights and opportunities for public sphere activities. It is logical to assume, that the state will not reject cooperation with any registered religious organization. However, nowadays every society comes across extremists groups or pseudo-religious fakes. It turns out that not all religious ideas can be tolerated and registered in the society. In many countries there are quite long lists of asocial cults that may threaten safety and health of citizens.

However, as far as registered religions are concerned, the issue of cooperation scale and forms (i. e. definite forms of effectuating the formula of equal access) remains urgent. In solving the problem we should respect the principle of religious choice for all citizens of the country. Religious freedom isn't always just a potential. Changing religious preference can hardly be detected on a mass scale. As a rule, people tend to stick to their religious choice. Trying to protect the rights of all citizens without any exception, a state usually faces the obligation to perform more activities on observing the rights of the majority. Hence, the scale of state cooperation with religion off the majority is larger. So activities to observe religious rights are balanced with the rate of the religion concerned in the society.

Among the system of state and religion cooperation based on the proportion principle withdraws any ill competition among religious communities, thus ceasing any chance of interreligious conflicts. However, following democratic regulations, the state itself or an international institution can't arrange such a system only by itself, as it is aimed at consulting with civic society. In this case interreligious dialogue is crucial. Here we enter a delicate sphere of clarifying positions and attitudes to various issues and the ways they are formed in the society. An essential task of interreligious dialogue and of dialogue in general is to find the forms of religion's operating in public sphere, that would not violate the freedom of people, following other religious views, but that would allow the religion to act legally in the public sphere. The results of such dialogue will undoubtedly influence political and social life.

In Russia since 1997 Interreligious Council, including Orthodox Christians, Muslims, Hebrews and Buddhists has been operating. Following its example, the work of Interreligious Council of CIS was organized. The target of these organizations is

to discuss challenging issues of interreligious relations that manifest themselves in relations with authorities and society. The similar system can also be created at international level. There is an urge to form structures of interreligious dialogue that could serve as counselors to international organizations on primary religious issues. First of all, such mechanism should be established in the largest global organization, the United Nations.

In 2006 Moscow hosted the Summit of Religious Leaders, about 200 high religious representatives from 49 countries took part in it. They addressed to the G8 leaders with a letter, one paragraph of which suggested holding a dialogue of religious world leaders with UN institutions. One of G8 members, Russia, responded to this request. The minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia, S. V. Lavrov, introduced a proposal to organize the Advisory Panel of Religions under the UN on the 62nd General Assembly of the UN last year. Since then Russian Church together with a range of competent religious world leaders has been working on the principles of this panel. The aim of the Panel is not to create a unified religion or unified church ceremonies. Being religious in the spirit of work, the Panel should be secular in the forms and methods of work. Among the Panel's terms of reference there could be expert and consultative work on: interreligious dialogue and dialogue with

non-religious representatives; problems of religion defamation; intolerance and xenophobia; protecting sacred places of pilgrimage and sacred things; globalization and keeping various national and cultural traditions; international security and peacemaking; assistance in solving religious-based conflicts.

During the visit of UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon to Moscow in spring 2008, the above-mentioned proposal was discussed with Metropolitan of Smolensk and Kaliningrad Kiril, chairman for department of Public Relations at Moscow Patriarch office, and with Supreme Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia Alexy the 2nd Secretary General positively estimated the efforts of Russian Church and other religious communities in the world on organizing interreligious dialogue. Today the work on specifying proposals and uniting efforts of various religion leaders that can be representatives in the UN still keeps on.

To my mind, the meaning of interreligious dialogue for public social relations is to contribute to modernizing these relations in accordance with new reality of religion's rise, avoiding revolutionary or evolutionary turmoils. It is necessary to find ways of involving religion into public sphere without restricting personal freedom both on national and international levels. I suppose that Russia can offer experience in interreligious dialogue to the world.

Azar Gat<sup>1</sup>

## THE GEOPOLITICAL ROOTS OF THE HISTORICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

From Montesquieu on, every major historical and social thinker – Voltaire, Hume, Adam Smith, Herder, Hegel, Marx, and Weber are only the giants among them – posited, and variably attempted to explain, the differences between East and West. To be sure, these designations should be read as if appearing within inverted commas, as political-cultural categories in the broadest sense. Indeed, many historians tend to be suspicious of such grand abstractions, which have all too frequently been crudely made, often disguising bigotry. Many historians are also suspicious of geographic-ecological explanations, which they criticize for being deterministic and for ignoring the contingent and cultural-historical processes – whereas in fact they contextualize them. At the same time, however, there is great admiration among historians for the work of the annals historical school, which extensively evokes deep-seated regional geographic, climatic, and ecological factors for

explaining the particular histories of different societies over the *longue durée*. It is in this tradition – of the great classical authors and the annals – that this paper is structured.

Obviously, every region, period, and culture is unique. The histories of China, India, and Southwest Asia reveal, individually, great diversity over space and time, as does Europe's, while also being no less distinctive and unique in their own ways than Europe's. The question that should be asked, then, is what was the particular 'uniqueness' that constituted the histories of East and West, respectively, distinguishing them from one another.

One of the most distinctive features of European history in comparison to Eurasia's other three major zones of dense sedentary civilization concerns imperial unity. At Asia's both ends – the Near East and China – imperial unification on a massive scale, more or less incorporating the entire agricultural zone, was achieved early on in their histories, and thereafter became the norm, with only relatively brief relapses. Even in India, empires that encompassed most of the subcontinent, except for its southern tip – including the Maurya, Gupta, Delhi Sultanate, and Mogul – alternated with periods of greater fragmentation. By contrast, a most conspicuous but rarely noted fact about

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European history is that Europe – alone of all the other regions – was never united by force from within nor conquered from outside. Rome, the only arguable exception, was a Mediterranean, rather than European, empire that only incorporated southern Europe, and while enduring for centuries and being highly influential, lasted for only a fraction of European history. All other attempts at imperial unification – the Carolingian, Ottonian, Habsburgian, and Napoleonic – were geographically even more confined and short-lived.

Montesquieu defined this European uniqueness the earliest and clearest, while also discerning the geographical and ecological factors that underlay it:

In Asia one has always seen great empires; in Europe they were never able to continue to exist. This is because the Asia we know has broader plains; it is cut into larger parts by seas; and, as it is more to the south, its streams dry up more easily, its mountains are less covered with snow, and its smaller rivers form slighter barriers. Therefore, power should always be despotic in Asia... In Europe, the natural divisions form many medium-size states, in which the government of laws is not incompatible with the maintenance of the state... This is what has formed a genius for liberty, which makes it very difficult to subjugate each part and to put it under a foreign force...

Southwest and East Asia, as well as the north of the Indian Subcontinent, incorporate large open plains which facilitated rapid troop movement and imperial communications. By contrast, southern-western-central Europe is highly fragmented by mountains and sea. Sheltered behind these obstacles while also benefiting from individual access to the sea, the multiplicity of smaller political units that emerged in this fragmented landscape were able to defend their independence with much more success than those of Asia.

Greece is paradigmatic in this respect. Being Europe's most fragmented peninsula, criss-crossed as it was by mountains and sea, Greece foreshadowed in miniature the political fragmentation of the peninsular and rugged Continent as a whole. More than coincidence, memory, and cultural transmission connected the Greeks to later European history. It should be noted, however, that the same sea that sheltered and granted access to the open to the Greek and other Mediterranean polities could also serve as a communication highway – comparable to Asia's open plains – for prospective land empires that succeeded in mastering it. Rome established such mastery from the mid-third century BC, after it had completed the conquest of the Italian Peninsula and clashed with Carthage. It is in this sense that Rome should be described as a Mediterranean empire, for it was the communication and logistic highway of the Mediterranean *mare nostrum* that made possible the Empire's large scale. This does not mean that Europe could not possibly be united by force or conquered from outside, that this was somehow "deterministically preordained". It simply means that, rather than being wholly accidental, this fact

of European history rested on physical and ecological conditions that made the consolidation of large political units on this continent that much more difficult.

Smaller political scale was generally less conducive to the concentration of autocratic power at the expense of both the aristocracy and populace, as became the rule in Asia once vast empires formed there – the so-called Oriental despotism. As Edward Gibbon has clearly noted, the increasingly autocratic late Roman Empire demonstrates that Europe, too, was not immune to such processes. And there were other geographical-ecological factors, beside fragmented landscape, that contributed to Europe's political fragmentation and greater power distribution. Western Europe was not exposed to a vast pastoralist steppe frontier, as China and even north India were. Nor was it internally divided into arable and more arid, pastoral strips and zones, as was the case in Southwest Asia, where pastoralist raids and takeovers had been a prominent feature of civilization throughout history. In temperate Europe, where rainfall was nearly everywhere sufficient for agriculture, separate herding subsistence economies and herding societies barely existed. Rather, herding was commonly practiced within mixed, agricultural-pastoral farming, with local variations, of course.

Furthermore, Europe's rainfall patterns also determined that dry rather than intensive-irrigation farming was the rule, and that settlement was more or less evenly spread out rather than being densely concentrated in river valleys. According to various calculations, this meant that European population density was only a third that of the river valley civilizations, and perhaps only one tenth of the population density in the river valleys themselves. This subsistence-settlement pattern had political consequences. As Montesquieu, Weber, and others have seen, irrigation agriculture was more conducive to autocratic rule. In the first place, large irrigation systems necessitated communal organization and construction work, whereas practitioners of dry farming were more independent. Secondly, irrigation cultivators were much more vulnerable to the destruction of their livelihood by a force that might disrupt the irrigation system. Thirdly, highly intensive cultivation of small irrigated plots left less time for other activities than was the case with dry farming. In consequence of all these, irrigation cultivators tended to be more servile than dry farming agriculturalists.

Thus, in comparison to the civilizations of Asia, geographical fragmentation and rainfall patterns contributed to making the southern-central-western European interstate system more fragmented, and state-societies smaller, less polarized in terms of class and wealth, and less oppressive. This might be accepted with some skepticism in view of the huge social and economic gaps and massive oppression that characterized many periods and regions of pre-modern and modern Europe. All the same, studies by present-day

historians and social scientists confirm what their predecessors, from Montesquieu and Adam Smith on, always sensed: in relative terms, Asian societies

were more susceptible to imperial rule, more despotic, and socially and economically more polarized.

**R. I. Khairov<sup>1</sup>**

## ON CREATING GLOBAL BROADCAST NETWORK

1. The issues of inter-civilizational and inter-religious dialogue, transition of the "cult of force applying" to "culture of world and mutual understanding of cultures" have been attracting attention of international public society and international organizations for a long time (Declaration of Principles on Tolerance, 1995; the Declaration of Principles and Follow-Up Plan of Action of "Dialogue of Civilizations", UN General Assembly, 1998; the Declaration of Principles and Follow-Up Plan of Action on culture of the world, UN General Assembly, 1999; "Alliance of Civilizations", 2005; etc.) However, international situation remains very difficult and prospects of its development are not clear.

2. In the last years I have happened to take part in a range of large-scale international conferences with similar names ("Dialogue of civilizations and interreligious cooperation", Nizhny Novgorod, 2006; "Dialogue of Cultures. In search for strategy for the 3-d millenium", St. Petersburg, 2007; "Alliance of Civilizations", Istanbul, 2007; etc.) At each of the conferences mentioned above, they discussed the necessity to transit from theoretical discussions of this main challenge of the 21st century to practical steps and creating productive mechanisms to pursue the ideas discussed.

3. In January 2008 in Madrid "Alliance of Civilizations" discussed the problems of creating international broadcast network RAPID RESPONSE MEDIA MECHANISM to promote ideas of tolerance, mutual understanding, peaceful co-existence, opposing to propagation of violence and xenophobia. I guess, it is a very interesting and worth-while proposal. Creating a powerful inter-

national broadcast network in different languages, based on large material on dialogue of cultures, accumulated in the process of multiple creative activities, using modern PR technologies provides principally new possibilities to influence mass consciousness.

4. Actually, in the modern world the forth power is actively upgrading its status. Technical equipment of broadcasting is advancing quickly. Processes of globalization are getting world-scale. PR technologies are becoming more perfect, refined and powerful. The amount of investment into mass media has exceed budgets of many countries. We can say that the answer to the challenging question "What civilization (culture) will next generation live in?" today directly depends on targets and dominant content of mass media.

Referring to all this, changing the values of world broadcast system under the aegis of "Alliance of Civilizations" is the most urgent and primary task. Successful solving problems of terrorism, AIDS, drug abuse or xenophobia is impossible without solving the above-mentioned task.

5. Do we really have this chance? Are there parties interested in creating new moral ethical content of mass media in present political situation? Can they oppose to tremendous financial investments into mass media, targeted only at profit? Let's hope they can. Today's conference in St. Petersburg provides grounds for this hope.

One of the participants of the conference, Federico Mayor, said in his report that if a word substitutes force, and dialogue substitutes confrontation, the humanity will have a chance to overcome the chaos of history.

**Georgi Derluguian<sup>2</sup>**

## NEW PARADIGM OF SOCIAL SCIENCE FOR EASTERN EUROPE

Undoubtedly, the dialogue of civilizations is a utopia. However some utopias grow topical when others are broken down. Look around: what has remained from the great utopias of the Modern Time? Can Fukuyama be right?

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Neoliberal globalization, as it became evident, was the final great utopia of the 20th century. It had a lot in common with its twin-brother and sworn enemy, the Marxism. In fact, Marxism and liberalism originated right from the ides of the Enlightenment. The great philosophers of that age from Newton to August Conte were shocked by discovery of nature laws and the ability to explain and thus change the world. If, according to the well-known formula of that time, God is just a mechanic, and the world set-up can be comprehended like a clock mechanism, then it is possible and necessary to seek for the levers and buttons that rule this world.

Both liberalism and Marxism postulated that the development of human societies is progressing

step by step. The only contradiction they argued about with dogmatic aplomb was the number of steps and how to define them: slave-owning system – feudalism – capitalism – socialism or agrarian – industrial – post-industrial society. The core essence of the arguing was whether the top step of modernization has been reached or we are bound to another revolutionary leap to the better future, to socialism, when the history is certain to come to the end and the final aim of social program is fulfilled. Marxists considered the proletariat as the motive force of progress, while liberals the middle class. For the former the primary way of historical changes was revolution, while for the latter evolutionary form of development.

We can keep on searching for analogies, which show crystal clear that both ideologies formed their positions in the same intellectual space, but in polar ends. The great French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu joked that the most powerful dogma exists in the duplex of antagonistic antinomies rather than by itself.

Both sides of Marxist and liberal dogma grew mature in the 1930s–1960s. “Anti-Dühring” by Engels and “The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism” by Max Weber became the Catechesis to learn for the two parties consequently. Both classics of philosophy were raised to the pedestal and covered with a thick layer of monument bronze.

Both sides of dual dogma Marxist and liberal were blown up from the inside during the turmoil period of 1968–1974. Traditional explanations of the free-thought youth splashes against dogmas lack deep considerations, they put too much emphasis to external manifestations, like rock music, changing official suits and hair styles to jeans and long untidy hair, sexual revolution stimulated by inventing anti-baby tablets. In reality the situation was far more simple and serious. After the war a great demographic boom started, that, combined with mass state investment into science and education led to non-precedent enhance of education and studies infra-structure. It had originated sporadically and was developed chaotically, but resulted in the burst at almost all intellectual spheres from cinema to natural sciences.

Theories of chaos formulated by the Nobel Prize Laureate in chemistry, a Belgian of Russian origin Ilya Prigogin, appeared to correlate with the ideas of multi-linear evolution for biological species, that were brightly popularized by an American (of Russian and Hungarian origin, by the way) Stephen Jay Gould and ecologist and anthropologist Jared Diamond.

Social sciences that find themselves between humanities and natural sciences, experienced their own quite large-scaled series of theoretical bursts, starting with the doubt in inherited dogmas. An American researcher Charles Tilly and Stein Rokkan from Norway, who had begun their studies in the framework of modernizing paradigm, rebelled over their teacher and thus completely altered our views on historical roots of modern states.

Thanks to Barrington Moore, Ted Scotchpole and Jack Goldstone revolutions and the roots of society democratization were studied in a different way. No one seriously claims that revolutions are triggered by class struggle or mass psychos of the mob.

New economy sociologists from France, Germany and the USA, based on classical ideas of Shumpert and Polanie formulated very prospective approaches to market activities analysis. Opposing the neo-classical model that uses algebra to check the ideological abstraction of markets committed to static equilibrium, they advanced a much more realistic theory of monopolian rivalry between entrepreneurs coalitions in the quest for new market niches relatively protected from competition pressure and thus giving beneficial rate of profit.

The enumeration of theoretical bursts can take a whole book, which is still to be written. Anyway, I’ll mention some more significant names and new theories. An English Irish Benedict Anderson, born in China, pointed out new concepts in rational understanding the phenomenon of nationalism.

The French Pierre Bourdieu, mentioned above, shaped conceptual instruments to analyze the structure of culture space and social structuring of human behaviour in public network.

An Italian sociologist, working in England, Diego Gambetta and his countrymen Pino Arlaci, Fortunata Pizelli as well as Federico Varese and the Russian Vadim Volkov showed how to analyze rationally, without phobias and conspiracy theories the phenomenon of mafia in St. Petersburg (we don’t feel surprised at this Italian and Russian priority).

Theoretical archaeologist of Chicago school Timothy Earl convincingly and clearly summarized new data on long-term evolution of human societies.

Finally, an American Immanuel Wallerstein and Italian Giovanni Arrighi created a principally new historical and geographical political economy of the world system. The list can be continued and developed. It can turn out, that Randall Collins, an American sociologist of broad knowledge and sphere of interests, was right to consider our epoch the most productive in ideas since the time of the classics (Marx, Weber, Durkheim) and even since the time of the Golden Age of historical macro-sociology.

However, it is just a potential. After theoretical bursts of the early 1970s a period of intellectual draught came, which has lasted until nowadays. There are several reasons for it, as it always happens in the case of historical disasters, and the reasons vary from inner organization of scientific community to political climate of the epoch.

Working at the level of Wallerstein or Tilly takes years of hard toil and thorough study of heaps of literature. To make the matters worse, after the burst of emotional energy inevitably comes the decline to a certain extent. In the last 20–30 years the decline of emotional energy has appeared very deep. The ground for it is universal disappointment

in any great ideas and transition to the environment of market neoliberal egoism.

As the belief mentioned above was well correlated with the inherited perception of the classic, it seemed natural to the majority of people, and they took it for granted. Let's take as an example the famous bestseller by Francis Fukuyama, which is, in fact, just a post-graduate essay on Hegel and achieving the top of history. There are no other reasons to explain an instant idolizing Fukuyama as a guru, but for deep correlating of his theses to western elite world perception at the time of unexpected deliverance from communistic threat.

Here we may clearly see the second power source for neoliberal ideas, that is a huge financial investments and propagation support to the leading western politicians and business communities, who got the second wind after the 1970s.

But successful ideologies can't be originated only by the order of the elite, no matter how crafty political technologists may persuade their clients in the opposite. The splash against dogmas of 1968 both in the West and in the Soviet geopolitical block was, in fact, the first world revolution after Max Weber rather than Marx. It was not the proletariat who rebelled over the bourgeois, but young educated specialists, unwilling to endure bureaucratic stupidity and mean paternalistic guidance of the bosses.

So it resulted in impetuous exaggerations into the anarchy, violating any disciplinary subordination and quasi-religious romanticism, as opposed to ordinariness. Mind you, that the founders of Al Qaeda (let's take the extreme manifestation) were not from uneducated circles. They are representatives of the polar end of well-educated elite in Islamic world. Their utopian and destroying challenge is directed, first of all, against their own rulers and only then against America patronizing these rulers.

It is very selfish and pernicious to reject neoliberalism as an ideological sabotage. On the contrary, it was the last of great utopias in the Modern time, together with Marxism, that originated from the roots of the modern civilization, not only the Western one, but other great civilizations of the world as well. The values that neoliberalism (just like Marxism) appealed to have universal significance. There is no other way to explain why the ideas of liberalism and Marxism are so magnetic to the Chinese, Hindus, Turkish, Arabs, Russians.

The trouble with any utopian belief is not only that it justifies violent altering of social relation for the sake of something great in the future, but utopia also justifies the power of those who break social relations. Neoliberal globalization caused the rise of anti-American movement all over the world, because it really led to the break of political

and economic structures in all other countries due to direct imposing (say, within the framework of the World Monetary Fund programs) or a bit less personified but no less tough competition pressure.

We are talking not about revolutionary altering of neoliberal capitalism. This model has existed for three decades and has come to the deadlock together with its backbone structure, the hegemony of the USA. We are rather talking about the issue (using the aphorism by the British economic geographer David Harvey) of "saving capitalism from neoliberalism", that is about stabilization of the world markets and making them more civilized, about painless withdrawal of the USA as the basic element of the world system architecture from the regime of world hegemony.

All this will remain just good wishes, if social sciences can't support the goals with serious and realistic analysis of where from and to what directions the world is developing, how the mechanisms of social (in its broadest sense) reproduction of certain peoples and the whole world system operate.

Nowadays the structure of the world science is that disproportionately large forces and resources happen to be concentrated in the USA. Of course, this is the result of "hunger years" of under-investing into science and education, encompassed most of the countries. Large scientific schools moved to American Universities in the last decades not only from the former Soviet Union, but even from France and Great Britain. Theoretically it may happen that this trend will turn the other way round in the coming years. Partly, it is the problem of finance.

A famous Russian economist from Harvard Alexander Gerschenkron in 1950s formulated the theory of "advantage of staying behind". Imagine that you approach a car jam from behind. Those who got stuck in it in the first row, can't see how to skirt it, and even if they do, they are gluey stuck to do the manoeuvre. Those who stay behind, as Gerschenkron taught, always know how to skirt out.

The names of the authors of theoretical bursts, listed above, are well-known in the West. If there were Nobel Prize in sociology, the list of candidates would include the names of Tilly, Bourdieu, (posthumously), Wallerstein, Arrighi, Randal Collins. But these great scholars remain beyond the professional mainstream, which their ideas suit badly. It is much more important that theoretical bursts in macro-historical concept of society do not correlate to the neoliberal world view as a competitive arena of atomistic individuals. That's why though we highly appreciate the names, there is practically no further research programs. Here I perceive the way to skirt out the deadlock. And the way out of the world crisis will appear.

René Guerra<sup>1</sup>

## UNFORGETTABLE MEETINGS In memoriam D. S. Likhachov

I have come to St. Petersburg, the city where Dmitry Sergeevich was born in 1906. I came to pay a tribute to his memory. Otherwise I would always remain indebted to him.

I chanced to get acquainted with Dmitry Sergeevich at the end of August, 1992 in Venice at the exhibition "Russian symbolism and Dyagilev". These exhibition and meeting turned out to be significant and fateful and predetermined much in my life. I'll tell you in short how it happened.

I was invited to the exhibition "Russian symbolism and Dyagilev" by its organizer Marina Bentsoni, a bosom friend of Dmitry Sergeevich and my goo friend as well. At this splendid exhibition some works of great exiles such as A. Benya, L. Bakst, K. Somov, M. Dobyzhinskiy, L. Stelletskiy, N. Goncharova, M. Larionov, N. Rerih, S. Sydeikin, K. Korovin, Z. Serebryakova, B. Grigoriev, A. Yakovlev were represented. The Nobel laureate Josef Brodskiy came to make a speech at the festival. And though he showed himself a bit detached, I had a chance to talk to him (I have some photographs and two his books with his inscriptions remained).

A large delegation arrived from Russia to Venice. It was headed by Likhachov. He was accompanied by vice-president of Russian (former Soviet) fund of culture Vladimir Neroznak, a venerable fine art expert D. V. Sarabyanov, at that time he was a corresponding member of the Academy of Science.

There were also descendants of V. Serov and E. Lansere and collectors present.

Naturally I read and heard much about Dmitry Sergeevich, a famous Academician and so-called "conscience of Russia", about his destiny, his scientific and public work, about his attempts to preserve the pre-revolution culture of Russia. And nevertheless at the first meeting I was stroke by his noble-minded appearance, his fineness and a marvelous and refined Russian language. With his appearance of a perfect Petersburg hereditary intelligent and aristocrat, his charm, he reminded me my perished friends from the first emigration wave B. K. Zaytsev, G. V. Adamovich, V. V. Veidle, D. D. Byshen, S. R. Ernst, M. F. Andreenko.

Another thing stroke me. It happened, that Dmitry Sergeevich had heard of me, of my fate, of my complicated and controversial relations with Soviet authorities, of the fact that for a long time I hadn't been admitted to enter Moscow, as I had turned out to be "non grata" person in the USSR. Until now I have been keeping the catalogue of this exhibition in Italy with a noble inscription on the

front page, which read as follows: "Distinguished Mr. Guerra, I hope that I'll forget all confusions caused by my country-mates. D. Likhachov, August 30, 1992".

Such complimentary inscription is valued high.

And also I was really surprised by his confidential attitude to me. During our small talk at the festive dinner, Dmitry Sergeevich told me, a little known person, that I was right in my decision not to publish any articles in the magazine of the Soviet Culture Fund (SFC) "Nashe Nasledie" (Our Heritage). Later he told me a lot of exciting things about the SFC activities and what he had experienced at the Soviet time: about Solovetsky prison camp; about the assault on him in 1975 and also about the attempt to burn his flat in 1976... I would like to add that the plot of our conversation was very special. Now sooner had a year past since the Soviet Union collapsed and the Soviet government was dismissed, that our meeting was held in Italy, namely in Venice, and we had a chance of communicating at a festival of Russian culture. It became clear to me that the new times had come.

The second meeting with Dmitry Sergeevich was in North Palmyra (as St. Petersburg is called) in the beginning of January, 1994. He cordially invited me to his place and sent a black "Volga" with a driver. Three of us including his wife Zinaida Alexandrovna were having dinner together, and later Dmitry Sergeevich and I were sitting in his study piled with books for a long time. We were talking about the destiny of Russian culture in the exile. And I felt how that issue touched him, how dear and close Russian culture was to him.

And the third meeting happened at the beginning of January, 1995 and there I asked Dmitry Sergeevich to help me write a summary for the catalogue of my collection, partially exhibited in Moscow.

The catalogue was named "They took Russia away..." with the subtitle "Russian expatriate artists in France. 1920-1970" (The National Tretyakov Gallery, April-May 1995). Undoubtedly, I was affected and proud that Dmitry Sergeevich agreed to write the article "International Russian culture of the 20th century in the collection of Professor René Guerra". Allow me to quote this heartfelt text.

"When elbowed from Russia by the unintelligent and reactionary government, the best representative of the Russian intelligentsia move to Europe. The best representatives of the country cultural community with the millennium tradition migrate abroad to experience intellectual freedom, among them philosophers, clergymen, artists, novelists, writers, theatre actors, musicians (composers and performers). The best Russian magazines are published in Paris, (especially I'd like to emphasize the role of "Sovremennye Zapicky" ("Contemporary Notes")), exhibitions are arranged, the Russian

<sup>1</sup> The world known French slavist and one of the major experts and collectors of Russian art, René Guerra is sharing his memoirs about doctor *honoris causa* of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Academician Dmitry Likhachov.

Conservatory is organized, the best performances of Russian ballets and operas are staged. To be honest, the second Russian culture happens to appear in the West..."

It's hard to imagine how the officials of the Ministry of Culture were shocked and astonished by these words. How dare Likhachov write such things for my catalogue! An official of the Ministry of Culture, Anna Sergeevna Kolupaeva showed her obvious indignation and irritation. I responded that she should be glad as an official of the Ministry of culture, as the inscription written by Dmitry Sergeevich is a real adornment for the catalogue, published by the ministry. I also reminded that the Academician D. V. Sarabianov, with whom I had happened to get acquainted in Venice, also agreed to write an article for this catalogue.

The fourth meeting suddenly took place in the middle of July in 1997 on the south of France and partly in Italy. The official reason for the trip abroad was a commitment of a prize to Dmitry Sergeevich for his book called «The Poetry of Gardens», which had been published the year before in Italian translation in Turin in the prestigious publishing house called Giulio Einaudi. The awarding ceremony took place on the 12th of July in Giardini Hanbury, the famous gardens of the Liguria coast, which were made by Sir Thomas Hanbury in 1867. Getting a prize in this ancient and the most famous gardens of the Mediterranean, on the border of Italy and France, Dmitry Sergeevich said that that prize may have been the most pleasant of all he had received:

«I am not a specialist in gardening. I got involved in gardening only on the need of my soul and heart. I really liked Russian gardens near Petersburg. They broadened my in-born imaginations. I began to study other gardens later: Alupka, Nikitsky garden... I decided that God had settled a man in the paradise, in the nature environment, not by chance. I have an impression that the war, which is held now with the nature, is resulted from of atheism. Everything created by God is always wonderful – even the lines of the river's beds, shorefronts. For example, one of the most beautiful graphical works is the lines of South and North America: their coastline is wonderfully beautiful. New Zealand islands, Siberia, Baikal are amazing too. I think that a beautiful park, in which aesthetic floristic and human ideas are combined, are similar in their core essences, and this is what we could call the prayer to God. There are always two sides of a prayer: a precatory one, when a man expresses his wish to God, pledging for vouchsafement or intercession, the other side is encomiastic, that glorifies God. The point I'm driving at is that the Gardens are the encomiastic part of the prayer that chants the praises of God. The best thing a man can make is to create gardens that both nourish him and support in his belief to god and in the beauty of this world".

Also allow me to quote his inscription on the front page of his book: "The garden is a union of a human and God, one day we may return to this paradise, my dear René Guerra".

After the grand ceremony Dmitry Sergeevich invited me to have dinner at the seaside. At the table I got acquainted with N. S. Benua's widow and she shared her bitterness concerning about the fate of the Benua's museum in Peterhof and the way the board of the museum treated repaying her all the sacrifice and efforts she had devoted to it.

Next days at Côte d'Azur were no less eventful for Dmitry Sergeevich. The inauguration of the monument (bronze bust) to the empress Alexandra Fedorovna, Nikolai the First widow, took place in the city Villefranche-Sur Mer on the thirteenth of July. The ceremony happened in the presence of the municipal administration, the city mayor and a deputy mayor on culture issues Minetti, Consul General of Russian, who came all the way from Marseilles on the purpose, the representatives of local Russian Diaspora and journalists. Likhachov delivered a long speech which I translated synchronously. In his inspired declaration Dmitry Sergeevich reminded the guests about the considerable humanitarian and educational role of Russian empresses in the history of Russia, how they had established of educational and charitable institutions, etc. Mr. Minetti, a Russophile, emphasized that the visit of the Academician Likhachov, who had become the incarnate of conscience in Russian culture, was a great honour. In the local newspaper "Nice Morning" (dated July 19) the reportage with a big picture entitled "Villefranche" appeared: "The academician rewards the empress". The next day in the same newspaper the article of the famous journalist Silvia Beal "Russia viewed by Likhachev" was published, it was written after meeting Likhachov in my house in Nice.

Dmitry Sergeevich kindly agreed to visit a small town of Be-les-Alp, 20 kilometers from Nice, the cradle of my ancestors. This was the place where my brother and I established a French-Russian creative community for Russian artists and writers in 1992.

That summer we accepted the artist Oscar Rabin with his wife, the artist Valentina Kropivnichkya, who arranged a touching reception in honour of Dmitry Sergeevich together with his grandchild Zina and a great-grandchild Vera. This historical meeting, imbued with mutual respect and good feeling, was also mentioned in the article of the newspaper "Nice Morning" on July 22, 1997. A large picture of Dmitry Sergeevich in front of the French-Russian community house was published there. And after this warm, informal meeting Dmitry Sergeevich drew in my Golden book the spire of the Peter and Paul fortress and left the inscription that read as follows: "From this "needle" doomsday is more visible now, but doomsday can become the beginning of new culture".

At the same time, Dmitry Sergeevich had a chance to meet my bosom friend, a wonderful New-York artist and writer Sergey Lvovich Gollerbakh, the nephew of Erick Fedorovich Gollerbakh, which took place on the Côte d'Azur. This memorable meeting of two great St. Petersburg citizens on the Mediterranean seacoast was unforgettable. They



immediately took fancy to each other, and Gollerbakh on my request made a very successful water-color portrait of Dmitry Sergeevich, which I published with the article interview called "On the crossroads of cultures: D. S. Likhachov on the Côte d'Azur". The article appeared in a Parisian weekly "Russian idea" from 28 of 1997, and in 2004 I published it in St. Petersburg's book, "They took Russia away with them: Russian emigrant writers and artists in France (1920–1979)"

Our last meeting happened in St. Petersburg.

The first occurred on 19, February, 1998, at his apartment, where I was invited to dinner by Dmitry Sergeevich again. It was then that he presented me with three books written by him, all of which had very touching addresses:

*"To dear René Ulianovich to have good remembrance of D. Likhachov"* (on his book "Remembrance", St. Petersburg, 1995);

*"To dear René Ulianovich from D. Likhachov with love"* ("The Great Heritage. Selected works", St. Petersburg, 1997);

*"Dear René Ulianovich, I do hope and believe that we will have chances to meet again"* And he drew a small flower next to it.

Luckily, our wishes came true.

The final meeting was on 3, April, 1999, when I had a pleasure to presented him with a catalogue of two exhibitions timed to 200th birthday anniversary of A. S. Pushkin. These catalogues were called "Images of A. S. Pushkin", and "Portraits of deportation". The catalogues also contained the interview with Likhachov in French.

While preparing my exhibitions, I applied to Dmitry Sergeevich for help, he responded quickly and very soon he sent me his answers to my questions. This interview was published in Russian in New York on June 1999, in the "Novy Zhurnal" (New Magazine), #215.

Last year, in June, when I was in Moscow, I came the publishing house of the "New Magazine" to have a look at the memorial board to Dmitry Sergeevich, which was established on facade of the mansion in November 2006. At this time I met with the chief editor of the magazine "Nashe Nasledie" (Our heritage) V. P. Enisherlov, who presented me issues 79 and 80 of his magazine. When I returned to Peredelkino in the evening, I paid attention to the publication "Save your friends... Letters of D. S. Lihachov to V. P. Enisherlov". In the letter, dated August 22, 1997 I read as follows: *"I ceased going abroad: I spent only 4 days in Nice, where I was awarded with the prize for "The Poetry of Gardens". The trip was very pleasant, I was accompanied by my grand daughter Zina and great grand daughter Vera. Guerra's company appeared very useful. I got to know a lot of interesting things about Russian administration. He isn't liked for his razor tongue, but I consider he estimates and judges people fairly. His ideas should be taken into account."* It is after this publication that I understood the meaning of his gift inscription on the book "'the Tale of the Host of Igor' as a heroic prologue of Russian literature", that Dmitry Sergeevich made on 19, February 1998: *"Dear René Ulianovich, I admire your activity, your wit and honesty"*. Two flowers were drawn next to it.

## Round table

# DIALOGUE OF CULTURES AND PARTNERSHIP OF CIVILIZATIONS

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*Conference Hall "Radisson SAS" Hotel, May 23, 2008*

### Chairpersons:

- A. S. ZAPESOTSKY** Chairman of the Executive Committee of St. Petersburg Intelligentsia Congress, President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Education, Doctor of Cultural Studies, Professor
- A. V. YAKOVENKO** Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Professor

### Participants:

- V. ALTAF** Professor of Physics (Saudi Arabia)
- G. M. DERLUGUIAN** Associate Professor of Northwestern University (USA), Department of Sociology, Doctor
- P. DUTKIEWICZ** Director (CES Management Board) of Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies at Carleton University (Canada), Professor
- J. CH. KAPUR** President of "Kapur Surya Foundation", Co-President of the World Public Forum "Dialogue of Civilizations", Doctor of Philosophy, Professor
- R. I. KHAIROV** Executive Director of the International Public Fund "For Survival and Development of the Humankind", Master of Philosophy
- R. V. MARKARYAN** Ambassador-at-large of the Russian Federation, Master of History, general-major
- A. MUJANI** Plenipotentiary Representative of ex-President of Iran, Doctor
- K. MUSHAKOJI** President of the Centre for Asia Pacific Partnership of the University of Economics and Law (Japan), the Vice-Rector of the regional and Global Studies Division of the United Nations University, Professor
- S. MUSTAFAEV** Director of the International Institute of Central Asia Studies under UNESCO (Uzbekistan)
- V. V. NAUMKIN** President of the Centre for Arabian Studies of the Oriental Studies Institute at the Russian Academy of Science, the Head of the Department of Regional Problems of the World Politics at Moscow State University named after M. V. Lomonosov, editor-in-chief of the journal "East-West", Doctor of History, Professor
- F. PETITO** Professor of International Relations of Sussex University (Great Britain)
- V. V. POPOV** Ambassador-at-large of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Master of History
- G. RYABYKH** Priest of the Russian Orthodox Church, the acting Secretary for Public Relations of the Department of External Relations at Moscow Patriarch Office, Master of Political Sciences
- J. SAMPAIO** High Representative of Secretary General of the UN at the "Alliance of Civilizations", President of Portugal (1996–2006)
- E. SCHNEIDER** Professor of German Institute for International and Security Affairs, editor-in-chief of a weekly journal "Russia: actual home policy"
- W. SCHWIMMER** Member of the National Assembly (Parliament) of Austria, President of World Public Forum "Dialogue of Civilizations", Doctor of Law, Secretary General of the Council of Europe (1999–2004)
- D. SHAMSUDDIN** Secretary General of the Ulama Council of Indonesia, Chairman of the Indonesian organization "Mukhammadia"
- I. WALLERSTEIN** Professor of Social Sciences in Yale University (USA), Doctor of Philosophy
- S. WHITE** Professor of International Politics of Glasgow University (Great Britain), editor-in-chief of the scientific journal "The Journal of Communism Studies and Transition Politics"

**A. V. YAKOVENKO:** I'm happy to welcome all present here. This session is of great interest for me. I'll speak here personally not as a deputy minister of Foreign Affairs but as a Professor. I'm sure that we will conduct here a very productive and informal dialogue, and we will not only share our opinions, but also we'll get enriched by the ideas that will be formulated here in the field of the partnership of civilizations. The co-chairman of the section is Naumkin Vitaly Vyacheslavovich. I'm a practitioner in such a dialogue and because of that it is very important for me to understand in the practical way how we should go forward in this direction, and what should be included into the agenda of the further international meetings, contacts and also in which way it is necessary to shape the line over the dialogue of cultures and partnership of civilizations.

This topic has been debated for a long time, in particular in the UN there were a number of initiatives. In the beginning they were called "The Dialogue of Civilizations" (let's recall Hatami, the Iranian president), and then another initiative was set forth by Spain and Turkey, it was called "the Alliance of Civilizations". Gradually this movement was shaped as a platform for consultations over very serious questions. I do hope, that we'll discuss the idea of the Consultative Council of Religions, set forth by Russia at the last session of the UN General Assembly.

We face a very important task: we have to use a systemic approach and examine the potential of further progress in this complicated large-scale issue. Now the floor is given to Alexander Sergeevich Zapesotsky.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** Thanks a lot, Alexander Vladimirovich. Good morning, dear colleagues. Once again I would like to welcome you on behalf on the Organizers of the Conference to thank you for having come all the way to St. Petersburg to participate in our discussion. Getting down to the main subject of our topic, I will expand on my personal opinion. But I'm sure that my personal opinion in many ways is akin to the opinions of the Russian academic community and it also joins in with the opinion of most part of the population. Because the divergences and differences between academic and public opinion on cultural dialogue issues are almost none. There is no controversy in Russia as to whether the dialogue of cultures is needed and what it's all about. Respect to other cultures, deep interest in them, willing to exchange cultural treasures is very natural for us and is taken for granted.

Maybe, quite unexpected for us was the transition to the idea of the supremacy of culture in lives of society and public development, that started in the mid 1990s. The point is that all of us, living in the USSR for 70 years, used to be Marxists. And most of us did that quite sincerely: this way they were brought up and educated. And from Marxist viewpoint, as we all know, subsistence identifies cognition. So economical and material factors identify and impact spiritual factors. But

about 15 years back from now we started interpreting Marx in a different way. For example, Marx used to say that the needs are produced in the same way as products, and he also admitted that the cultural and spiritual life impact dramatically the material life.

Since then we in Russia have gone beyond those boundaries. And many academics in Russia consider that it is culture rather than economy which is the backbone and the starting point for the global development. At the Communist regime our social scientists thought that there is a basement, the basis for everything, it is the economy. And there is also a superstructure, and culture is the superstructure that rests on the basement of the economy. Some government members still appeal to this thought. And we can see that the Ministry for the economic development of Russia and the Finance Ministry think along the same lines: that everything is determined by money, money rules the world. But in Russia many people think that money isn't as important as moral or culture.

It should be mentioned, that when it comes down to the divergence of opinions among the authorities and a large part Russian elite, it's about this particular issue. Apparently the Russian intellectual elite tries to articulate the fact that money shouldn't override and rule in the society. The other day Mr. Piotrovsky, the Hermitage President, expanded on this topic. I think, this is now one of the sore points for us.

Nevertheless, in the Soviet times we also thought that all the cultures are equal *ad par*, as well as all people are equal in their rights from the moment they are born. We in Russia will never be able to comprehend the theses that the country with stronger economy or that spends more on the military purposes has got more rights in the culture dialogue.

I have to say that throughout all the Soviet period small cultures were emphasized even more against the general common culture of the Soviet Union. I'll give an example that was amazing for myself. Lithuania, a small country with small population and with small number of original icons of its own culture had the TV, where 1 employer was for 1 thousand of total population. It indicates that the Soviet Union emphasized the development of small cultures broadly. I could also mention the festivals, or support of national writers, composers, theatre art and so on. For citizens of the Soviet Union the idea that culture of even minor ethnic groups should have a great governmental support was an integral part of our mentality. We've grown from that.

The humanity, on arriving at the idea of human equality, at the idea of human rights (which is one of the core achievements of civilizations, namely, the western civilization), should now arrive at the idea of equality of cultures and equal rights of different cultures on dialogue. Provided we perceive at the basis of cultural dialogue some other principles we might risk being involved in a row of conflicts and turmoils. The statement that in culture the large overrides the small is the same

idea that rules the world of bigotry, when the strong is always right. But the global civilization ensues from this colliery.

It seemed very symptomatic for me when the other day Academician Guseinov, a participant of our discussion, grounded the idea that the dialogue should play by the same rules that were elaborated by the civilized humanity speaking about human rights.

Irrespective of whether the person is rich or poor, or whether they possess a lot of power, military force or weapons, they are all equal in rights. It seems to me that the same principles should be carved in stone for the dialogue of cultures. There should not be a state claiming to have a monopoly in the domain of truth and considering their own viewpoints the only right ones and the viewpoints of other countries quite negligible. Wherever the country or the culture grabs over the right to be the best, conflicts evolve, and those turmoils have dramatic impact upon the humanity and bring about a lot of clashes. This is not only my opinion, but the opinion of many colleagues from academic community in Russia.

Many of you study Russia in a special way, but not all of you see in from the inwards. I think that in Russia currently we undergo the second tragedy of the last twenty years. The tragedy in the sphere of ideology, the tragedy in the sphere of conscious and mindsets. The first tragedy set out on the eve of the disintegration of the Soviet Union and actually brought down the Soviet Union to the collapse. Back then we in the society disgraced from communistic values considering that the Soviet Union was pursuing the wrong avenue. And very important in what had happened was due to the ideas of freedom, democracy, human rights. The Soviet Union collapsed and the Russian people had great losses through all of that. Russia paid a very high price for altering its ideology, for becoming open to the West, and to the influence of the West.

And now we keep asking ourselves: for what did Russia pay such a high price? And we feel greatly disappointed and frustrated because currently a lot of public figures have the impression that the Western world has deceived Russia. We can see, that the western world is not a sincere adherence of the ideas it declared: the ideas of human rights, freedom, democracy and so on. It was just a game directed against the Soviet Union. Which, of course, brings about a new profound ideological crisis.

Once again I want to emphasize that it was very hard for us to agree with the idea that money solves all problems. If we could justify that what had happened to the Soviet Union was to make us richer, many of us would be reassured. Because from economic standpoint many people gained from the reforms occurred, and Russian elite did gain from those turmoils. Another thing is to whether common citizens of the country benefited from that. To my mind, they lost a lot.

And currently Russia faces the dilemma of reevaluation the priorities of the main ideas. I don't

think that our country, our society will reject the ideas of freedom, democracy, human rights. But I hope that alongside with such ideas the principle of culture will rank the first place. It is not by chance that a group of scientists from our University headed by Academician Likhachov in the mid 1990s raised the issue of culture rights. We are full aware that from legal standpoint this issue is not quite correct, because culture is not a legal subject. The problem is just the same when it comes down to environmental issue, for example. We speak about the human right on friendly environment and on preserving the nature as the highest good for the humankind. But currently we think that the idea of protecting culture as the supreme benefit for the humanity is no less important than the idea of saving the environment.

I suppose, the culture is destined to play the overriding role in the future development of the humanity. In scientific field the primary issue for us will be the question about the toolkit of the dialogue of cultures. Now at the University we are trying to elaborate the concepts of how the dialogue should be kept among various cultures. In the military sphere, for example, the states worked out and put together regulations for such dialogue, and a developed system of rights and relations exists nowadays. Although we see that after the collapse of the Soviet Union the world went back and this system is not always in use. In international relation force begins to prevail again. But to my way of thinking, some 15–20 years down the road technologies of the dialogue of cultures will be no inferior that cutting-edge technologies for regulating military conflicts of some other techniques of international relations.

I'm sure that the first quarter of the 21st century is the time when the vast attention of the global international community will be drawn to the issues of culture and co-existence of various cultures. I hope that the joint endeavours might help us to make big strides along those lines. Thank you.

**A. V. YAKOVENKO:** Thank you, Alexander Sergeevich, for a very interesting presentation, which is sewed from the discussion we had the other day. I'd like to point out that I support to a hundred percent your main theses that the dialogue of cultures can be carried out only when all the parties involved are equal. By the way this is the basis for the Russian ideas of contemporary international relations. It is this approach that makes the backbone of the UN Charter. The "Alliance of Civilizations" which was spoken about the other day by Mr. Sampaio, is also based on such principles.

This is a bottom-line, because currently we have two schools of thought. One school of thought is what Alexander Sergeevich was talking about: dialogue on equal terms, the right to be ad par, and, consequently, mutual benefit. The other school of thought is when the powerful states try to promote their ideas of the world order and thus create the situation when inequality domains: the positions of

weak states are not taken into account and their culture interests are neglected.

I fully agree with Alexander Sergeyevich that the 21st century is the age when new technologies for the dialogue of cultures have become a primary target. We encounter it every step of the way: both in Russia and European countries and all over the world. In the global world we can witness great shifts in the masses of people. Representatives of other cultures migrate to many countries or regions, where they have never been present there before. It creates an entirely new situation in these countries.

In Russia a wide range of regions is involved in the process. Say, it may happen in the Central part, where representatives of Middle Asian republics migrate to, though they have never resided that part before, which also adds to a very complicated situation in the region, and we discussed this issue the other day at the Plenary meeting. In Europe the situation manifests itself by a dramatic growth of Muslim population, who bring in their own cultural traditions.

To provide a peaceful co-existence of cultures, the dialogue is needed. We should create benign climate for cultures to be heard and to adjust to new conditions that exists in this or that region. That's why working out the vehicles of the dialogue of cultures should be formulated as a vital and urgent aim on all levels, both interstate relations on national home affairs. It is a new element in the agenda for international relations, which the states-members of the UN gradually begin to realize. For the first time last year there was held a general discussion on the topic of dialogue of cultures, where the member states of the UN and representatives of religious communities were given the floor. Before that The UN had never organized such discussions at the top level. Such events are a peculiar indicator of current trends of international thought on creating, or at least, perceiving the necessity to create different tools for the dialogue of cultures.

I would like to suggest my colleagues tackling upon the issues they are going to discuss, the following idea: what instruments for the dialogue of cultures should be put together in the 21st century in order to expedite an extra stability at international relations, as well as at the national level in various countries. Moreover, in the recent time we have been eye-witnessing quite adverse trends due to total lack of these vehicles that would enable us to streamline the dialogue of cultures.

Now I give the floor to Professor Eberhard Schneider.

**E. SCHNEIDER:** For me it was very interesting to listen to what Mr. Zapesotsky said and I was making some notes.

First of all, the dialogue of cultures and civilizations is a very complex thing, as the national identity is all about culture. The identity isn't determined by economics or politics, culture is the soul and spirit of the nation. Secondly, the dialogue of cultures and civilizations is just a dialogue, it

can't solve political issues, all it can do is to provide the terms for successful solutions and facilitate them. But if there exist large-scale political conflicts, the dialogue of cultures is impossible. We need a smooth political situation to be able to carry on the dialogue of civilizations.

As we heard the other day, religion plays a very significant role when it comes down to the dialogue of cultures. The adherents of each religion think: "It's my religion that is the best and the most authentic one. I want other people to become the part of my religion and to experience the beauty of my religion". This is the problem of religion relativization. But on the other hand, all values have evolved from religions. That's another problem.

As far as Russia is concerned, I'm fully aware about the situation here, because I've been investigating Russian Domestic Policy for 40 years. The path of communism came to the end, and people are seeking for new ideals. But democracy is only a vehicle, but not the content, freedom is just a condition, but not the final goal. I realize, that the Russian people are looking for the new target: "where to go and what to do?" They can't set out their new aims, and still recollect the promises given by president Yeltsin as if they were prizes for the new national idea. So this situation is complicated now, as Russia is on the quest for its national idea. If you follow the guidelines of the Russian Orthodox Church (because it is deeply concerned with the issue, too), you may face more difficulties, as a lot of Muslim adherents inhabit Russia.

In Europe we also have some acute problems. We, too, face the challenge "what do we live for?" The youth seeks for the answer, the same quest all confessions are engaged in. As to the politics, we have the idea, sort of long-term goal – to create an integrate Europe, the European Union. This goal helps us in the quest for the meaning in life, that's why many Europeans stick to this idea. Thank you.

**A. V. YAKOVENKO:** Thank you, these were very interesting remarks. I totally agree with you that national identity is, first and foremost, based on the national culture. I think that in every state on every continent there still are some system-making cores, including the sphere of religion as well. For instance, such a core for Western Europe is Catholicism. In Russia, despite the fact that we have 20 million of Muslim population, the dominant religion is Orthodox Confession, it is the system-forming religion for our country. So for us the bottom-line goal is to provide equal conditions for all religions (including the right to choose the confession), so that people might be free in their choice.

Anyway, from our standpoint, the points tacked by Alexander Sergeyevich Zapesotsky in this report remain crucial: after the collapse of the Soviet Union many values and icons which should form the backbone and the basis of life were totally lost. That's why nowadays we are witnessing sort of

restoration of religion in our country. In Russia religion is separated from the state, but nevertheless, it plays a significant role in making the society stable and united, and in forming a new value matrix in public consciousness. There's no denying the fact that religions have very powerful cultural and historical components at their basis, which is the backbone for development of any civilization. I can't agree more that the dialogue of cultures is feasible only under certain conditions, among which the core ones are freedom and democracy. Now I give the floor to our Japanese guest, Professor Kinhide Mushakoji. You are welcome.

**K. MUSHAKOJI:** Thank you, Chairman. I'd like to use as the basis of my remarks what was said here the other day as well as what we have heard today.

But first of all, allow me to mention the fact that I visited this city, Leningrad at that time, in 1984–1985. Under the UN a comparative investigation of 3 countries, the Soviet Union, Mexico and Japan, was arranged, from the viewpoint of social changes as a respond on Western influence. The subject that attracted out attention was the Russian revolution, the Mexican revolution, and Japanese Meiji restoration. At that time we were interested in intellectual creative potential mobilized at that time rather than the fact who had won.

This country had not only political turmoil, but you also experienced sort of explosion (in positive sense) of different forms of art – your new Renaissance. It all was based on expression. New language and cultural vocabulary appeared together with the revolution, as well as the vocabulary of art, that was later forgotten. Today we start considering cultural creativity and look for the ways to mobilize it.

Here I'd like to mention 3 important point. First of all, this is the point about present crisis of civilization and, in particular, historical situation and present moment. We in Japan are very precise, and we also try to take other's examples. For instance, I got a lot of useful ideas from the works of an Israel sociologist Eizenstat – an expert on civilizations, who drew out ideas about axial religions and modernization, that came from the West. He argues that the chief traits of the contemporary civilization are based on the fact that monotheistic traditions turned heterodoxy into orthodoxy. The Hebrews became Christians, as well as the Romanian heretic views turned into Christianity. The heterodoxy of the Russian religion, that can be considered very close to atheism, appeared to become the main vehicle of the October Revolution 1917.

For us in Japan it was very interesting. Because we had never had such an experience, when heretic religions merged into one orthodox religion. Later other movements began to appear, like feministic and so on. Thus heterodoxy was transforming into orthodoxy.

By the end of the 1970s a new tendency of decolonization was beginning to spread, together with neoliberal politics. Now we live in the epoch of

re-colonization. "Horizontal" ideas were generated in the 1960s, 1970s, but now they are rejected as something that contradicts development of civilization. But, bearing them in mind, we have to return to some crucial points about the equality in the dialogue, mentioned by Professor Wallerstein. We shouldn't allow it to be a dictate "up down". It shouldn't be imposing the views, but the horizontal dialogue, on equal terms.

At present time we face the crisis of the Western civilization, which may still have positive factors. They should be preserved, to be able to protect human right and other universal ideas further on.

But on the other hand, the western civilization, as it was said the other day, is based on three types of values, three basic icons of a human: homo economicus, who lusts for prosperity, homo politicus, who longs for power, and homo lupus, who proclaims Epicurean philosophy and wants to enjoy the life. There's nothing bad in trying to enjoy it, but at the moment homo lupus are commercialized to the extent where sex, violence, different sorts of speculations are essentials for the modern western civilization. Capitalism used to be a wonderful, revolutionary economical system, but it has turned in the system of financial speculations, rather than the system of production.

We should pay our attention to what recently has considered as out dated ideas. The Western civilization used to be very successful, but it has entered another stage. We have to go back to the experience and ideas of other civilizations, unfairly forgotten. On the same desk we should put achievements and projects of various civilizations. They were forgotten, because nobody treated them as valuable, but this is exactly what we need to democratize and modernize the whole world and keep developing the economy.

When we face these problems, we should not go back to morality, but do it in a new way. As Bergson mentioned, there are two types of ethics: religion and secularism, that appeared due to revolutions in the West. It was institutionalized, and now we have to reconcile the history and have a better look at various forms and ways of morality. We have to develop a new historical approach. As Antonio Gramsci used to say, we have to base on history. Historical block, that the Renaissance initiated, led to Enlightenment and humanism. All this has the roots in Greece and universal ideas. But there also were national bourgeois who insisted on using only national language.

Nowadays to my mind, the humanity requires new cooperation, new stage of history. Here we should base upon the people in Europe who believe in universalism of human rights. I myself do believe in it. Along with it, as Fichte used to say, we have to enhance our national culture and national identity. This is exactly the field, that we were involved in in Bandung and that has nothing to do with the western type of thinking. We are developing the horizontal dialogue of cultures, and the dialogue should have at least two parties. These parties are rather self-centred. Indian variant of the world order is Mandala, where one state was placed in the centre

of the world, that's why it can be called self-centred. But later Neru appeared, then Chou En Lai. They tried to establish equal relations to achieve peace and mutual benefit. These principles, of course, go beyond the frames of certain cultures, and it is they that may help us, I hope.

Another think I'm going to tackle upon is that we should go back to traditional epistemology, to traditional ethnic systems. It is interesting to note, that in France I came across some young researchers, who applied to Nagarjuna and tried to combine their ideas with Hinduist and Buddhist theological and philosophical systems. They were perfectly aware of the necessity to go beyond the frames of their individualistic approach to life, to ecology, to human rights.

We should consider thing in the matrix of different religions, as well as consider the nature of human beings. A very useful may appear not only Aristotle logic, let's take as an example Chinese epistemology, "The Book of change", it is also very significant. Here you will not find contradictions between the ideal and the reality as it may be traced in Greek tradition. What we have here is just the order replaced by chaos and visa versa. At present some politicians are ill with gigantomania towards their own viewpoints: they are trying to impose the others democracy and human rights in the forms they exist in the West. But this is a narrow point of view, which we have to overcome. Of course, we support democracy, human rights and freedoms, but I object to imposing these ideas to other countries. We have to look deeper, in the cultural "wells" of different countries.

Dialogue of civilizations shouldn't be shallow. We have to dig deeply and investigate the depths of the "wells" of all civilizations, as well as find other variants of the world order, analyze relations that connect "wells" of diverse civilizations. At that process we may face the concept "non-violence". Nowadays we see that the force is widely applies and violence has its feast, but in the world culture we still have traditions that deny and reject violence. There are adherents of non-violence in the world, for example, suffists in Holland. It all should be used to help Europe to develop.

**A. V. YAKOVENKO:** I'm very grateful to Professor Mushakoji for a very interesting report. One of Professor's core ideas, namely the one concerning the so-called "horizontal dialogue", proves the necessity of equality at holding the dialogue of cultures. I can't but agree that contemporary models for economic development in the world differ greatly. Even in Europe, for example, we can witness differences between northern and southern countries. Still more Asian countries differ from what we experience in Europe and in Russia. That's why the idea of a multipolar world and of different economic systems, that are based on capitalistic economic relations, should take into the account the broad spectrum of relations that exist in the world.

I fully agree, that the issue of human rights is a very complex matter, that depends on many specific

conditions of the region concerned and of tradition and social conventions in the countries under question. Note that it is only in Europe that a very high-level legal institution, namely, the European Court on Human Rights, was set up to solve the legal issues and defend human rights. But the conditions of work for UN council of human rights are much more liberal. Here we may see a bright manifestation of how the world cultural differences are taken into account. Certain countries imposing their standard on the sphere of human rights on other cultures and societies with different traditions is not productive.

The floor is given to Mr. Markaryan Robert Vartanovich.

**R. V. MARKARYAN<sup>1</sup>:** Thank you, Alexander Vladimirovich. I'd like to make some short remarks. Both yesterday and today we were speaking about the necessity of the dialogue of cultures. Alexander Sergeevich Zapesotsky presented a very bright report on the topic. But as far as I'm concerned, I feel pessimistic and thus I support the viewpoint of Mr. Schneider. The culture in itself cannot compete with the politics, because within the framework of politics the actions take place, producing significant material impact, impact much more noticeable and weighty than the results of cultural interaction. In many cases it happens, that culture serves for politics as well as for phobias, that promote clashes and suspicions. Let's take as an example the "caricature scandal", or a video film, made by a famous European parliament member. This is the complexity of the situation, that we should thoroughly consider.

As to the second part of the slogan "Dialogue of cultures and partnership of civilizations". I think that we haven't reached the stage to be able to talk about partnership of civilizations. As we can't even arrange a fruitful dialogue yet.

Does the contract of civilization imply that that both parties are equal or here again we will come to the situation when the stronger one imposes its will to the weaker one? In such case, it's not a dialogue, partnership or contract.

Professor Wallerstein noticed the other day (I totally agree with him) that to hold the dialogue of civilizations on equal terms and rights, the parties of the dialogue should consider each other equal. But, as Mr. Schwimmer mentioned, we are having a dialogue of ignorance between two parties rather than the dialogue of civilizations.

I have been interested in the Middle East conflict for a long time and now I'm deeply concerned with inter-civilizational issues. I have an impression, that the situation of settling the Middle East conflicts together with the situation of inter-civilizational partnership have much in common: everybody want to achieve successful results, but nobody knows how to do it. The exist plenty of solutions. Everyone concerned thinks that he proposes the best way out, but in reality the

<sup>1</sup> Ambassador-at-large of the Russian Federation, Master of History, general-major, the author of the book "The Zone of the Persian gulf: problems and perspectives".

situation remains unchanged. That is the challenge facing the humanity. Thank you.

**A. V. YAKOVENKO:** Thank you. Again we bump into the issue of vehicles of the dialogue. We might work out some interesting ideas. Mr. Piotr Dutkiewicz, you are welcome to speak on.

**P. DUTKIEWICZ:** Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen's, I would like to begin by mentioning that I totally support Immanuel Wallerstein's thesis, who argued the other day, that the dialogue is possible only among equal parties. My position is based on facts, that are represent by Vladimir Popov, my favourite economist. He shows that equality between civilizations and economies can be treated as true now. This shift of economic tsunami has occurred at the last 20 years as the result of globalization. Now we understand that different civilizations in economic sphere are becoming more likely, than they used to be, for example, 10 years ago. Many states of Asia can serve as a good example. We possess some convincing facts of the grading process. Actually, two processes go simultaneously: the equalization, it means economic grading between civilizations, although it leads to large economic gaps inside the civilizations. All this deeply concerns the issues of the dialogue. The wealth and prosperity of the West more and more grows dependant on the goods imported from other countries. So the dialogue is carried out through economic interests rather than through culture.

Currently the West considers four different types of scenario to enhance the processes mentioned above. Firstly, it is a limited type of the domination existing nowadays. Secondly, it is a selective cooperation of various nations and civilizations, a sort of separatist integrity. I mean the example of the South East Asia. Thirdly, it is selective partnership: we consider our limited resources and create a very selective dialogue to achieve stability. And, fourthly, it is just a division of labour. Recently, it was mentioned about in the book by Giovanni Ricci who suggested this approach in his book. Within the frames of labour division market approaches are feasible: economic division of labour between states, division between military forces, all this might effect the future dialogue of civilizations. We may possibly do without the dialogue of cultures and civilizations, as the dialogue is getting more and verbal. We might have a contact of civilizations, which is based on our national identity, and national interests. We may also be engaged in various kinds of business. We can discuss at full length the conditions and terms of cooperation and co-existence in the field of economy and education. Here we will come to the contact of civilizations in the form of partnership and will be able to agree on the institutional level about the vehicles for promoting the dialogue of civilizations. Thank you.

**A. V. YAKOVENKO:** Thank you. Now I call upon Co-Chairman Vitali Vyacheslavovich Naumkin to keep on the discussion.

**V. V. NAUMKIN:** Thanks. Allow me to remind you some thesis of our Japanese guest about the role of religion and the issue of violence in the dialogue. There are very beneficial but completely utopian speculations about non-violence in interstate, public and inter-personal relations. To tell the truth, nobody advocates to reject violence totally. Let's consider the matter from the realistic point of view: none of the world religions have such statement; there are some linguists who insist that even Christian Commandment: "thou shall not commit murder" is the result of a wrong translation. The real lines go as follows: "thou shall not commit an unjust murder". Every religion provides the grounds permitting to kill. Unfortunately, the role of violence in contemporary life has not diminished, although some attempts are made to hold it within certain frames. Instead, we'd better talk about the taboos that should be imposed on violence by the modern civilizations in the dialogue, this is a pressing issue now. It would be interesting to get such offers in the course of the dialogue, as what we witness in the contemporary world is a climax of implementing totally unjust forms of violence, that don't match the given world order. The other side of the medal is to what extent the violence can be used to impose certain values, including, strange as it may seem, the value of non-violence. The matter is close to violent forms of expanding democracy.

Nowadays experts say about introducing new energy world order, because the situation with the prices of energy is abnormal. But who will take charge to offer or impose this order?

It's utopian to claim that the dialogue may occur only among equal parties. There's no equality in the world among the constituents of the world order. There have always been the weak and the strong. Thus, the dialogue is impossible, as Professor Wallerstein considers. Or shall we first create an illusion equality among partners as a precondition, and only then proceed to the dialogue? I suppose, it is a deadlock, absolutely non-productive point of view. I'll repeat that there are the weak and the strong, and the strong will always proclaim they should possess more rights than the weak. There are zones of influence, global and regional interests, there are global and regional states, we have concepts like the "concerto of states". We have the UN that is also based on gradation of its member states. Why should we deceive ourselves, talking of equality? There's no equality.

What shall we have then? A contract, as my friend, Piotr Dutkiewicz, said? I think, it is a reasonable decision. I wonder what other participants of our discussion think on the point.

**A. V. YAKOVENKO:** Professor Naumkin stated a very crucial problem: whether equality exists, if it is possible to achieve and whether the dialogue will always have strong and weak parties. It will. The matter is, how reasonable the strong party operates. The modern civilization excludes much of what was traditional for the 19th and 20th



centuries. But the potential of the stronger one is not limitless. Moreover, on creating the weapon for mass destruction, potential of the weaker party got enhanced. North Korea possessing just one nuclear bomb prevents a powerful world state form implementing its aims and achieving its targets. It turns out, that the stronger parties may have certain limits. When we talk about the dialogue of civilizations, it is vital to realize, under what conditions the dialogue is being held and what the civilizations themselves are all about. I guess that no one here has tried to define what civilization is. Is Russia itself enough to form a civilization, on is it in the borders of the Eastern Europe, or even larger, the whole territory of Europe? The matter is whether we tackle upon real political situation, or false ones, that everybody talk about rather glibly.

When it comes down to the dialogue of civilization, I can see that a normative approach dominates in the sphere. It's great to be rich and healthy, it would be great to have equal dialogue. The real position is much more complex. Talking of dialogue and non-violence is the tactics for the weak side. Non-violence that could be witnessed in the history of India was a powerful weapon in solving a political problem. It was a perfect form of moral and other sorts of violence, that couldn't explicit itself in other forms under the giver circumstances.

What situation do we have nowadays? The world division into two systems has been altered by the situation when two former super states experience practically the same processes. They have to give up the idea of hegemony. The problems look alike: Russia lost its dominant position a bit earlier, and felt it earlier, but couldn't always draw the right conclusions. Now America has faced the same problem, and anyway it will have to refrain from the idea of its hegemony.

Allow me to say now some words about Eastern Europe and Russia. If we keep on sticking to the empire politics, that we have witnessed for 90 years, and still may see today, we can come to the situation when all the nations-constituents of the former Soviet Union, reject the dictatorship of Russia. This is an inevitable result of forming national states and new nations. We have deteriorated relations around all the post Soviet borders. I can't even say that we have cloudless relations with a sister republic Belarus. Why did Poland win over us on the post Soviet territory, first and foremost, in the Ukraine? Because they treated Ukraine as a new nation, and a new state. We came across difficulties that have long-term consequences. The self-identification of the nations on the territory of the former Soviet Union follows a very bizarre scheme: we are not Russia. The brightest manifestations of this motto is the book by Kutchma: "Ukraine is not Russia". It appears very important for them to distinguish themselves from the former Soviet Union and to identify themselves.

Russia will not succeed in the post Soviet states and in cognition of East European civilization

unless it discords the legacy of the Soviet Union. The motto "We are not the USSR" should become a slogan of self-identification of Russia for a certain period. We are a large and powerful European state with its own history, culture, traditions. We do not impose our will on anyone. We just consider that the only way to establish the order here is to carry our an equal streamline dialogue with the former Soviet republics.

As far as Eastern Europe is concerned, I guess, it is very important to consider the works by a Hegelian Marxist philosopher of Russian origin Alexander Kozhev. At one time he was a counsellor to president de Gaulle, whose ideas were the backbone in the formation of the European Union. In his memorandum dated 1945 about the guidelines of French politics, addressed to Charles de Gaulle, he articulated his essential fundamentalistic views. He maintained, that the epoch of national states had come to the end. National state would cease existing as a political reality. The last national project had been the Third Reich, which went down in the shambles. To lead a modern type of war, Germany had to introduce on its territory 10 million people of other countries and to make the entire industry of Europe work for their benefit. In the period that proceeded the formation of the states, army could be created by small towns or provinces, but then the epoch of national states came on. On appearing modern means of war we can speak about the epoch of empires.

He considered Churchill to be a genius as had become aware that the epoch of national states was over, and having at his disposal a broad potential of the British Commonwealth Countries, volunteered in joining a new England Saxon Empire. Why was Stalin a genius? He got aware that it's impossible to jump over the epoch of empires and to unite the whole humankind immediately, to put into life the idea of the world revolution. So he created a powerful Slavonic Soviet Empire. Then the theses was: that's the destiny of France between those two empires? It's insignificant. France doesn't have a historic chance, it may end up turning into historic sand. What is the way out? To create, as he called it, Latin Empire. The idea of the European Union originally looked that way. Civilization is the union of akin nations. It is crucial that within such union no forced changes should occur, including violence on culture, and national mentality. Actually, when the Russian Empire was formed, the transition to the Central Asia produced a great impedance for central region. At that time we couldn't integrate the Central Asia. The opposite process was likely to have started. The same thing we can witness in Europe now. Until Europe was small in size, and united closely related nations, similar in the level of life, history, culture, the European Union developed as if on a time schedule. As soon as they tired to join in the countries of the Central Europe, a lot of problems appeared, and the problems keep escalating.

Mind you, that Germany hasn't recovered from unification. It turns out a very complex task to integrate even Eastern Germany both economically

and mentally, and the task remains unsolved. Creating a voluntary union of nations within the framework of one civilization is a challenge of seeking for new rational structure and matrix of this civilization.

The idea of forming an equal voluntary union of nations (as opposed to the empire pattern) on the post Soviet territory is the only way to consolidate this area. I'm sure, that if Russia could reject the attempts to dictatorship, it could achieve much more, than using the straight method, trying to impose its ideas. It's very important how the strong party speaks with the weak one.

**V. V. NAUMKIN:** Thank you. The floor is given to Professor Stephen White.

**S. WHITE:** Thank you very much. I represent Glasgow University, which Dmitry Sergeyeich Likhachev visited in 1960s. The legal frameworks defined by the international law are not enough to be used in civilization and cultural spheres. I don't aspire to be "for" or "against" various political choices that every country may feel free to make. However international legal regulations are absolutely forceless, if it couldn't, for example, stop the war in Iraq. Certainly, we in Great Britain (so do I) think, that this war is illegal.

British Government consulted with international lawyers. Anyway, when the war is conducted basing on international right, any legal adviser of the Ministry of foreign affairs, of course, will confirm that it is legal. But if lawyer claims the war to be illegal, then politicians hire new lawyers. So, George Bush followed this line, too: he dismisses the lawyers who state that illegal things are committed, and hires others. You understand that the UN framework appears ineffective. Concerning the issue of the basic philosophical postulates and legitimate position on this problem, the present Minister of Foreign Affairs in Britain claims that the war can be carried on to expand democracy. The democracy means imposing the western form of governing, despite the fact whether the native citizens of the country want it or not.

Such politicians want to impose economic freedom, too: here, again, the concept of freedom lies along the lines of the western freedom concept. Western politicians debate pro and contra the war in the name of imposing values. What's the role of international right, then? It turns out inefficient. What can we do in such situation? Almost nothing. After the end of the cold war we can do nothing to prevent any country from having wars, that backward cultures and civilizations, to say nothing of multiple losses of innocent lives. We can't prevent destroying historical objects, monuments of architecture, cultural and historical values. The international legal right is helpless here.

What other problems can we come across? The right on the national self-identifications hasn't been put into life. In Europe there are many countries that want to be independent, but they, unfortunately, are parts of sovereign states. The legal regulations are very controversial in this

matter. The law claims, that all countries and nations have the right on national self-determination (and many of them have succeeded in it). But the law also claims that the states are sovereign, sovereignty should be respected, home affairs can't be interfered into.

In Europe there are a lot of conflicts, and as far as I can see, international legal right can't assist in these matters. During the cold war there also were a lot of troubles, but these antagonistic ideas were not manifested so vividly, Who needs values if they are imposed by force? International legal right is not perfect. We have to formulate the frames that will help to preserve our cultural values, so that no situation may occur when the large states will be able to do what they want with the small ones.

**A. V. YAKOVENKO:** The solution is out there for us. It was found when the UN Charter was signed. There is international law, and in cases we when comply completely with it, there's no challenge evolving. The case with Iraq is quite an instructive case, a classical variant of violating international laws. The United States ignored The Security Council, and were involved into one-sided actions, as the result the aftermath we are engaged into. The only guarantee helping his from the arbitrariness in international relations is following the international law worked out by the world community. There are no other guarantees.

**W. SCHWIMMER:** Of course, we have international law. But was there a single war in the history, during which it wasn't violated? Every war is a violation of international law. Even if the conventions of non-aggression were signed, they would be violated anyway.

I have another question to raise. Sometimes, we may have different terminology, that is based on the difference between our languages. When the word «civilization» is articulated in English, as far as I know, in German or in Russian it implies culture. But there isn't a distinct definition of civilization.

There's no doubt that Russia, as well as Great Britain, belongs to European civilization. But, on the other side, it is possible to trace, that British civilization goes beyond the frames of Europe. In particular, India still belongs to British civilization in a way. When Britain makes definite remarks about broadening the borders of the European Union, a lot of people think, that the old imperial British ambition are regenerated. There is also Russian civilization, what overrides Europe. If you travel to the countries of the Central Asia, to Kazakhstan, you see, that common history with Russia influences them a lot. In a way, they still belong to Russian civilization. Kyrgyzstan ex-President, who presented his speech yesterday, mentioned this fact. Civilizations are crisscrossed and interconnected.

A very interesting question may arise: what are the parties concerned in the dialogue of civilizations? I can give only one answer: the parties interested in the dialogue are beyond states. It has

never been the states that carried out the dialogue. The states conduct negotiations, they have their national interests, but holding the dialogue that will lead all of us to a common solution is not along their lines. The target of the states is to achieve maximum success in following their national interests.

None of the states can reach equality even under the UN. This organization was formed with the core idea of equality of all states, but (I hope, that Russian, as well as French and English partner will forgive me) five member states of the UN are more equal than the others. Let's have a look at what is happening in the Security Council of the UN: there's no equality in international relations. Another example is the European Union: there the system is balanced in a different way, but still, the state members don't possess equal rights. It turns out that that the states are not interested parties in the dialogue of civilizations. The parties concerned in it are public activists, representatives of public community, or civic institutions.

Without doubt, equality is a vital prerequisite for the dialogue of civilizations. But the dialogue can't be carried out only between equal parties, thus it implies that the parties should have mutual respect to each other. As for political prerequisites, I presume, that the primary prerequisite for the dialogue of cultures is democracy. I can enter the dialogue only with the one who isn't afraid to tell the truth, to express authentic opinion without finding out whether they will experience any troubles for telling the truth, whether they will be put into jail. Thus, democracy is the genuine prerequisite to the dialogue of civilizations. It doesn't contradict to what has been said here: democracy can't be imposed by force. For the dialogue of civilizations we need democracy, observing human rights and dignity, freedom for people to hold the dialogue freely.

**A. V. YAKOVENKO:** While the issue of equality under the dialogue is doubted and challenged by a number of speakers, presentation of Mr. Schwimmer introduced a new element: respectful attitude, when the counterparts in the dialogue respect each other. Even in the absence of equality the dialogue full of respect gives rise to a small implication which could be the backbone of the dialogue. It is an interesting idea, because one can respect the weak as well. By the way, under the framework of the UN, apart from the Security Council, there's General Assembly, where every state has got one vote.

**V. V. NAUMKIN:** We were talking about a civic society. But how should we act respective those subjects of the dialogue in which the civic society is inferior underdeveloped or even controlled and overpowered by the state, that doesn't match the matrix of the dialogue? We talk about courage to articulate the opinion, but what about a state, like Birma, where people who dare say their real opinion, speak freely only in their own kitchen and keep low profile outdoors. But we should enter into

a dialogue with such a state, we shouldn't throw them overboard. I think that the discrimination even on the basis of the lack of some elementary democratic fundamentals doesn't match the principles of the dialogue.

I mean, the dialogue should encompass all the parties, excluding some extremist forms of regime, of fascist nature. We should include such forms of the dialogue that enable non-democratic societies, where the civic society is at the underdeveloped stage. I'd like to know your opinion on the matter.

Regarding inequality, often this quotation is used by some participants of the dialogue for their own ends. For example, our friends from India, when they wanted to turn themselves into a nuclear state, insisted that the existence of the "nuclear five club" was unfair. But when they entered this club, their argument lost its value. Now the floor is given to Doctor Fabio Petito.

**F. PETITO:** Thank you, Chairman. Today's discussion promotes further arguments. We are considering the key problems. I guess, that currently two points of the argument appeared. Can we speak about a dialogue if there is no equality to a certain extent? In other words, if the pressure of power isn't smoothed, it is no good talking about the dialogue. Another important point of view is that dialogue of the civilizations is a mask, a dangerous device that is used by liberal and authoritarian governments that try to legitimize their ambition to the power and return of the influence of the force by this beautiful discourse.

I myself don't agree with this opinion. I will talk about a central issue, from my point of view, the international law. We live in the period of the acute crisis of the international relations. In the same time the international law system has a tendency to avoid conflicts. But we can see that nowadays only military and economic power is a moving force. To justify the use of power many legal regulations are formed. This idea is utopian for international relations.

This is why I don't agree that we should only enter into an agreement of civilizations. Also we can't reach the balance of power between great empires. We need a new viewpoint that will enable us to combine two factors: the presence of power that shouldn't be forgotten and new rules that we are formulating. I think that it is the dialogue of civilizations that can become an inspiring idea to create the new model. There is an idea of multipolarity but also a new system of international law should be created. It has to be an alloy of the great cultural traditions. Now we need a new intercultural association. One of the reasons for the crisis of our international law system is the fact that it is concentrated around western ideas and is considered as an instrument of the power of western countries.

We must rethink it, considering varied great cultural traditions, including the ones of Islam countries, Japan and others. It is necessary to create the syntheses and currently we have to do something for it.

Huntington treats the situation not so simplified as we often think. He advocates steps to new civilization, he claims that we must advance further to the new world system, to prevent possible collisions and clashes of civilizations. Super countries that have a weighty influence in vast regions, must enter a global level, and we have to create a new multipolar world order. We shall hope that these efforts will result in finding a new global structure. Thank you.

**V. V. NAUMKIN:** The floor is given to the ambassador-at-large of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation Veniamin Victorovich Popov.

**V. V. POPOV:** Thank you, Chairman. I totally support a very bright and emotional speech of Professor Petito. It is true, that the time has come to re-think the idea of the dialogue of civilizations. You may ask why? Because we can celebrate the first decade of the idea, but the progress so far is very little, to our regret.

At present time we are at a very serious bifurcation. And if everything keeps going as it is, we may come to very bad consequences. Why? We can witness tectonic shifts in the international arena. Some 40 years ago the USA share in the international gross output was 40%, while now it is 20%. This fact indicates that the balance of the world has shifted. There's also a demographic factor that should be taken into the account. The population of the West as well as Russia, is diminishing at a fast rate, compares to a wide range of other civilizations. In 20 years from now China and India will determine the streamlines of the world development, that is the balance center will be in Asian regions.

Now in the world there are 2 billion Christians, but we underestimate the Islamic world. In counts 1.5 billion people at present. The statistic data presented by Carnegie Foundation, states that in 15 years Islam will become the primary religion of the world, winning over the Christians. The Islamic world may rise due to another fact. Muslim countries possess two third of the world oil resources, and oil extraction costs 15–17 times cheaper than in Russia. Islamic countries accumulate tremendous financial resources. They have become a new world centre, that we should respect.

The process of re-balancing, or re-sharing the power might appear extremely painful and will manifest itself in various turmoils. We have to do our best to prevent clashes.

The ideas stated by Professor Dutkiewicz and Professor White can turn out very fruitful. The point is how to change the system of international law. We must have come to the stage when there is no applying force by any state in the world. It will lead to disastrous results not only for those applying force, but those victims who experience force pressure as well as for the whole world. What may happen in the end? So we have to think about new mechanisms of restriction. The idea of contract deserves considering thoroughly.

They say, that the new ideas are well-forgotten old ones. In 1928 two people Kellogg, the Secretary of State of the USA, and Briand, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France brought up the idea to enter into the pact in order to exclude war from the world life. The pact had only three articles. This is how it is historically called Briand-Kellogg pact. One of its initiators was awarded with the Nobel Prize of Peace. The pact was ratified by 55 states, including the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, the Nazi came to power in Germany, and the attempt failed. But what if we try to revive this idea?

A lot of things have changed in the world. For example, since 1996 a TV station "Al Jazeera" has been broadcasting programs thus destroying the western monopoly on mass communication. And a new generation is being brought up in the Muslim world, who saw what happened in the prison Abu-Ghraib, what was going on in Lebanon, how Palestinians were executed. The newspaper "Mond" called this generation "the generation of "Al Jazeera" and the internet". But in 10 years they will come to power...

**V. V. NAUMKIN:** Thank you. Ambassador Popov has touched a very significant topic. It is true that, in fact, the history of the humankind means creating certain mechanisms for restraining aggressive intentions, ambitions, domination, on different levels, personal, state and international. The time has come to think of new cushion to prevent negative tendencies that are inevitable to arise, to think of new form for acute competition in the international life. The competition for resources, for control over the mass media is growing stronger. There are a great many of problems today, and the idea of "cushions" is very productive, I suppose.

The floor is given to Mr. Din Shamsuddin. You are welcome.

**D. SHAMSUDDIN<sup>1</sup>:** Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Many wonderful, bright ideas, and evaluations of acute challenges have been said. They are called nowadays "economic tsunami", "collapse of civilizations", "collapse of environment". Really, problems facing us lead to the global collapse. Negative phenomena heap up cumulatively, and solving them takes a lot of common effort. Cooperation of civilizations becomes crucial as well as interreligious dialogue. This dialogue is being carried out in Pacific Asia region, and we also have suitable institutions for it. Until present this dialog has had only the verbal form without real activities.

The prior thing we require now is a new paradigm. Firstly, the dialogue must be targeted at practical activities. Secondly, the parties that are still not concerned with it should be involved into the dialogue. Certainly I do not mean fundamentalists and extremists, who proclaim violence. However we see a wide range of the religious

<sup>1</sup> Secretary General of the Ulama Council of Indonesia, Chairman of the Indonesian organization "Mukhammadia".

communities, which must be involved in the process of the dialogue.

Dialogue should be developed further both within the frame of cultures and religions. Interreligious dialogue is more complex, but it is vital to conduct the internal dialogue in communities too.

Not so long ago an international conference was held in Iran, in which I took part, it was the conference of Sunnits and Shiites.

We should search for something that unites us, to find our common values. And then we can descry our common enemy, we call him "Kalimantan". Our enemy will be problems, which face the mankind, they are pandemic, illiteracy, poverty, destruction. We should act in close cooperation to get control over these dangers.

We think it reasonable to add the idea of the responsibility to human rights. Absolute liberalism, providing the "background" of human rights creates great problems in the world. In addition to human rights, it is necessary to develop the declaration on responsibility. We have to create a "steering model" in contact with the Muslim world.

Recently in the USA a forum has been arranged, in which the USA and Muslim countries were among participants. In Japan such forum has been held for six years already. Here, in Russia, we have gathered for a remarkable conference. We should develop a strategic line of Russia, the European Union, China in the Muslim world. In many parts of the world we can display ours initiatives, in order to present bilateral grounds for a new model of the dialogue of civilizations.

**J. CH. KAPUR:** Dear friends, I'd like to make some comments in my turn. I have taken part in some 20 international forums in Latin America, Africa, Europe, Asia. Most of them didn't include discussing fundamentalist problems in the agenda. We considered 5 nuclear weapon countries. But my position is that we should put a special emphasis on nuclear power stations rather than nuclear weapon. We have to prevent the slightest possibility of one nation saying "I want to be a super state and to rule over you". Thus we should do all the best to achieve global peace.

Poverty is one of the fundamental issues. Nowadays more than 40 million people are deprived to different extent of essential conditions for living. In India a small group of population possess more than 52% of all national recourses. The economy grows at high rate, gross output increases by 9% annually. But what is the real situation like? There have appeared 500 billionaires, but still 90% of population remain in poverty. Mahatma Gandhi, the leader who gave us freedom, paid his special attention to the problems of provinces and small town. He promised that India would become prosperous as soon as in got free.

If we succeed in disarmament attempts, there will be no wars for oil, for nuclear weapon race, there will be no point in terrorism. It happened historically, that the main aim of the army in any

country is to protect and control the home situation. Every 15 days in China and India a list of billionaires is published. Why? They are proclaimed as heroes. These fresh-backed billionaires founded their own magazine. All new institutions and even international law were developed to protect and support the rich and the powerful.

If we dare to change the international law, the paradigm will collapse. And to create a new paradigm we need to formulate new international law.

**V. V. NAUMKIN:** I call upon Professor Georgy Martirosovich Derluguan. You are welcome.

**G. M. DERLUGUAN:** I would like to correlate our humanistic conversation to the reality of the politics and social power. Here I am acting as a historic sociologist. But we, in general, are technical engineers of social sciences. Sometimes, it is very poetically to say, that the man wants to fly. But you should agree, that it is a little bit different to stay upon the drawing board and make the drafts to put the dream into life. The same thing is about the calculating chances for the dialogue of civilizations.

Do we have any precedents for such a dialogue, the dialogue of cultures? I would like to expand some ideas, which the honourable Professor Kinhide Mushakoji argued. Where does the Europe civilization tolerance spring from? My colleagues researches, especially the ones made by the Randall Collins demonstrate that toleration and secularism is the next step of bloody conflicts of the Reformation epoch, rather than of the dialogue. How did it happen? After 150 years of severe fight between the Catholics and the Protestants, that so often resulted in holocaust, the West suddenly calms down after the Westphalian peace in 1648. What or who were the reasons for it?

It is typically to accuse Voltaire, Diderot and many others great intellectuals of the Renaissance. That's true that they denied religion, and they had great influence, including St. Petersburg court of Catherine The Great. But mind you, the giants the Enlightenment appeared a century after Europe had grown cold to religion conflicts. We can say that atheistic propaganda was a result, rather than reason. But what happened in Europe at the dawn of The Modern Times?

The typical dynamic of a long intensive conflict is that at the final stage people get tired to kill each other. Wars without victories come to a deadlock, and sometimes people have to conduct negotiations. However, the negotiations are carried out by not very honest and not very reasonable representatives of the fighting parties. The most cynic politicians come up to the surface in the deadlock of conflicts, being cynic themselves, they are eager to search for the most cynic compromises. Only after that appeals to common sense become efficient.

I don't believe in the conflict of civilization, because it has been in progress for many centuries, the starting point was from the times of Arabian

conquer of Spain, from the Crusades, from Constantinople defeat, and of course, from time of Columbus and Vasco da Gama. Nowadays, we are closer to the end of civilization conflict rather than to the beginning. Of course, we'll be bond to see many politic manoeuvres. But let's think about if Richelieu or Wilhelm Prince of Oran were moral politicians. I don't not call to grieve or feel happiness about the perspective of this world, whose symbol will be a cynic politician. I'm calling to think about how the intelligence should behave under such conditions.

Our colleague from Indonesia told us about international law. Where does all this come from? All textbook affirm that it originated from Westphalian peace treaty of 1648. This treaty was made by extremely pragmatic diplomats, who wanted to cut the costs of useless wars. They didn't think about ethics, they were real politicians of that time. Thanks god, they were successful, wars ceased or turned into a kind of royal sport. Finally it originated international law. I don't want to not declare that brutal politicians were targeted at making this law. Structurally they were doomed to dialogue. I do hope that today we are also bond to carry on the dialogue as what is the alternative?

What is civilization? It is the agrarian empires of the past such as, for example, Russia, which built a beautiful city, but sacrificed its peasantry. China, Iran, India or ancient Ethiopia were the empires, which lost too much at the conflict with the imperialism of the West during the last 250 years. Agrarian empires of the old model lost the battle with capitalistic industrial expansion. Today for the first time in two or three centuries we happen to be in a situation, when the West, the western world lost over the Soviet Russia, which was revived by Lenin and Stalin, then over China, which was revived by Mao and Dan, and soon over India of Mahatma Gandhi, and I think, over Iran which is inspired by Khomeini. This is what might create some balance in the new dialogue of civilization and making it feasible. At present the flashes of conflicts go on. Bin Laden came, when Naser failed. And it is as terrible, as the fundamentalism of European religious politicians in the epoch of Massacres of St. Bartholomew. I'm sure that we will see the end of violence. It exhausted itself in the bloody conflict between Iraq and Afghanistan. The time of new Richelieu is coming.

Well, what is our role, the role of the intellectuals? Do we have any influence at all? I want to appeal to stick certain modesty, because many absolutely unrealistic but pleasant things have already been said about the great role of the intelligentsia.

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu said: "The intellectuals overestimate the value of words, because it is their main way to live, it is their symbolical capital." Yes, it is in our style. We have no money, no weapon, but we have words and we want to believe that the poetry, philosophy and the beauty rule the world. So what is primary: structural, objective forces or the human nature as the subjective causes? The books say that there is

not a definite answer. Well, let's reformulate the question: When the human intellect could really move the institutions? The answer could be: the human intellect could really move it in those dangerous moments, when these institutions break up. It is the periods that people, the human agents could come and change something. Remember the "perestroika". When else could Leningradian Professor Sobchak or our respectable president of this University Zapesotsky become a political person?

There are many discussions, but many of them are fruitless. It has always turned this way. However, from the sociological point of view it might be some escape. It is not a panacea of all the problems, of course not, but it is some hope. In the morning today we have told much about utopia-utopia-utopia. Our dialogue is a big utopia. Let's get down the business. Sometimes, I agree, utopia could be practical, but we have to count how it could be put into life.

**V. V. NAUMKIN:** Thank you. Mr. Khairov Rustem Ibragimovich, the floor is yours.

**R. I. KHAIROV:** I would try and answer the call of Professor Yakovenko regarding setting up the vehicles, or as Vitali Naumkin said, dampers or cushions to the situation. I guess that we should refer to the fourth power, that is the mass media. May be we should join our endeavours in order to establish a system of global broadcast which could make use of the outcomes in the theoretical reasonings of everyone present here for the whole decade? Currently mass media are great provocateurs.

The bottom-line question is in which civilization the generation ahead will be living? It depends a lot on the content of mass media today. Thank you.

**A. V. YAKOVENKO:** That's an interesting suggestion. I'm like to emphasize that one of the four priorities of the "Alliance of Civilizations" is liaison with the mass media in order to make use of this vehicle and to trigger the dialogue and to shape the public opinion.

**V. V. NAUMKIN:** All the collective endeavours done in the framework of the "Alliance" and other initiatives often face certain hardships. The leaders of the global mass media especially of large consortia are very sensitive towards any collective endeavours, often perceiving them as the encroachment on the freedom of expression. It was quite clearly manifested when in Denmark the notorious caricatures were published. The floor is given to Father Georgy Ryabykh.

**G. RYABYKH:** Good afternoon. Currently we need to elaborate some tools for setting up so-called dampers to retire adverse negative trend. Can religion perform the role of the damper, thus restraining violence and phobias?

Some think that religion is the source of violence and can only bring about violence and intolerance, so we should isolate religion from public processes

and social life. Many examples of history are referred to, that are quite familiar to us. On the other hand, people who believe in God object to that saying that the 20th century, the epoch of non-religious ideologies of communism and fascism, demonstrated that non-religious regimes could be more bloody and the clashes between them are more dangerous. The colliery that religion is a source of violence seems absolutely wrong for many people.

There is another viewpoint that religion can be a productive factor in public social relations, it can shape the ethics and norms of behaviour, quest for the meaning in human life, all of which will direct the human energy along a creative channel.

Currently we structure the mechanisms of the interreligious dialogue in the international organizations. To my way of thinking we have a negative experience of the European Council referring religious organizations. A short while ago a document was adopted "The White Book of Intercultural Dialogue". One of the chapters is devoted to interreligious dialogue. We are aware of profound controversies about this document. The designers of the "White Book" formulated the following terms: interreligious dialogue can only be carried out in the grounds of the European Council provided religious leaders accept certain rules and values beforehand. It is only then that they may be given the right to speak. Today there is some hope that under the UN the system of interreligious dialogue may be promoted. It is being evolved already, and we do have some experience in the field. The beauty of the interreligious dialogue is to seek for new solutions, new visions of the situation.

**V. V. NAUMKIN:** The floor is given to Professor Mushakoji.

**K. MUSHAKOJI:** I'd like to remind that in 1970 a new international order of communication was broadly discussed in the world. There was an opinion that all types of mass media should be on the same level, there shouldn't be dominating giants.

And also I'd like to touch upon the problem formulated by Doctor Kapur. Most people on Earth still live in improper conditions. How to operate with the mass media and how to form an epistemological space, in which everyone will be able to ponder upon problems of poverty and security? The idea is all about the new contract. But this new contract should be entered not between citizens alone, but between citizens who are protected by their government and those unprotected people who are really a majority on the planet. To crown it all, the matter is that illegal migrants who reside on the territory of another country are also in danger, because they are not protected by government. I guess that they also should be included in the sphere of special attention, so that all these people can share integrate epistemological space.

Environment is very significant in epistemological community in all parts of the world. It is vital from all viewpoints: business, international institutions, governments. Everywhere there are people who strongly support the idea of stable

ecological development. Those who are excluded from governmental protecting politics are very vulnerable from political and economical point of view.

It brings me up to the article written by Robert Cox from Canada, who suggested learning the concept of *asabyia* from Ibn-Khaldun. *Asabyia* is a strong sense of identity and dedication to the security of one's own community, as we all have one common challenge that is the danger we face in the desert. According to Ibn-Khaldun, under such conditions *Makhti* may appear, and this process will be generated by a *Bedouin*, who know the truth, which cannot be opposed by the city dwellers. That's a very interesting concept, the concept of how the dialogue of civilizations should involve not only intellectuals, not only citizens of the states, but those who are influenced by the present non-stable situation. As far as Islam and Islamic epistemological Universe are concerned, they have both *shariat* and *suffist* traditions. These are two very significant postulates. God is all-mighty, we have to accept His supremacy. It can be mentioned, that such statement refers to the law and legal regulations. Legal institutions can't be done without. Legal institutions should exist anyway. But God is merciful, that is his other side. And in this case spiritual life aspires, that is not boundaried within the legal frames. I guess all of can learn something from Islamic epistemological space. This general unity bears a humanistic impulse of the future solidarity of the majority and the minority, with those who are deprived and neglected. This may be our primary target in the dialogue of civilizations. Thank you.

**V. V. NAUMKIN:** Thanks. I give the floor to Mr. Shain Mustafaev. You are welcome.

**S. MUSTAFAEV<sup>1</sup>:** I think that we should not bring down the notion of the "dialogue of cultures and partnership of civilizations" only to international relations and international law. They are different. Otherwise it would be utterly pointless to discuss the dialogue of cultures. To my point of thinking, the concept of "dialogue of cultures" is much broader, and we should grasp the main components of it in order to make progress towards the end.

I altogether agree to what Mr. Popov said, that throughout the recent decade the dialogue of cultures has been triggered by, first and foremost, international events. These are conflicts between the Islamic world and the West. I discord: not between Christianity and Islam, but between the worlds of the West and Islam. I consider, it's an inter-civilizational conflict rather than inter-religious, the backbone of this conflict is the process of modernization, which has encompassed the entire Eastern world over the last 150 or 200 years. The adverse negative anti-western potential that has been accumulated in the Muslim world is caused by dissatisfaction of modernization results.

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The term "modernization" can be perceived in different ways. Some agree to it, some think it is not quite a correct word. However, the key point here is in transformation of the western model, and western way of life into universal model.

Here should be mentioned such facts like "caricature war" due to publication in the Dane newspapers, along with the speech of the Pope of Rome, and the reaction of the Muslim world on these events. As a result, an anti-western potential accumulated in the Muslim countries.

To my point of view, the situation in the West is not much better. It enough to watch some evangelical channels in the USA, to talk to adherents of Anglican religion in Great Britain to realize that on the whole in the West a negative stereotype to Islam has appeared, that prevents the western society from adequate accepting that model of civilization, that sort of culture. The evangelical channels openly say about the threat of Islamic fascism, that overwhelms the western civilization. The necessity of Christian Union is advocated in order to overcome such threat.

It is crystal clear that such model of conduct both in the Muslim world and in western societies leads to confrontation. Is the dialogue of cultures feasible at all? To understand what way to move further, the primary goal is to define if there is a positive historic model of cooperation of civilizations and partnership of cultures.

Trying to estimate the results of modernization in the Muslim world and highlight the most acute challenges and contradiction between the Islam and the western world, we may notice that almost all of them lie out of the frames where cooperation of Russia and Muslim world took place. Taliban and Ai Qaeda and other radical trends evolved in the zone of Islamic world, where modernization was done under the influence of western European and American culture. Even Chechnya, the most bloodshed and formidable example in Russian influence zone, became more gruesome after Middle East influence penetrated the region.

Islamic revolution in Iran, attempts to Islamize Pakistan at Zia Ul Haq, radical religious trends spreading in Arabian world are the forms of discarding by Muslim people the models of modernization which are implemented directly by the Western world influence. In Russian zone of influence we don't witness such forms of conflict with the Muslim world. Modernization through Russian culture, through Russian experience gave more productive and positive results.

There are several reasons for it, because Russian civilization and Russian culture are quite synergetic. At one time in past it came through tantalizing experience of modernization, of the advent of western values. The contradictions between the adherent of the western and slavonic traditions within Russian society can be compared to the fight of modernists and traditionalists in many Muslim countries.

I have spent a lot of time in Central Asia in my official capacity, and I can see that Central Asian peoples now are placed in front of the dilemma of

choosing their identity and searching for the way to develop further. The situation is not very favourable. The belief that cultural potential of Central Asia is sufficient and a certain cultural "autarkia" will enable these peoples to make progress failed. The joyful hopes they cherished in the 1990s were altered when all the traces of socialism obliterated. The western influence is perceived tentatively because this culture is a bit obscure for those nations. Getting back to Islamic sub-culture of re-orientalization Central Asian culture are treated nowadays as some degradation form the positions achieved as the result of modernization during the last century. It is obvious that gearing towards keeping on cooperation with Russian culture and Russian tradition begins to dominate. Modernization of the Muslim peoples via Russian culture is the experience that is worth studying. In the field of cultural cooperation such experience provides enough material to apply in the future. Thank you.

**A. MUJANI:** Middle East, our last historic civilization land and a museum of different culture is in the instability situation. Middle East society's stands in the special equation with a lot of conversional and people on these societies crosses with antithetical position.

Today, Middle East issues are a one concern in our world. We cannot use from military force like Iraq or Afghanistan for helping to that. Because experiences of these show to us that qualification will come are complex by war. Great ideas like "Middle East without nuclear weapons" or "dialogue among civilizations and cultures" aren't a solution for crises. So, we should come back to this question, what we can do.

In Iran and in the international institute for dialogue among civilizations and cultures, we would like to find objective and operation results for these problems in our region.

**V. V. NAUMKIN:** Thank you. I call upon Professor Immanuel Wallerstein.

**I. WALLERSTEIN:** Yesterday I pointed out that dialogue can be carried out only among equal parties. But the equality of cultures evolves when the weaker one realizes the non-equality, as well as the stronger one who perceives and accepts it. The dialogue is vital not only among states, but within the states themselves.

Allow me to illustrate it by some examples. It has been said today that economic nullifying, or balancing to a certain extent can be witnessed in contemporary world. This is a true statement. If we consider five largest countries, the USA, Brazil, Russia, India and China, it becomes crystal clear that within the last decade the role of the USA has relatively lowered, and the role of Brazil, India, Russia and China has grown up. The nullifying can also be witnessed on the international level. But measuring the level of home misbalance and

<sup>1</sup> Plenipotentiary Representative of ex-President of Iran, Doctor.



inequality in the countries concerned during the same period, we may well see a fast growth of misbalance, as well as the fact that other countries are not involved in the changes.

Two more examples that happened during the past decade. One is the dialogue among states, the other is the dialogue within states, on home level. 6 countries conducted negotiations on international level within the last 2 years: both Koreas, China, Japan, the USA and Russia. These were 6-lateral negotiations on the Korean issue. As the result nothing happened in Korea, and that was the success of the 6-lateral negotiations. A few year ago the situation grew extremely tense, on the brink of military conflicts. But nothing happened, as the result of the dialogue. Though it didn't lead to deep mutual understanding, the situation improved.

Why is it so? It's evident, that the basic factor for North Korea enhancing appeared to be development in many spheres rather than nuclear weapon. The country strives to overcome negative phenomena, it applies various forms of new politics, and they result in strengthening and prosperity of North Korea. This is exactly what influenced the results of the dialogue.

Let's consider another example, the incident in Lebanon, there the most serious conflict evolved during the last 25 years. Within the last 2 or 3 weeks when Hazezbollah began to participate in the military actions in Beirut, the conflict grew very acute. As the result two days ago a very important agreement was entered into. For the first time it was made between all political forces. The leader of the Druses, the main opponent to the Hezbollah, said: "We enter into the agreement that we don't like. But we join it, as the alternatives to the agreement lead to the civil war". No one in Lebanon can win in the civil war now due to Hezbollah enhancing its forces. The weakest political parties is Lebanon are Shiits, but they managed to receive a certain possibility to influence the decisions taken by other groups. Thus we can see a de-facto improving and enhancing political situation in Lebanon. I guess, that political decision will last for a long time. After 30 years of destabilization the situation changed visa versa.

Both cases demonstrate the urge to develop interstate and home dialogues. The weaker party grew strong and entered the dialogue, it received a positive result.

**V. ALTAF<sup>1</sup>:** Lately we have been participating in inter-civilizational dialogue, but from our viewpoint, the strong countries tend to impose their values. We'd prefer a cross-cultural dialogue rather than conversion of cultures. Instead of culture transformation the dialogue is required. We can see that liberalism has disadvantages and makes harm. To exclude all types of terrorism and violence, the key demand is justice. Last, but not least, the mass media play a very important role. Now they are controlled and supervised by politics. Unless mass media begin to facilitate the

intercultural dialogue, the progress will be hard to achieve.

**V. V. NAUMKIN:** The floor is given to Jorge Sampaio.

**J. SAMPAIO:** From the point of view of "the Alliance of civilizations" which I here represent, our discussion was very useful. Influence of cultures and civilizations to each other is traced everywhere. Those who operate and do something, who makes decisions, are concerned with it at all levels, from local to the global. The governments can conduct various variants of dialogues, but level which is especially significant, is level of culture. Certainly, we should consider that results of the dialogue of civilizations are influenced by a lack of political decisions. It concerns territorial questions, problems of water, natural resources, environment. But there is still a very complicates matter, the stability of our society.

We have to live together. We are bound to do it to put the targets of stable development into life. Most of countries in Europe face the challenge of cultural diversity. They are not ready to cope with it. We witness migration of population, demand for equality and justice. Migrants want to be considered full-right citizens rather than minority. And we have to solve the issue of cultural diversity.

What we can do is to create multifaceted institutions, as those set after the Second World War appear in a very complex situation: the face with heaps of challenges. Another problem can be mentioned here: the problem of double standards, that hasn't been touched upon yet. We have to use equivalent standards and be fully aware that the dialogue should be carried out of different levels. The challenge of equality faces us. But we also have to realize that the core point for migrants is the quest for identity. To settle this matter is the task not only for university academics, governments and ministers, this is the issue for any society from low to high levels.

We should also find a public space for religions, and to supervise the cultural diversity, because it is a great challenge, that goes along with political, social and economical problems. Thank you.

**A. V. YAKOVENKO:** We've had an interesting and fruitful discussion. It will nourish the ideas of both scholars and politicians. The discussion well suits the agenda of the "Alliance of Civilizations" and Mr. Sampaio presence here proves it. We are happy that St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences initiated such sort of dialogue. This University is the leader in re-thinking these issues. I'd like to express my hope (and it is common opinion) that the discussions like the one we had will keep on going. And we have a good matrix for it, Likhachov Conference. I thank all of you for taking an active part in the discussion, I want also to expend our gratitude to Mr. Zapesotsky for the warm welcome we received and for efficient organizing the event.

<sup>1</sup> Professor of Physics (Saudi Arabia).

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